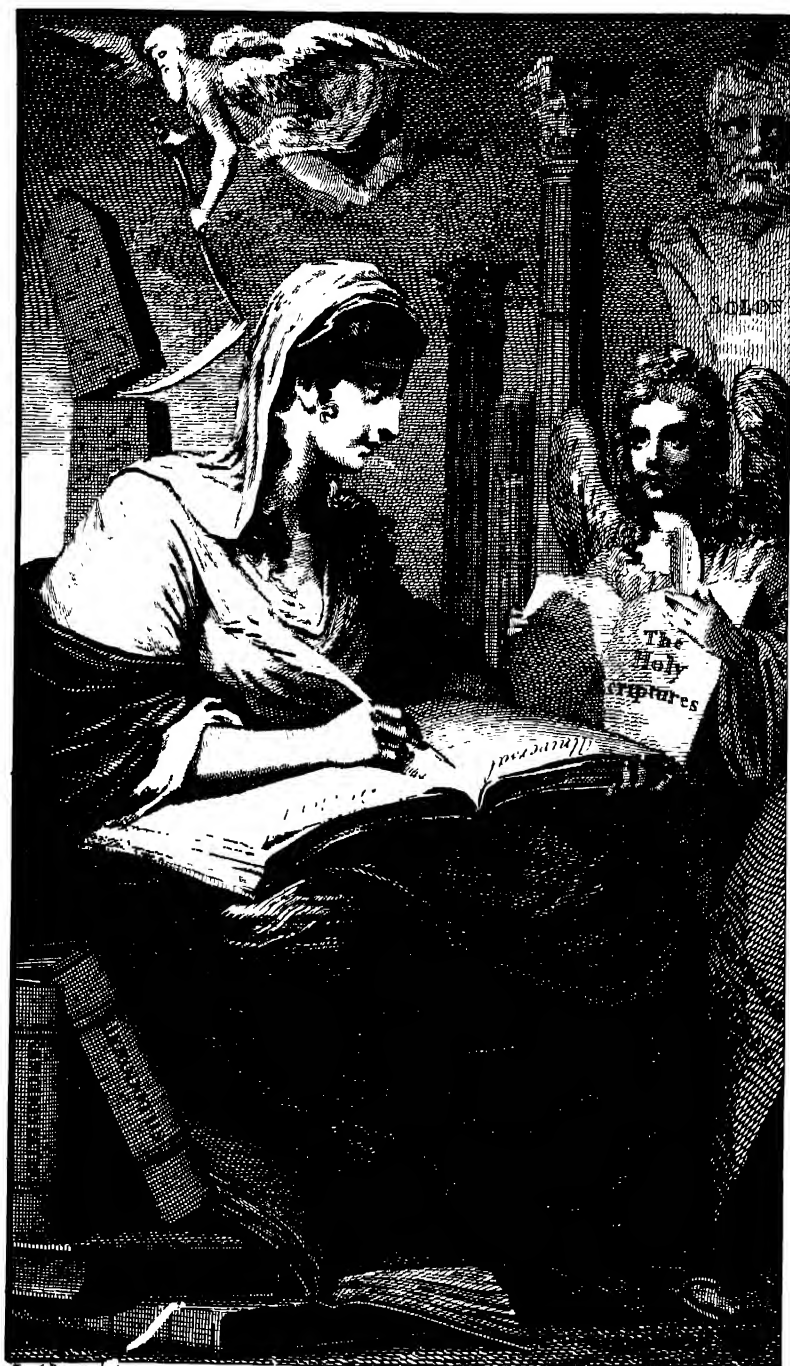


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THE
ANCIENT PART
OF
Universal History.

V O L.



Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with

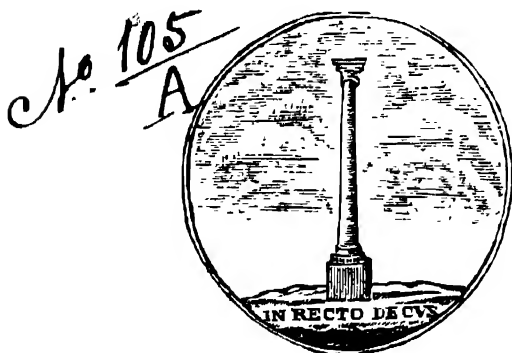
CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

AND

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξίρηχθαι μὴ κατανόη· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις ἀκόπως,
ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. I.



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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE great value and importance of an *Universal History*, formed upon a well-regulated plan, were so obvious to the learned world, that the work no sooner appeared, than it acquired a reputation, almost as extensive as its subject. It has not only met with the most favourable reception through all the British dominions, but has been translated into several languages, and cited, with marks of esteem, by the most distinguished writers in foreign countries.

Indeed its acknowledged usefulness, and obvious superiority, could hardly fail of procuring it the approbation of discerning readers. For the numerous performances, which, in other languages, under various plausible titles, implied something of the like nature, were either contracted narratives of the four great empires, or imperfect views of the ancient and modern governments of many countries, accompanied with uninteresting, and often erroneous, chronological lists of emperors, kings, &c. They were nothing more than Tables of General History, inferior, in point of accuracy and method, to some Compila-

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tions which have been given to the world by more ingenuous authors, under that modest title.

Far different from the scope of those productions is that of the *Universal History*; which is drawn from the most authentic documents of every nation, carefully collected, and diligently compared. The authorities are pointed out to the observation of the reader; and by these means he is presented with an Universal Index of genuine History.

These, however, are not the only advantages of this great compilation. The clashing prejudices of the historians of different countries have been minutely examined, and their several degrees of credit scrupulously ascertained: the most extensive researches have been made for the developement of truth; and the result is related with fidelity.

The *Ancient History* treats of empires and nations, which now no longer exist. They have been traced from their beginning to their extinction. Here the subject naturally concludes.—Arts, sciences, laws, and letters perished at the same time; and a long interval of darkness and barbarism ensued. Mighty and unforeseen revolutions took place in every
part

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part of the known world ; a number of savage nations, and savage conquerors, appeared upon the scene. Their different migrations, contests, and establishments produced such political commotions as overwhelmed, or entirely altered, the ancient institutions, laws, languages, customs, manners, and police.— New kingdoms and states were formed. The annals of these kingdoms and states constitute *Modern History*. The investigation of the manner in which these events were effected, elucidates one of the most interesting subjects of historical inquiry, and leads a philosophical mind to useful, as well as comprehensive views of human nature.

But, auspicious to literature, and great as was the project of compiling the *Universal History*, a variety of imperfections was unavoidable in the execution of this arduous and extensive undertaking. The work was conducted by different authors, who possessed very different degrees of ability, as well as peculiarities in their respective modes of composition. From these sources the narrative became exposed to blemishes, if not of an important nature, such at least as destroyed the harmony of the several parts, and that uniformity of texture which ought to have been conspicuous throughout the whole. In some parts,

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parts, the work was too circumstantial ; in others, too concise ; and, in particular places, defective for want of materials, which more favourable opportunities, and farther investigation, have since concurred to supply.

One remarkable deficiency in the former edition is, that it contained no History of England, Scotland, or Ireland ; though to every British subject a historical narrative of these countries must have proved equally interesting and useful. In the present, this palpable defect is to be supplied, by histories founded on the most impartial and authentic testimonies of each nation. Notwithstanding the last mentioned and other considerable additions, the work is much reduced in size, by retrenching superfluities.

In this Edition the plan is methodized ; inaccuracies corrected ; and the style improved ; whereby, it is presumed, the work will be rendered a system of History, hitherto unequalled in extent of useful information, and agreeable entertainment.

C O N T E N T S

OF THE

F I R S T V O L U M E.

C H A P. I.

From the Creation to the Flood.

SECT. I. The Cosmogony or Creation of the World, p. 1	
II. Sketch of Geography,	8
III. Of the Fall of Man,	16
IV. The Chronology from the Creation to the Deluge stated,	21
V. The History of the Antediluvian Patriarchs,	27
VI. The Profane History before the Flood,	44
VII. Of the Deluge,	55
VIII. Of the State of the Antediluvian World, and the Changes made in the Earth by the Deluge,	66
IX. An Enquiry concerning the Situation of Mount Ararat, and the various Opinions about it,	72

C H A P. II.

From the Deluge to the Birth of Abraham.

SECT. I. The Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of Abraham from Haran, stated,	77
II. The History of Noah after the Flood, and of his descendants to Abraham,	82

SECT.

C O N T E N T S.

SECT. III. The History of Sanchoniatho after the Flood,	101
IV. Of the Removal of Mankind from the Neighbourhood of Mount Ararat to the Plain of Shinaar, and of the Build- ing of Babel,	108
V. Of the Confusion of Tongues,	116
VI. Of the Dispersion of Mankind, and the Planting of Nations in the two first general Migrations,	128
VII. Of the Origin of Civil Government, and the Establishment of the first King- doms,	149

C H A P. III.

The History of Egypt to the Time of Alexander the Great.

SECT. I. A Description of Egypt,	154
II. Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Re- ligion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Ancient Egyptians,	208
III. Of the Egyptian Chronology to the Time of Alexander the Great,	259
IV. History of Osiris, Isis, Typhon, and Orus,	268
V. The Reigns of the Kings of Egypt,	278
VI. The succession of the Kings of Egypt, ac- cording to the Oriental Historians,	331

C H A P. IV.

The History of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites,
Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, and Philistines.

SECT. I. The History of Moab,	341
II. The History of Ammon,	355

SECT.

C O N T E N T S.

SECT. III. The History of Midian, or Madian,	363
IV The History of Edom,	370
V. The History of Amalek,	383
VI. The History of Canaan,	388
VII. The History of the Philistines,	407

C H A P. V.

The History of the Ancient Syrians.

S1 . Description of Syria,	431
II. Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Ancient Syrians,	441
III. Of the Chronology of the Ancient Syrians,	455
IV. The Reigns of the Kings of the Ancient Syrians,	458

DIRECTIONS for placing the **COPPER-PLATES,**

Map of Paradise, Mount Ararat, and City of Babel,
to face p. **i**

Noah's Ark, **59**

Genealogy of the Descendants of Noah, **83**

The Tower of Babylon, **113**

Map of Ancient Egypt, **154**

The Pyramids, **183**

Syria, after the Death of Alexander the Great, **431**

Temple of Balbeck, **439**

View of the Ruins of Palmyra, **440**

T H E P R E F A C E.

HISTORY is, without all doubt, the most instructive, as well as entertaining, part of literature ; more especially when not circumscribed by the narrow limits of any particular time or place, but when it extends to the transactions of all times and nations. History carries our knowledge, as Tully observes, beyond the vast and devouring space of numberless years, thus triumphing over time, and making us, though living at an immense distance, in a manner eye-witnesses of all the events which have occasioned astonishing revolutions in the world. By these records it is that we live, as it were, in the very age when the world was created ; we behold how it was governed in its infant state ; how overwhelmed by a deluge of water, and again peopled ; how kings and kingdoms have risen, flourished, and declined, and by what means they brought upon themselves their final destruction. From these and other like events, every judicious reader may form unerring rules for the conduct of life, both in a public and private capacity. But as the eminent advantages accruing to us from this valuable branch of learning, have been sufficiently displayed by many others, we shall not trouble our readers with a detail of them, but hasten to what is peculiar to the Work, which we now offer to the Public.

Our intention was to write a General History of Mankind, from the earliest Account of Time to the present. Before we enter upon the history itself, some of

P R E F A C E.

our readers may think it necessary to premise an account of the cosmogony or production of the earth, as being the theatre on which the scenes of the ensuing history were to be acted: but as this is a speculative subject, we have placed it in the Appendix *; where, after having related, without omitting any thing that was curious, or entertaining. the various opinions both of antient and modern philosophers, concerning the formation of the world, we naturally recur to the only authentic and genuine history of the creation, that which has been left us by Moses. Having attended the earth through its several degrees of formation, seen it clothed with trees and plants, replenished with animals, and at last man, for whom the whole was designed, and to whom the dominion of it was expressly given by its Maker, introduced and placed in it, we proceed to the general history of the world till the flood; but premise several curious inquiries touching the situation of the garden of Eden, the state of innocence, and its continuance, the tree of knowledge of good and evil, the prohibition laid on the first pair, the tempter, and his punishment, the fall of man, and the effects it had on human nature, and on the earth, with the different opinions touching the manner in which the change in the constitution of man, and of the earth, was effected. The chronology from the creation to the deluge is what we likewise thought necessary to settle, before we entered upon the history of the antediluvian world; which we state and settle accordingly, and then deliver the history of the antediluvian patriarchs, as transmitted to us in the writings of Moses, which are the only records to be depended upon in those early times. However, we have thought it not amiss to collect the most material pieces of history to be found in profane authors, relating to the times preceding the flood; among which, though there be some which bear the apparent marks of truth, yet we believe the greater part will be judged to deserve little credit.

* See vol. xviii. p. 113.

P R E F A C E.

FROM the history of the antediluvian world, we pass to that of the flood, where we produce profane testimonies of that wonderful catastrophe; relate various conjectures of antient and modern writers, as to the manner in which that dreadful devastation was brought on the earth; give some account of the ark, whereby Noah and his family, with such kinds of living creatures as he took in with him, were delivered from that destruction; and, lastly, before we dismiss the history of the old world, take a transient view of the antediluvian state of mankind, of their religion, policy, arts, and sciences, of the alterations which have been wrought in nature by the flood, of the longevity of the antediluvians, and the causes of it, as well as of the prodigious fertility of the first earth. To these we add an inquiry touching the situation of mount Ararat, and the various opinions about it.

HAVING thus collected, in the best manner we could, what we have found worthy of notice, from writers of various times, religions, and countries, relating to the antediluvian world, we proceed to the general history from the deluge to the birth of Abraham; but first settle the chronology from the deluge to the departure of Abraham from Haran. Having stated the chronology, we come to the history of Noah after the flood, and of his descendents to Abraham, presenting the reader with whatever we find curious or entertaining, not only in sacred, but profane writers: and as the planting of nations in the two first general migrations, the forming of societies and governments, the rise of arts and sciences, the beginning of states and monarchies, fall within this period, we give the reader as distinct an account of these important facts, as the records, which have reached us, will allow of.

FROM the general history of the migrations of the children of Noah, of the peopling of the earth by them, and the settling of the first governments, we descend to the particular histories of each kingdom, beginning with that of Egypt, which is without doubt one of the most antient nations of the world. And here to ac-

P R E F A C E.

quaint the reader, in a few words, with the method we have followed in delivering the particular histories of each nation, we begin with accounting, in the best manner we can, for the name or names which each nation bears; then we proceed to a description of the country, containing an account of its situation, extent, climate, divisions, fertility; of its animal and vegetable productions; of the natural and artificial curiosities it contains; of its cities, rivers, mountains, lakes, and whatever else worthy of notice is to be found in each province. Next, we enquire into the original and antiquity of the inhabitants, consider their laws, government, religion, customs, institutions, language, commerce, learning, trade, navigation; and also endeavour, as far as so intricate a subject will allow, to settle the chronology of each nation. Lastly, we deliver the series and history of their kings, which comprises the wars, treaties, revolutions, and all the most remarkable events of each country. Thus we may say, without vanity or ostentation, that no history has hitherto appeared in any language, which can with more justice challenge the title of an Universal History than the present, since it comprises not only the history of all nations and countries, but of all religions, and religious ceremonies, of all arts and sciences, of the laws that have been any-where observed, of trade and navigation, and, in short, of whatever has been invented for the use and convenience of the human race. But to return to the sequel of our history:

AFTER delivering the succession of the kings of Egypt, according to the Greek and Latin authors, we thought it might be deemed an omission, if we should take no notice of the series of the Egyptian kings given us by the Oriental writers. Wherefore we have set down their names, and briefly mention their principal actions as related by the Eastern historians, leaving the Reader to judge what credit ought to be given them.

NEXT to the history of the Egyptians we give that of those nations with whom the children of Israel waged war before, or upon, their settling in the land of

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P R E F A C E

Canaan, namely the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, and Philistines. From these we proceed to the history of the ancient Syrians, Phœnicians, and that of the Jews, from Abraham, founder of the Jewish nation, to the Babylonish captivity. We have enlarged somewhat on the latter, giving a distinct account of their patriarchs from Abraham to Moses; of their Egyptian bondage, deliverance, and forty years wandering in the wilderness; of their wars with the inhabitants of Canaan, and the neighbouring nations; of their religion, government, laws, customs, learning, arts, commerce, with an accurate description of the Land of Promise, &c. We have also settled the Jewish chronology, from the call of Abraham to the Babylonish captivity, and then proceeded first to the history of the judges that governed Israel, from the death of Joshua to Saul their first king, and thence to the reign of Zedekiah, when the city of Jerusalem was burnt, and the whole nation carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar. Having thus delivered the histories of the most ancient kingdoms, till they were severally subdued by the great empires, and became parts of provinces of them, we enter upon the history of these empires, and then proceed to the histories of the Assyrian empire to its conquest by the Medes and Babylonians, and to the Babylonian empire to its destruction by Cyrus.

Now, to say something of the authors we have chiefly followed in the work (for we have seldom advanced any thing without quoting our authors, that the reader may, for his fuller satisfaction, recur, if he pleases, to the originals); we shall here give a succinct account of them. Moses is the only authentic writer of what happened before, and for several ages after the flood. He is by universal consent allowed to be the most ancient historian now extant; for whether he was contemporary with Inachus, as Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Julius Africanus, Josephus, Tatian, Clemens of Alexandria, Porphyrius, and others suppose, or lived in the time of Cecrops, the first king of Athens, as Eusebius affirms,

P R E F A C E.

it is certain, his history was composed, not only before all the histories, but even before the fables, of the Greeks; since, according to the calculation of some of these writers, he wrote six hundred and seventy-five years before the Trojan war, and two hundred and seventy-five years before that æra. His history, as well as the Jewish laws, of which he was the author, are comprised in five books, known under the title of the Pentateuch, which is universally received both by Jews and Christians, as penned by him, if we except Abenezra and Spinosa among the former, and some modern critics among the latter, if their avowed principles can permit us to call those Christians, who denied him to be the author of it, and who have been learnedly refuted by a late writer^a. Besides the Pentateuch, there have been some other works ascribed to Moses, though without any certainty, such as the book of Job, which some suppose to have been composed by him, during his forty years abode in Midian. He is also supposed to have written eleven Psalms; the 90th, and to the 100th. Origen^b believes him to have translated the book of Job out of the Syriac into Hebrew. Some few fragments of other books are likewise quoted by several of the antients, as written by him; such as, 1. his Apocalypse, out of which St. Paul is by them supposed to have taken these words, "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing," &c. 2. his Lesser Genesis; 3. his Ascension 4. Assumption; 5. his Testament, and other mysterious books. St. Jerom, who quotes a passage or two out of his Lesser Genesis, tells us, that they had it in Hebrew in his time^c. The Sethites, an antient sect of heretics, quoted his Testament, and his Mysterious Books or Discourses; but all these were so far from bearing any authority in the church, that they fell into contempt and oblivion, in proportion as Christianity prevailed.

^a Abbadie, Verit. de la Relig. Chrétien. ^b Origen. in Job. ^c Gal. vi. 15. ^d Epist. cxxviii. ad Fabiol.

T H O U G H

P R E F A C E.

THOUGH the writings of Moses are the only records to be depended upon in the early times, yet we have not omitted to give some further accounts relating to the same period, transmitted to us by profane writers, namely by Sanchoniatho, Manetho, and Berofus. Sanchoniatho, a Tyrian, must have lived, as Suidas thinks, some considerable time after the Trojan war; but if what is said of him be true, that he dedicated his book to Abibal king of Tyre, who was Hiram's father, and Solomon's ally, he must have been contemporary with David, who did not begin his reign till several years after the Trojan war. This Sanchoniatho compiled the Phœnician history, according to Porphyry, from the antient monuments and memoirs which were imparted to him by one Hierombalus a priest, whom Bochart, Huetius, and some others, take to be Gideon, he being in the book of Judges sometimes named Jerobaal. But this conjecture is refuted by others^c. He is said to have likewise made use of the registers of the cities of Phœnice, which he found lodged in the temples, and to have carefully sought out, as Philo Biblius informs us, the writings of Taaut, knowing him to have been the first inventor of letters, and the same whom the Egyptians call Thoth, the Greeks Hermes, and the Latins Mercury. He wrote also the history of Egypt, and another book of the cosmogony and theogony of the Phœnicians. These works were translated out of the Phœnician into the Greek tongue by Philo Biblius, a famous grammarian, who lived in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, and Adrian. He begins his history with the origin of the world and of mankind: but of that work we have now remaining only some fragments.

MANETHO, an Egyptian by birth, high-priest and keeper of the sacred records of that nation, flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by whose order he undertook the history of Egypt, translating out of the Egyptian language, into the Greek, the sacred registers committed to his care. This work he divided into

^c Vandalen. Differ. de Sanchoniatho.

P R E F A C E.

three parts, whereof the first contained the history of the gods; the second, that of the demigods; and the third, the dynasties; which ended in Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt, who was driven out by Ochus in the year of the flood 1998, before Christ 350, eighteen years before the conquest of Persia by Alexander, according to our computation. Besides his history of Egypt, he wrote several other books; one of the theology of the Egyptians, commonly styled "the holy Book;" one of the antient and religious ceremonies of the Egyptians, called by Porphyry, "the book of antiquity and piety;" one of physic; and one concerning the manner of preparing incense to be used by the Egyptian priests. He likewise wrote six books in verse on the influence and power of the stars, which he dedicated to Ptolemy Philadelphus. This piece is still extant, and was published in the original Greek, with a Latin explanation and notes by Gronovius in 1698, from the only manuscript that was remaining and lodged in the Medicean library at Florence. Of his other works, there are now but a few fragments remaining in Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus.

Berosus, by birth a Chaldean, flourished under Antiochus Soter, or his son Antiochus Theos, and not in the time of Moses, as some, grossly mistaken, have imagined; for he dedicated his work to Antiochus, the third king after Alexander, as Tatian informs us, that is, to Antiochus Theos. He tells us himself, in his first book of the history of Babylon, that he was born during the minority of Alexander the Great. He wrote in three books the Chaldean and Babylonish history, which took in that also of the Medes. Pliny tells us^b, that his history contains the events of 480 years. But of that work we have now remaining only some few fragments, quoted by Josephus in his books against Apion, and by Alexander Polyhistor; for the Berosus, published by Annus and Viterbo, is, without doubt, a spurious piece. Josephus says,

^b Hist. Nat. l. vi. c. 55.

that

P R E F A C E.

that he agreed with Moses in his accounts of the deluge, the fall of man, the ark, in which the restorer of mankind was saved; and adds, that he mentions the descendents of Noah, and their respective ages, to Nabulasser king of Babylon; and that, relating the actions of that prince, he speaks of the taking and burning of Jerusalem by his son Nebuchadonosor; on which occasion, says he, the Jews were carried captives to Babylon; whence ensued the desolation of that city for 70 years, till the reign of Cyrus. He is quoted by Pliny, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Vitruvius, and Eusebius, which shews him to have been a writer of good authority. In the series he gives us of the ten kings, whom he supposes to have reigned at Babylon before the flood, there are some small variations in the authors, who have transcribed that historian. These ten successions exactly answer the ten generations from the creation to the flood: the first king, by name Olorus, has been supposed to be the same with Adam, as Xisuthrus, the last in the series, plainly appears to be Noah.

To Berosus we may add Abydenus, who flourished some time after him, and, in many things, follows him. Abydenus wrote the history of the Chaldean empire, whereof there are but a few fragments remaining in Eusebius, Cyrillis, and Cyncellus. These fragments Scaliger has illustrated with learned notes in his book *De Emendatione Temporum*.

ERATOSTHENES the Cyrenæan was a man of eminent learning, keeper of the famous library of Alexandria, and greatly in favour with Ptolemy Evergetes, by whose order he wrote the history of the Theban kings of Egypt. He wrote a great number of books, the catalogue of which may be seen in Fabricius, Galeus, Vossius, &c. but the only piece now remaining entire, is his description and fabulous account of the stars.

IN the history of Egypt, besides Manetho, we have chiefly followed Herodotus of Halicarnassus, and Diodorus Siculus. Herodorus is the most ancient wri-

ter among the Greeks, whose works have reached us. Before he began his history, he travelled all over Greece, Italy, and Egypt, to inquire into the origin, traditions, and records of the nations he was to write of. His main design was, to write the wars of the Persians against the Greeks, from the reign of Cyrus to that of Xerxes; but he extended it to the history of other nations, namely, of the Lydians, Egyptians, and Scythians. This history he divided into nine books, giving to each of them the name of one of the muses.

He recited his history, as Lucian informs us, on the public theatre at Olympia, to a crowded auditory of the chief men of all Greece, met to celebrate the Olympic games, and was there more admired than those who won the prizes. Eusebius says, that this happened, not at Olympia, but at Athens, on the festival of the Panathenæa. On this occasion it was that Thucydides, though then eighty years old, was so touched with emulation, that he resolved to undertake the writing of an history, and strive to equal or excel Herodotus. The history of Herodotus has been proposed by Tully, Hortensius, Quintilian, and the best judges of antiquity, as a pattern to all historians. As for the truth of his accounts, we must own, that it has been called in question by men of no mean character. Ctesias, who is less worthy of credit than Herodotus, doubts the truth of what he writes concerning the Medes and Assyrians. Manetho censures him, for advancing many falsities, with regard to the Egyptian history; which charge is not quite groundless, since he himself owns, that what he relates to have happened before the reign of Psammitichus, and on the credit of others, is far from certain. But none ever attacked with more virulence, if we may be allowed the expression, the credit of Herodotus, than Plutarch, whose judgment would be of great weight, had he not himself declared, that the reputation of his country had engaged him in the dispute. Herodotus relates, that, in the expedition

tion of Xerxes, the Thebans, to consult their own safety, abandoned the common cause, and joined the Persians. Though this was matter of fact, and Demosthenes afterwards reproached the Thebans with it, yet Plutarch, who was a native of Chæronæa, a Theban city, could not bear the base behaviour of his countrymen to be transmitted to posterity, but vented his resentment against the publisher of their cowardice in a book wrote for that purpose, and intituled, "Of the malignity of Herodotus." But his exceptions are either trifling, or turn upon facts, which Herodotus himself delivers as doubtful. On the other side, all Greece, by their solemn approbation, gave an ample testimony of his veracity, at a time when most of the transactions, which he describes, were very well known. Throughout his whole work there appears an air of sincerity, which even his enemies have been forced to acknowledge. He examines the truth of the facts which he relates, and, for the most part, acquaints his readers with what others have said on the same subject. When he relates extraordinary events, he tells us, that he copied them from others, and declares which he believes, and which he suspects. As to the Lydian history, which some look upon as fabulous, it cannot be denied, but that he was acquainted with the transactions of that nation, which bordered on the Asiatic Greek cities; in one of which Herodotus was born, not above 60 years after the destruction of the Lydian empire. He seems very sincere in his Egyptian history; for he ingenuously owns, that all he relates before the reign of Psammitichus, is uncertain: and that he reports the early transactions of that nation on the credit of the Egyptian priests, on which he did not much depend. His history of the Assyrians and Medes does not agree with that which modern chronologists have followed; but most of the antients have preferred Herodotus to all others. In his history of Persia, he differs in many particulars from Xenophon's *Cyropædia*; but we must observe with Tully, that the *Cyropædia* is rather an instructive piece than an history.

P R E F A C E.

tory. The chronology of Herodotus is far from being exact, especially with relation to the Egyptian affairs, extravagant numbers of years having been imposed upon him, as well as upon Diodorus and Plato, by the Egyptian priests, who piqued themselves greatly on the antiquity of their nation. Herodotus wrote other books besides the history now extant. Some ascribe to him the life of Homer, which, in most editions, is annexed to his history; but the diversity of stile, and the disagreement between Herodotus and the author of that piece, plainly evince these two works to have been penned by different hands.

DIODORUS SICULUS was born at Argyrium, a town of Sicily, and thence called Siculus. He flourished under Julius Cæsar and Augustus, and began his history after the death of the former, as he himself informs us. He travelled, with no small danger, over great part of Europe, Asia, and all Egypt, to acquaint himself with the geography of the places, as well as the customs and manners of the inhabitants. He wrote a general history from the earliest times to the 180th Olympiad, that is, to Cæsar's wars with the Gauls. This history he intitled the Bibliotheque, or Library, having copied his accounts from the writers of different nations, who flourished before. Of the forty books of his history, fifteen only are now remaining; the five first, the eleventh, and the following to the twentieth.

In the history of the Mœabites, Ammonites, Midianites, &c. we chiefly follow the Scripture, and Josephus, from whom, however, we dissent, when he takes the liberty, as he frequently does, to differ from holy writ. Josephus wrote his history of the Jewish war, and destruction of Jerusalem, first in Hebrew, or, as some say, in Syro-Chaldaic, for the use of his own nation, and afterwards translated it into Greek about the seventh year of the reign of the emperor Vespasian, to whom he dedicated it. This work was, by

P R E F A C E

the emperor's order, placed in the public library at Rome, and the author, as Eusebius and St. Jerom inform us^k, distinguished with a statue, an honour conferred upon very few. Besides his history, he wrote twenty books of the Jewish antiquities, which he dedicated to Epaphroditus his great patron. In these books he gives us the history of the Jews from their first origin to the 12th year of Nero, when they began to shake off the Roman yoke. This work, as Josephus himself informs us, was completed in the 13th year of Domitian, that is, in the 93d of Christ. In his chronology he often disagrees both with the Septuagint, and the writers of other nations; and is frequently inconsistent with himself, which we may impute to the carelessness and ignorance of his transcribers; for there appears such a disagreement between the antient manuscripts of the ten last books of his antiquities, and the printed copies, that some have imagined^l him to have left two different ones. The veracity of this writer, especially in the books of his antiquities, has been often called in question: and indeed, his accounts sometimes not only vary from holy writ, but are diametrically opposite to what we read in the history of Moses and the prophets, though he solemnly protested, his design was to add nothing of his own, but faithfully to transcribe, without the least alteration, what he found in the sacred records of his nation. He wrote also two books against Apion, who, in the third and fourth book of his Egyptian history, had defamed and traduced the Jews. In this work he shews himself conversant not only with the history of his own, but of all other nations, and to have perused, as St. Jerom expresses it^m, all the libraries of the Greeks. This book likewise Josephus dedicated to Epaphroditus: whence it is manifest, that it was published before the 95th year of Christ; for in that year Epaphroditus was, by order of Domitian, put to

^k Euseb. l. iii. Hist. Eccles. & Hieron. c. 13. Catalog. ^l Em-
ericus Bigot. Epistolæ Reinesii ad Bosum, p. 381. ^m Epist.
lxxxiv. ad Mag. Orator.

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P R E F A C E.

death. Besides his history and antiquities, he wrote the history of his own life; and, according to some, a discourse on the empire of reason, in commendation of the seven Maccabees. Another book against the Greeks, namely against Plato, is ascribed to him; and it is uncertain whether he was the author of the two preceding, some affirming, some denying, him to have written them.

In our history of the antient Syrians, we have had always before our eyes the books of the Kings, the Chronicles, and the Prophets; and have left Josephus, and the prophane historians, where they seem to contradict holy writ. The history of the Phœnicians we have taken from a variety of authors. Diodorus and Menander wrote the history of Phœnice, and are both commended by Josephus as very exact in their accounts, having compiled their histories from the antient records that were lodged in the temples. Diodorus was by birth a Phœnician, and Menander an Ephesian. The accounts of both perfectly agree, as Josephus often repeats, with Scripture. Besides the history of Phœnice, Menander wrote the life of Ithobal king of Tyre, where he mentioned the drought that happened in Ahab's reign. Philostratus likewise wrote the history of Phœnice, and, as Josephus informs us, gives an exact account of the siege of Tyre.

Our account of the Phœnician kings from the antient fabulous history of the Greeks, is chiefly extracted from Apollodorus. This writer was by birth an Athenian, by profession a grammarian, disciple of Aristarchus the grammarian, and Panetius a Rhodian philosopher, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes. He wrote his history, which he intituled "the Bibliotheque of the Gods," in the reign of Attalus Philadelphus king of Pergamus, who died in the third year of the 160th Olympiad, that is, 138 years before Christ. Of this work there are now but three books remaining, though there is no doubt but it contained several others. In Scaliger's opinion, it is a very judi-

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delicious performance, and, though mostly fabulous, yet is such as may give us some insight into ancient history, the fables, being founded on historical truth, and the persons such as have existed, though their actions are exaggerated or disguised. The same author adds, that we may extract from Apollodorus a more certain and better grounded chronology, than from the rhapsodies of Beroaldus; and Vossius is of opinion, that, by separating the fabulous stories from real events, we may form from his writings a true history. He begins with Inachus, who is believed to have founded the kingdom of the Argivi, in Abraham's time; and brings his history down to the time of Theseus, prince of Athens. The books that are lost reached to the 258th Olympiad.

THE history of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Babylonians, we have delivered agreeably to what we have found in Scripture relating thereto; and though we have reputed as an arrant fable the Assyrian history of Ctesias, yet as it has been, from all antiquity admitted into the body of history, we have also adopted it.

WE shall now give a succinct account of several authors quoted by us in this work, with whom perhaps every reader may not be acquainted. These are,

ZOROASTER, a Bactrian, whose life we have given in the body of the work, and therefore refer the reader to it.

MOCHUS or Moschus, a Sidonian, lived before the Trojan war, as Strabo informs us, and wrote the history of Phœnice. He is quoted by Josephus in the first book of his antiquities, by Athenæus, and Tatian, who names two other Phœnician writers; to wit, Theodorus and Hiscrates. His history was translated into Greek by Chærus or Lætus; but we have now only a few fragments of it remaining in the above-mentioned writers.

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, a celebrated writer in the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and by Scylla carried captive to Rome, wrote a great many histories, as his
name

name witnesses, and, among others, that of India and Egypt. Clement of Alexandria quotes a book of his, concerning the Jews, wherein were inserted Solomon's letters to the Egyptian and Phœnician kings, with their respective answers. Eusebius also recites a fragment of the same author, relating to the Jews^a.

ORPHEUS, surnamed the Libethrian, was a Thracian, and is famous among the ancients, not only for poetry and music, but also for theology. He is said to have been the first that taught the Greeks the Egyptian mysteries. Clement of Alexandria says, that Homer borrowed several passages from his poems. The ancients mention many pieces that went under his name, some of which are still extant; these are, an epic poem, intitled, "The Argonautics;" eighty-six hymns; a poem on precious stones, and their virtues; and several fragments of other works, ascribed to him by Proclus, Tzetzes, and other writers. Plato mentions the hymns of this author in his eighth book of laws: Stobæus and Suidas ascribe the hymns to Onomacritus, and others, with Clement of Alexandria, to Pythagoras. We also find several verses cited by Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Theodoret, out of the Testament of Orpheus; but we need only read them to be convinced, that they are the performance of a more modern writer.

NEITHER have Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, Atricanus, and Cyncellus, been excluded from our history. In their time the libraries of Greece were furnished with excellent manuscripts, which have been since lost. From them they made their collections; and we may judge of their sincerity by the authors who remain, and whom they have faithfully quoted; so that when other guides had forsaken us, they have often put us in the way in our pursuit of truth.

IN the descriptions of countries we have chiefly followed, among the ancients, Strabo, Ptolemy, and

^a Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. ix.

Dionysius Periegetes. Strabo flourished under Augustus and Tiberius, and visited most of the places which he describes: whence his descriptions are very exact, if we except those of Germany, wherein he depended on the relations of others. He published several works; but his seventeen books of geography are the only performance of his that has reached us. In these he not only describes the situation of the places, but often the manners, customs, laws, and religion of the inhabitants.

PROLEMY was of Pelusium in Egypt, and flourished in the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus. In his geography he followed Marinus Tyrius, who was almost his contemporary. He is often mistaken as to the degrees of longitude and latitude, and sometimes speaks of cities which had been destroyed many years, not to say ages, before his time, as still extant. Most of his mistakes have been carefully corrected by Ortelius, and Gherardus Mercator, Cluverius, Velferius, and others. His canon is so exactly agreeable to Scripture-history, that if holy writ could possibly stand in need of confirmation, so far as it relates to the history of the two great empires, the Assyrian and Babylonian, nothing could more strongly confirm it than this canon, which has given birth to one of the most famous profane eras, that of Nabonassar. This canon takes date from about the 23d year of Pul's first appearance on this side the Euphrates, that is, about the year of the flood 1602, according to our computation, and 747 years before Christ; which shews the kingdom of Babylon to have been immediately of Assyrian origin, according to the prophet: "Behold, the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness: they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof."

DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, born at Charax, a town situated on the gulf of Arabia, flourished in the

• Mat. xxiii. 13.

VOL. I.

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reign

P R E F A C E.

reign of Augustus, by whom he was sent, as Pliny informs us^p, to survey the eastern countries, namely Armenia, Parthia, and Arabia. His geographical description of the world was originally written in Greek verse, and translated into Latin verse by Rufus Festus, Avienus, and Priscian. Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, wrote in Greek a learned commentary on this work.

Thus we have taken the materials to compose this history from the purest sources of antiquity. However, we must own, that as to the history of ancient times, and the original of particular nations, we have not been able to give such satisfactory accounts as we could wish, nor one of the histories of those ancient nations, whom the Grecians called Barbarians, written by the natives, or extracted immediately from their records, having reached us. What fragments of them have been preserved here and there in other writers, we have connected together, filling up the chasms of one writer with the testimony of another, and melting down together the most precious metals of antiquity, in order to form a new one, less precious indeed, but perhaps more serviceable.

BUT as the authors that we have had occasion to follow, or even to transcribe, in this work, are such as have transmitted to us accounts of the earliest times, we must here, in a few words, remove the prejudices which some critics have raised against the profane writers in general; who have treated of the original and early antiquities of nations. In most nations, say they, poets were the first historians, who of course interspersed their accounts with a thousand fables. From such infected sources the historians in after-ages, for want of better materials, copied; and consequently deserve no more credit than those they transcribed.

To answer this objection, we must with Varro divide the whole series of time into three periods; the first, from the beginning of the world to the deluge;

^p Lib. v. c. 27.

the second, from the deluge to the first Olympiad; and the third, from the first Olympiad to the present. The first period he calls an age intirely unknown; and indeed we find nothing in profane historians, relating to that time, which has any appearance of truth, if we except two or three, quoted by Josephus, whose accounts of the deluge, and the times preceding it, agree, as he informs us, in many particulars, with that of Moses. The second period Varro stiles the fabulous time, by reason of the many fables, with which the accounts of it, that have been transmitted to posterity, are interwoven: the last he calls the historical time. Diodorus Siculus extends the fabulous age no farther than the Trojan war; and indeed from that time the impenetrable mist, which had overcast the preceding ages, begins to clear up, and some rays of truth to break out. Now, to answer the objection, we do not pretend to give any tolerable account of the first ages, from profane authors. In after-ages, when the use of letters was introduced, poets, it is true, are said to have been the first historians; but we must not suppose whatever they wrote to be a mere fable. Their ground-work was often truth, though embellished with various fictions. Thus, for instance, Homer's poem ought not to be regarded only as an excellent poetical performance, but as the most antient history of Greece; insomuch that, if we had no other remains of antiquity than Homer's works, to convince us of the Trojan war, and the taking of that city, we could not call in question the truth of that event. Homer, though a poet, discovers to us the state of Greece at that time; he gives us an account of their kings and generals; describes their states, cities, and government; shews us that Greece was divided into several small dynasties, each of which had their respective sovereigns, of which Agamemnon, king of Mycen, Cycione, and Corinth, was the most powerful, &c. These, and a great many other events, are purely historical, and confirmed by credible historians; so that Homer's work is both a poem and an history. And what we have instanced

in one poet, may in the same manner be applied to others : for though their works were interspersed with many fabulous strokes, yet they might have furnished a judicious historian, that could distinguish between truth and fiction, with good materials for an history. Besides, it is not to be doubted but that, ever since the use of characters was first introduced, men have left behind them monuments of such things as might concern their posterity ; fathers, what regard their domestic affairs ; princes and magistrates, what related to the public. These were the first histories of mankind, and the most ancient historians have done nothing else but digest them into a better form. Thus Manetho compiled his history from the memoirs of Jerombalus an Egyptian priest ; Berosus, from the registers of the Babylonians ; Sanchoniatho, from those of the Phœnicians, &c. And indeed there is reason to suppose, that most cities and states had registers, in which from year to year they wrote down the most remarkable occurrences, and archives, wherein they lodged letters, treaties, and other pieces, which might serve as evidences to posterity. They also transmitted the memory of things by the institution of festivals, the building of cities, erecting of stones, pillars, altars, tombs, and the like monuments. The custom of engraving on stone is, without doubt, very ancient, and the number of these most faithful monuments of antiquity was almost infinite, as is plain from all the ancient historians, who often appeal to them. From these, as well as from the poets, it is reasonable to suppose, that the first historians extracted their histories ; and therefore they deserve the same credit : nay, the poets themselves often worked upon materials already prepared, and only put into verse what they found registered in the annals of their country. Having thus far discoursed of authors, we shall now descend to other particulars, essential indeed to be attended to by the diligent historian ; and first, it will not be amiss to observe, that an exact distribution of time is, as it were, the light of history. as without such

distribution it would be only a chaos of facts heaped together. An exact chronology is like Ariadne's clue, which conducts our steps through all the windings of the labyrinth. By the means of certain fixed epochas we perceive the progress of states, the variations of their fortunes, and the changes made in their government. For this reason we have thought it necessary to settle the chronology, and refer the facts we have collected to their proper dates. Our general æras are, the creation, the flood, and the years before or after Christ. The mind being thus conducted, the ideas we acquire by reading are more distinct, and more easily fixed in the memory.

GEOGRAPHY is another essential part of history. Every historian that neglects it, must of necessity be confused in his relations. We have therefore endeavoured to be exact in the situation of the towns, rivers, forests, lakes, and mountains, whither the course of events has led us. Our guides in this were not only the historians, who are not always very exact, but also the most eminent geographers of antiquity; and, in doubtful cases, we have had recourse to the moderns, particularly to Cluverius, Ortelius, Cellarius, and such of the modern travellers as have surveyed the places, and are generally looked upon as exact and faithful in their accounts. From all these together we have got maps drawn by a skilful hand, where we thought them necessary. Thus the reader will be able, with one cast of an eye, to run over the several countries which he reads of. There are many nations, which have not the same limits at this day that they had formerly; neither are all towns, which have ancient names, unquestionably situated in the very places, where the towns of the same name stood heretofore. We have therefore chosen rather to describe most of the places mentioned in our history, by their ancient names; but at the same time we have constantly taken care to reconcile the ancient geography with the modern, and to mark the different limits of the new nations and the old.

It is not usual to publish histories with notes, or at least to crowd them with so great a number: but though no other history perhaps has need of them, yet they are necessary to this which we have undertaken. The manners, customs, religions, arms, dress, government, &c. of the various nations we describe, are not only so different among themselves, but from any thing we now see or are acquainted with, that it would have been hardly possible to give just ideas of them without explanations, which could not have well been brought into the text. The thread of the most beautiful story would have been often broken, and no point of history would have been brought to its conclusion but in a languid manner. It was necessary therefore to throw into notes a great number of instructive observations, without which the history would have been imperfect. Besides, abundance of disputes have been raised by learned men upon several events, which we are obliged to inform the public of, in order to make our work more complete. But this could not have been, if we had not taken notice of the variations of the several authors who have transmitted to us the same facts. Historians often disagree as to the circumstances, and, on the other hand, the thread of the history will not admit but of one way of relating the event. We have therefore placed in the body of the history what seemed to us most probable, and the rest in the notes, lest those readers, who peruse but one author, should charge us with falshood, if we differed from his historian. The length of some of our notes ought not to frighten the reader. Every judicious person will perceive, that we have taken pains to be as concise as the subject would allow us, having often brought within the compals of a few lines, dissertations with which learned men have filled large volumes.

The knowledge of the coins, weights, and measures of the ancients, is necessary for the right understanding of their writings, as well as of the present history, and these we have explained, where we could not avoid using

using now-and-then their terms and phraseology; and to return again to chronology, or the different computations of time, our readers are desired to take notice, that Berofus wrote his chronology by the computation of Sari, Neri, and Sofu; which, being ancient measures of time, and well known when the original records were written, could not then have wanted explanation. But Berofus, or some later writer, has, either out of ignorance or design, magnified these measures beyond all imagination; telling us, that the Sarus contained the interval of three thousand six hundred years; the Nerus, of six hundred; and the Sofus, of sixty. But other authors have taken those years for days only; and indeed with a great deal of reason: for, not to insist on the incredible length of the reigns of the Chaldæan princes in the first hypothesis, which no writer of common sense could offer to impose on the world, it plainly appears, that they were no more than days, from the reign of the sixth king of Chaldæa, said by some to be ninety-nine years; but expressed by others in the round number of ten Saria, or 100 years. The Sarus, therefore contained three thousand six hundred days, or just ten old Chaldæan years, of three hundred and sixty days each; and that, before the deluge, not only the civil, but also the tropical, solar, and lunar year consisted of twelve months, of thirty days apiece, or three hundred and sixty days in the whole, has been fully proved by a modern writer.

THE Egyptians, who addicted themselves to the study of astronomy in the earliest ages, and were well acquainted with the motions, periods, and stations of the planets, were the first who adjusted the length of the year to the annual revolution of the sun, by adding to their twelve months of thirty days apiece five additional days and six hours, while the Greeks and Romans used the more rude and inconvenient form of

* Syncellus, p. 17.

* Allin's Discourse on the ancient Year, in Mr. Whiston's Theory, book xi. p. 144.

lunar years; intercalating a month every third year. However, the five additional days, as Syncellus¹ informs us, were not introduced till a thousand years after the deluge, and never were looked upon as proper parts either of the year, or of any of its months, but as days belonging to the nativity of five several Egyptian deities; who, as it is observed in a famous tradition related by Plutarch², were to be born neither in any year, nor in any month.

THE Jewish year, as is plain from the calculations which Moses gives us of the days of the flood, and elsewhere, consisted of 365 days; and consequently of 12 solar months, the last of which has 35 days. As Moses had been brought up in Egypt, it is very likely, he learned that way of reckoning there; and besides, it must have been the most known and easy method to the Jews, who had been accustomed to it during their long abode in Egypt. Scaliger³, and others after him, have indeed supposed, that they had an intercalary month, once every 120 years; but it is plain that the Scripture hints nothing like such an intercalation, or year of 13 months, though it is not easy to guess how they disposed of the six additional hours of the Egyptians, without some such supposition. However, Moses, by express command of God, did afterwards compute the years by moons.

THE ancient year of Greece, Lydia, and the Grecian colonies in Asia, as well as the first Roman year, before the correction of Numa Pompilius, consisted likewise of 360 days; as the learned writer we have quoted above, fully proves⁴.

BESIDES the computation of months and years, the Greeks reckoned their time by Olympiads, each Olympiad containing the space of four years. This method of computation had its rise from the Olympic games, which were celebrated every fourth year,

¹ Syncell. p. 123. ² Plut. de Isid. & Osirid. ³ Scaliger, de Emend. Temp. l. ii. ⁴ Mr. Allin, ubi supra.

and became so considerable, that the Greeks made them their epoch. They commenced, according to some, the year of the world 3208, 796 years before Christ, and 22 before the founding of Rome; according to others, in the year of the world 3251, 753 years before Christ.

THE Romans computed by lustrums, or purifying sacrifices, which were instituted by Servius Tullius, about the year 180 of Rome, and were to be renewed every five years, immediately after the census; whence the lustrum contained the space of five years. But they must have been for some time disused, as appears from the *Fasti Capitolini*, where the 50th lustrum is said to have been made in the 574th year of Rome.

As to the chronology of the ancients, there is no depending upon it. That of the eastern nations has been strangely depraved by contentions arising among them about their antiquity, each claiming the preference in that point. Thus Herodotus tells us^{*}, that the priests of Egypt reckoned from the reign of Menes to Sethon, who put Sennacherib to flight, 341 generations, as many priests of Vulcan, and an equal number of kings of Egypt. He adds, that three generations make an hundred years; so that, according to this computation, the whole time from the reign of Menes to that of Sethon, was eleven thousand three hundred and forty years. The Chaldeans also piqued themselves on their antiquity, and pretended to have observed the stars 473,000 years; and Callisthenes, the disciple of Aristotle, sent astronomical observations from Babylon to Greece, said to be of 1903 years standing. The chronology of the ancient Greek authors is no less uncertain. Those who wrote of antiquities, as Pherecydes, Epimenides, Hellanicus, Hippus, the Elean, Ephorus, &c. digested their works by genealogies, or ages and successions of the priestesses of Juno Argiva, of the

P R E F A C E

Ephori, of the kings of Sparta, and the Archons of Athens, &c. nor did they begin to set down the generations, reigns, and successions in numbers of years, till some time after the death of Alexander; which makes their chronology very uncertain. And such it was reputed by the Greeks themselves, as is manifest from several passages in Plutarch¹. The chronology of the Latins is still more uncertain. Plutarch and Servius represent great uncertainties in the original of Rome. The old records of the Latins were burnt by the Gauls, about 64 years before the death of Alexander; and Quintus Fabius Pictor, the most antient Latin historian, lived 200 years after that king, and copied the greatest part of his history from Diocles Peparethius, a Greek. Not one of the European nations had any chronology at all before the time of the Persian empire; and whatever chronology they now have of ancient times has been formed since by reasoning and conjecture: so that, on a strict view and due examination of the antiquities of nations, and the records which have been left us, those of the Jews, exclusive of their divine authority, will evidently appear to be the most certain and authentic, and consequently the surest foundation to build our chronology upon.

HOWEVER, it must be confessed, that there is no certain uniformity in the Jewish computation; and that the several copies of their records, to wit, the Hebrew, Samaritan, Pentateuch, and Sepuagint, differ very much from one another: which disagreement hath arisen from two things; 1. corruption, or errors of frequent transcribing; and, 2. the want of computing from some fixed æra, and digesting the history as it was written, into a chronological method; for besides the great disagreement among the various copies, with regard particularly to the ages of the patriarchs, there is a seeming difference, at least, betwixt the whole numbers of several intervals. Thus, for instance, the interval from the Exodus to the found-

¹ Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. et Solon.

ing of Solomon's temple, is expressly mentioned * to be 480 years : whereas the sum of all the patriarchs given in the book of Judges, &c. amount to about 592 years. Which particulars not being adjusted by the years of some certain æra, we are at a loss for the true distance of time, not knowing by what standard the measure of the intervals is to be taken.

THIS variety of computations hath left room for chronologers to enlarge, or contract, the space of time betwixt the flood and the birth of Christ, by adhering to one copy rather than another ; or by rejecting, or retaining, the whole numbers, or the particulars, just as it suited their humour of making the Sacred History agree with the profane ; or otherwise of reducing the profane to the sacred. And as the disagreement among the heathen writers is great also, and every author hath followed the historian he liked best, hence a wide difference hath arisen amongst modern chronologers, as may appear by the various computations several of them have made of the years of the world to the birth of Christ.

OF these different computations, we have chosen, in this work, that which is founded, according to the learned Usher's system, on the Hebrew whole numbers, as better known, more universally received, and at the same time liable to no greater difficulties than the Samaritan or Septuagint calculations ; for to some they are all alike liable. Such of our readers as prefer either of the two latter, may, with very little trouble, reduce the Hebrew to that they like best.

THE reader may observe, that the whole difference betwixt the Hebrew and the Samaritan computation (for we have no more than the Pentateuch in that character) lies in the interval between the creation and the calling of Abraham, and arises from the different ages assigned the patriarchs at the birth of

their sons mentioned in Genesis. The Septuagint copy carries this difference down to the founding of the temple, which, according to that text^a, happened in the four hundred and fortieth year of the Exodus, forty years short of the Hebrew^b. The length of the interval from the founding to the burning of the temple, is limited within the four hundred and thirty years^c of God's patience towards the Jews; and is collected out of the years of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah, as they have been collated and adjusted by judicious chronologers^d: so that there is no room for allowing more than forty years to the reign of Solomon, as assigned him in all the copies extant, the Scripture affording means for reconciling the seeming inconsistencies with regard to the ages of him and his son Rehoboam, at their respective accessions to the throne. But here we should be at a great loss (the Babylonish captivity interrupting the course of the Jewish history), if it was not for the opportunity we have of connecting this period with the Nabonassarian or Babylonian æra, by means of the famous astronomical canon of Ptolemy; whereby we are enabled with certainty to carry the account of time down to the birth of Christ, which, according to our supputation, falls in the year of the world 4004, and of the flood 2348.

We have taken the liberty to depart, in one point, from the general method observed hitherto by chronologers; for instead of carrying down our computation from the creation, through the several ages, to the birth of Christ, we discontinue it at the flood, and begin a new reckoning from thence; and this we have been induced to do for several reasons.

1. BECAUSE the period between the creation and the flood contains little memorable, besides the age and death of each patriarch. 2. Because it is a par-

^a Vide Septuag. 1 Kings vi. 1. ^b 1 Kings vi. 1. ^c Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6. ^d See Usher's Chronologia Sacra, pars poster. and Whitton's Short View of the Chronology of the Old Test. p. 83.

ticular period, cut off as it were, from the rest of time, and hath little or no connection with the ages succeeding the deluge. 3. Because at the deluge the old world was destroyed, and from thence a new origination of mankind began, whose affairs have little or no dependence on those of the antediluvians. 4. Because it will help to give the reader a more distinct notion of the distance of time, as derived from a period with which we are more immediately concerned, and beyond which no genuine history of any nation reaches. 5. Because it will bring the several scriptural computations nearer to an agreement among themselves, the great disproportion among them arising chiefly from the difference this period creates. Thus in the whole space of time, from the creation to the birth of Christ, the Septuagint differs from the Hebrew, one thousand three hundred and twenty-six years, and but seven hundred and forty, reckoning from the flood. The difference also between the Septuagint and the Samaritan, reckoning from the creation, is no less, than nine hundred and sixty-five years; and no more than thirty, if you compute from the flood. The Septuagint chronology exceeds that of Josephus six hundred and twelve years, taking in the times preceding the deluge; but, in the space betwixt the deluge and Christ, it is exceeded by that of Josephus by seventy-four years.

INDEED, if we compare the Hebrew and the Samaritan, the case is otherwise; for the difference betwixt those two computations is greater in the interval from the flood of Christ, than from the creation, the Samaritan falling short of the Hebrew in the interval between the creation and the flood, at the same time that it exceeds it in that betwixt the flood and the vocation of Abraham.

UPON these considerations, we have thought fit, throughout the course of our history, to make use of the year of the flood, instead of that of the world, in our marginal synchronisms, and hope the reader will

consider it rather as an improvement, than an innovation in chronology. As for the Julian period, we have intirely omitted it, as a contrivance, which we conceive to be of no manner of use in the historical chronology, how useful soever it may be thought in the technical.

To the year of the flood we have always added that before Christ, which considering the variety of systems that are abroad (every author almost having one of his own), is the more necessary, as it always carries the chronology of the author along with it; for the two sums, being added together, shew the year before the Christian æra, according to that computation, whether Hebrew, Samaritan, or Septuagint, which the author follows. For instance, according to the account founded in the Hebrew whole numbers, Solomon began to build the temple in the year of the flood 1336, and before Christ 1012. These two sums added make 2348; which is the year before the Christian æra by that reckoning; and 2348 being added to 1656, the number of years betwixt the creation and the flood, the sum 4004 gives the year of the world in which the birth of Christ happened, according to the vulgar æra.

WE shall now conclude with candidly owning, that in composing the following work, we have all along taken the liberty (to use the words of an ingenious gentleman, whom we have followed in this respect) “to translate, to imitate, or even literally
“to introduce, any parts of the authors from whom
“we have made our collections, if we found them
“really conducing to the use or ornament of the design, not being able to discover any merit, or cunning, in varying the style and sense of an author,
“for no other purpose than to conceal the ignorance
“of the transcriber, or to destroy an obligation of
“gratitude, which ought to be confessed to all mankind.”

Mr. Lewis, in his Preface to his *Origines Hebrææ*.

As

As to the present edition, we have not only faithfully performed, so far as in us lies, what we have promised in this preface; but have also improved it with many very material additions and alterations, which have occurred to us since, upon a more strict revisal and examination of the whole, or have been suggested with respect to particular histories by our learned correspondents both at home and abroad. To make room for these, some redundancies, which were merely repetitions of the same things, improperly inserted where the scene of action did not lie, have been retrenched; and perhaps on that account a few inaccuracies may have escaped notice, particularly in regard to references: as, for instance, where a second expedition of Attila into Gaul is mentioned; though, according to the most authentic historians, no such expedition ever took place. This may be sufficient to obviate any oversight of the kind: so that we need only further observe, that as the uncommon reception our performance has met with from persons of all ranks and conditions, leaves us no room to doubt of its being generally approved; so it has not only encouraged us to undertake, but laid us under an obligation of pursuing, with the same care and application, the MODERN HISTORY, now publishing: for, after all, without the Modern, the Ancient History would be an imperfect work; and to stop there would be but ill acquitting the obligation we owe to the public for the extraordinary encouragement which we have hitherto met with.

A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts, to the Present Time.

C H A P. I.

From the Creation to the Flood.

S E C T. I.

The Cosmogony, or Creation of the World.

OUR design is to write a General History of mankind, from their original, to our own time: an undertaking of vast extent, which would, perhaps, be scarce practicable, were the histories of all nations now extant, and their series complete. But as many nations entirely neglected their history, at least for several ages; so the histories of many others, who kept some records of past actions, have been either totally, or in part, destroyed by wars, time, misguided zeal, or other casualties. Besides, few nations have been able to give a tolerable account of their original, or early antiquities; the first memory of persons and facts having been preserved by the institution of festivals, the building of cities, erecting of stones, pillars, altars, tombs, and the like monuments, from whence a true series of history could not be accurately deduced and collected, any more than from oral tradition.

But if the want of records has, on the one hand, reduced history into a closer compass, it has, on the other,

VOL. I.

B

occasioned

*Design of
the work,
and the dif-
ficulties
which at-
tend it.*

The COSMOGONY;

occasioned great confusion and uncertainty. For the frequent interruptions, and defects, which occur in the antiquities of nations, drive the historian so often to precarious conjectures, and oblige him to have recourse to so many shifts, to connect and supply them, that his labour seems to be increased by the scarcity of materials; and he is unable, after all, to give his reader satisfaction.

Many other difficulties there are, which attend the execution of this undertaking, especially as to the history of ancient times: such as the numbers of forged and spurious books; the fictions of poets, who were the first historians; the contradictions and partiality of authors; the different computations of time in use among the same, as well as different nations; the want of æras to compute from in some nations, and the multiplicity of them in others; the variety of proper names of the same person and place, and the corruption of them through ignorance, negligence, or design. What adds to the misfortune is, that, if we except the Jews, not one of the histories of those ancient nations, whom the Grecians called Barbarians, written by the natives, or extracted immediately from their records, has come to our hands; nothing remaining of them besides some few fragments, preserved here and there in other writers, which serve only to make us lament their loss, and to shew the inaccuracy of the Greek historians, with regard to foreign nations.

We have thought proper briefly to premise these observations, with regard to the state of ancient history, in order to entitle ourselves to the reader's candour, in passing his judgment upon a performance, wherein there are so many difficulties to struggle with. But, before we enter upon the history itself, we shall give some account of the cosmogony, or the production and formation of this earth; according to the description of Moses, the only account we are at liberty to believe, as the immediate inspiration of the divine Architect, leaving every other system, ancient as well as modern, to the fate of idle speculation destitute of proof, and unsupported by authority.

*Creation of
the world.*

In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. The earth, after its creation, was a dark, fluid, and unformed chaos, or mass of matter, which God, in the space of six days, disposed and reduced into the present form of the world; his Spirit moving or brooding over the surface of the water, or fluid matter.

The first thing that appeared was light: the separation of which from the darkness was the work of the first day.

Then

Then God made an expansion (A), to divide the waters above from those below: which expansion Moses calls heaven; and this was the second day's work.

On the third day, God caused the earth to be drained, and the waters to be gathered together, chiefly into one great receptacle, the ocean; then the dry land appearing, the earth produced all sorts of plants, herbs, and trees, bearing their several seeds and fruits, according to their various kinds.

On the fourth day God made the sun and moon, and placed them in the heavens, to illuminate the earth; to distinguish between day and night, and divide the several seasons of the year: the stars were also made at this period.

On the fifth day God created all the fishes, and inhabitants of the waters; and also the fowls of the air, which were likewise produced out of the water.

On the sixth day God made all the terrestrial animals, the cattle, creeping things, and beasts of the field. And last of all, he created man, forming his body of the dust of the earth, and animating him with a living soul; and of the man he made the woman, taking her out of his side, having first cast him into a profound sleep^a.

This is the substance of what Moses has delivered concerning the creation of the world; which, being short, and rather suited to the capacities of the people he designed to instruct, than written for the satisfaction of a philosophic inquirer, has left room for various explanations, and produced several very different hypotheses, which it is not our province to particularise. Our design is to give a succinct history of the inhabitants, not a philosophical dissertation on the first formation of the earth.

Man then was, by a divine power, created on the sixth day, after the terrestrial animals had been produced; his body was formed out of the dust of the ground, whence he had the name of Adam (B), and his soul immediately

Creation of man;

^a Bib. sacr. Genes. ch. i.

(A) This is the true signification of the Hebrew word, and not Firmament, which was taken from the Greek interpreters.

(B) Adamah in Hebrew signifies Earth, but more properly, as is said, a sort of red earth, or clay. Ludolphus derives it from the Ethiopic Adama, i. e.

to be pleasant, or delightful; which epithets are attributed to the earth for its amenity, and might be to the first man, for his beauty. But this name of Adam, it must be observed, is an appellative, rather than a proper name, and includes even both the sexes.

infused into him by his Creator; in which better and immortal part more evidently consisted that image or resemblance of God, wherein he is said to have been made.

and of woman.

The woman was formed, also, on the same day, out of the side of the man.

That the first pair were created in an adult and perfect state, immediately capable of the full exercise of their natural powers and faculties, is not to be doubted: nor is it to be imagined, but that they both came out of their Maker's hand in the greatest perfection both of body and mind.

Time and season of the creation.

It has been disputed in what season of the year the world was made: which, it is to be presumed, must be meant in respect of the place where Adam was created; for otherwise all the seasons must have been in being at once in different parts of the world. Some suppose the vernal equinox to have been the time; but others the autumnal, which last opinion is the more generally received, and seems to be confirmed from the year's anciently beginning from that time. This indeed was afterwards altered by Moses, who ordered the ecclesiastical year should commence from the vernal equinox, or the month Nisan: but the Jews, in civil affairs, still continued to compute from the former, or the month Tisri^b.

Place where Adam was created.

Another subject of inquiry has been the place where Adam was created. There is an ancient tradition, that it was in Syria, near the place where Damascus now stands; others will have it to have been in Armenia; but it was, most probably, in or near the garden of Eden, the seat designed for him, wherever that was.

Situation of Eden.

Several of the primitive fathers believed, that there never was a local paradise; and that all the Scripture says of it, is to be understood in an allegorical sense: others, who allowed the reality of paradise, have swerved so far from the letter, as to suppose it not to be situated on any part of this terrestrial globe. They have placed it in the third heaven, within the orb of the moon, in the moon itself, in the middle region of the air, above the earth; under the earth; in a recess hidden and removed from the knowledge of men, in the place possessed, at present, by the Caspian sea, under the arctic pole, and under the equator. These, with many more extravagancies, have been collected by several authors^c, some of whom have thought it worth while to give them serious answers.

On

^b Vid. Jacob. Capelle Obsery. in Genes. ^c Steph. Morimur, Dissert. de Parad. Terrest. prefix. Oper. Bocharti, edit. 1702. Moses Bar Ceph, de Paradis, Comment. P. Dan. Huet. de Situ

On the other hand, many of those who have allowed a terrestrial paradise, have fallen into no less absurdity. There is scarce a corner of the earth which has not been ransacked in search of it. They have looked for it in Asia, in Africa, in Europe, in America, in Tartary; upon the banks of the Danube, and the Ganges; in the isle of Ceylon, in Persia, in Armenia, in Mesopotamia, in Chaldaea, in Arabia, in Palestine, in Syria, about the mountains of Libanus and Antilibanus; near the cities of Damascus and Tripoly; in Ethiopia, towards the Mountains of the Moon; and, which will, doubtless, be thought as much out of the way, in Sweden.

This diversity of opinions proceeds partly from that humour which prevailed in the early ages of christianity, of allegorizing all passages of Scripture, which had the least appearance of difficulty in them; and partly from the little agreement to be found betwixt the geography of Moses, and that of the heathen authors, whose imperfections are not yet, perhaps, sufficiently supplied to resolve this difficult problem. As for the Jews, from whom we might have expected some light into matters which concern their own antiquities, they are perfectly ignorant of the geography of their Bible, and have run as much astray as other nations, in their descriptions of paradise: as Josephus, and all the rest of their authors, have supposed the Ganges and the Nile to be two of the four rivers; in which opinion they have been almost unanimously followed by the Christian fathers.

What owing to.

There are several places which bear the name of Eden: we find two mentioned in Scripture, besides that in the Mosaical description, if it be not one of them; viz. one near Damascus in Syria, the other in or about Thelassar, in Chaldaea. Ptolemy places an Addan in this last country, and another on the Euphrates. There is also another Eden in Syria near Tripoly, in the road to Damascus, as the former seems likewise to be. Cartwright, in his Travels, gives an account of an island in the Tigris, called Eden, about twelve miles above Mausel. There is a city near Tarsus in Cilicia, still called Adena; and Aden is a very noted one on the coast of Yaman, or Arabia Felix, a little without the streights of Bab al Mondal: for Eden, or Adan, signifying Pleasure, that name was given to places remarkable for the delightfulness of their situation,

Several Edens.

Situ Paradisi. Burnet's Theory of the Earth. Raleigh's Hist. of the World, &c.

considered either in themselves, or comparatively with the adjacent country.

*Mosaic
paradise
local, not
imaginary.*

It appears plainly from the Mosaic description (C), however preposterous a learned author thinks it, that Moses had no imaginary paradise in view, but a portion of this habitable earth, bounded with countries and rivers very well known in his time, and for many ages after. Eden is as evidently a real country as Ararat, where the ark rested; and Shinaar, where the sons of Noah removed after the flood. We find it mentioned as such in Scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more reason to believe it, because the scenes of these three remarkable events are laid in the neighbourhood of one another, in the Mosaic history; but the Jews having, probably, during the distraction of their affairs about the time of the captivity, lost the remembrance of all the particulars relating to this account of Eden (as indeed they have of most things relating to their antiquities), except that of the rivers Hiddekel and Frat; the Christian inquirers have lost their way for want of guides; and consequently bewildered themselves in strange conjectures. There must always be a difference among men in opinions, where the uncertainty and defectiveness of the proofs leave room for controversy.

According to the most plausible opinion, Eden is placed upon the united stream of the Dijlat, or Hiddekel, and Frat, called by the Arabs Shat al Arab, that is, the river of the Arabs; which^d begins two days journey above Basrah, and about five leagues below divides again into two or three channels, which empty themselves into the Persian Gulph. By this hypothesis, the Shat al Arab is the river passing out of Eden; which river, considered

(^d) Thev. Tray. part ii. chap. 9.

(C) And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison (Fisohn); that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good; there is bdellium (bdolah), and

the onyx-stone (shoham). And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia (Cush). And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of (or eastward to) Assyria (Ashur.) And the fourth river is Euphrates (Perath or Frat.)

according

according to the disposition of its channel, and not according to the course of its stream, divides into four heads, or different branches, which make the four rivers; two below, viz. the two branches of the Shat, which serve for the Pison and Gihon; and two above, viz. the Frat and Dijlat, or the Euphrates and Hiddekel. According to this disposition, the western branch of the Shat will be Pison; and the adjoining part of Arabia, bordering on the Persian Gulph, will be Havilah; and the eastern branch will be the Gihon, incompassing the country of Cush, or Khuzestan, a province of Iran, as it is still named by the Persians.

This opinion was first started by Calvin, and is, with some little variation, followed by Stephanus Morinus, Borchart, and Huet, bishop of Avranches: and indeed all the passages of Scripture, where Eden is mentioned, concur to establish it somewhere hereabouts. The Prophet, speaking of Tyre, says, Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, were thy merchants. Now if Canneh be Calneh, or Calyo, which is taken to be Ctesiphon, or Medain, the seat of the Parthian race of Persian kings, then Eden must have been to the south of that city, according to the order of mentioning the places, which seems to be from north to south. The same order is observed in two other places of the Old Testament, where mention is made of Gozan, Haran, Rezeph, and the children of Eden, which were in Telassar. We may add an argument of some, that the city of Enoch, or, rather, Hanukh, built by Cain, and called after the name of his son, is placed to the east of Eden: and Ptolemy places a city, called Anuchta, in Susiana, or the country of Cush.

*Eden to be
looked for
in Chaldæa*

Though this hypothesis seems the best of any that hath been yet advanced, and accounts tolerably well for the Mosaical description, yet it is liable to exception; which we cannot explain without entering into a disputation foreign to the design of our undertaking.

After all, the Mosaical description does not agree with the state of things, either as they now are, or ever were in all probability: for there is no common stream, of which the four rivers are properly branches; nor can one conceive how a whole land can be incompassed by a river, as Havilah is said to be by the Pison, and Cush by the Gihon, without being an island. But we are to consider Paradise described according to Moses's notion of things, and that imperfect knowledge of the world which they had in those early times. It is absurd in this case to

The Mosaical description of Eden imperfect

S K E T C H *of* G E O G R A P H Y.

allege an alteration made by the deluge in the bounds of countries, or the course of rivers; for Moses describes things as they were supposed to be at the time he wrote; nor is it credible, that the Hiddekel and Frat were branches of a river before, and had springs of their own afterwards.

It is observable, that there is no manner of doubt in authors, with relation to these two rivers; nor indeed is there the least room for it, they having retained their names nearly, if not exactly the same, to this day; for what the Hebrews call Hiddekel, the Arabs, and perhaps the Assyrians and Chaldæans, called Dijlat then, as they do at present; and the Pherath, Forat, or Frat, is called Frat by the neighbouring people: for Euphrates is one of those corrupt names which our translations have borrowed from the Septuagint version, and which probably the Greeks, as Reland judiciously observed, took from the Persians, who often set the word Ab or Au, which signifies Water, before the names of rivers; of which word, and Frat, the name Euphrates is compounded. The other opinion, which forms that name from a conjunction of Frat with the preceding particle Hua, in the Hebrew text, is absurd; as supposing the Greeks first came acquainted with that river, by reading this passage of Moses relating to the situation of Eden^e.

S E C T. II.

Sketch of Geography.

BEFORE we proceed to a regular detail of these events which constitute the history of mankind, it may be necessary to explain some general principles of geography, that the reader having recourse to the maps which are founded on those principles, may conceive a more distinct idea of the scenes of such transactions as we propose to record.

*Of the
artificial
sphere.*

The sphere is a machine consisting of many circles, invented by mathematicians to illustrate the motion of the earth and planets, and to explain the doctrine of the globe, for the more easy attaining the science of geography.

^eId. Reland de Situ Paradis. Calmet. Dict. de la Bible, p. 150.
Thomson. Travels, part ii. chap. 9. Terceira, Journey from
Barrab to Aleppo.

Every

Every circle is divided into 360 equal parts, which we call degrees: each degree into 60 more equal parts, called minutes.

The plane of a circle means that surface on which it is drawn; and if the surface be supposed of an infinite extent from the center, it is still called the plane of that circle. But circles are said to be in different planes, when the surfaces, on which they are made, incline to, or intersect each other.

The axis is that line which we conceive to pass through the middle of the earth, and on which the whole mass turns round; represented in the artificial globe by a wire. The two extremities of the axis are called the poles of the equator: and if the axis be imagined to reach the stars, one point is called the arctic, and the other the antarctic, or the north and south poles of the world.

The principal great circles are these:

1. The equator is a great circle going from east to west, which parts the globe into the north and south hemispheres. It is named the equator, or equinoctial line, because when the sun arrives there the nights and days are equal. It is also divided into 360 degrees, reckoning eastward from the first meridian.

2. The horizon is that great circle which parts the upper hemisphere from the lower, or the visible from the invisible hemisphere. So much of the earth as we comprehend in our view, in a circular manner when we stand on a plain, is called the sensible horizon. It is a moveable circle, having the zenith point over the spectator's head, and the nadir point under his feet, for its two poles. But the rational horizon is to suppose the eye at the center of the earth, viewing the whole celestial hemisphere upwards; which is represented by a broad wooden circle incompassing the globe, on which are described several other circles. The inner one is divided into twelve equal parts, shewing the twelve signs of the zodiac, each of which is subdivided into thirty degrees, marked 10, 20, 30. The next contains a calendar according to the old style, divided into months and days; and the other is a calendar according to the new style.

3. The meridian is a great circle, dividing the globe into the east and west hemispheres: it lies directly north and south, passing through the poles of the equator. The meridian is changable, being properly that part of the heavens where the sun is at noon: so that every place on the earth has a different meridian if we move east or west; but

but passing north or south it remains the same. The meridians marked on the globe are twenty-four semicircles ending in the poles, which we may multiply at pleasure; for geographers usually settle one meridian from whence they reckon the longitude of any place east or west. The globe hangs in a brass circle, on which is placed another small brass one called the horary circle: this is divided into twenty-four equal parts, and describes the hours of day and night; which, in turning of the globe, are pointed out by an index fitted to the pole. This is to shew the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars; or the time of day in all parts of the earth. The degrees of latitude are marked on any meridian line; but in maps, always on the two outermost.

4. There are two other meridians called colures, which being also great circles, cut the sphere into four equal parts. The solstice colure goes through the poles, and cuts the ecliptic at the first degree of Cancer and Capricorn: the equinox colure goes likewise through the poles, but cuts the ecliptic at the beginning of Aries and Libra. By these the seasons are distinguished; for when the earth in its annual course passes under the equinox colure, then commence the spring and autumn; but when it passes under the solstice colure, the winter and summer begin.

5. The ecliptic is a great oblique circle, cutting the equator at angles of 23 degrees 29 minutes. It describes the annual course of the earth, north and south: but the course of the planets and moon lies 8 degrees farther on each side; which broad part of the sphere is commonly called the zodiac, containing 16 degrees; the ecliptic being that circle in the middle which is divided into 12 signs, each containing 30 degrees.

6. There are two more great circles, called vertical and azimuth circles. These are perpendicular to the horizon, and pass through the zenith and nadir. They are not drawn on the globe, but represented by the quadrant of altitude, which is a very thin plate of brass made to screw on the zenith of any place, and to reach the horizon; being also divided into 90 degrees, for taking the altitude of the sun or stars when they are not on the meridian.

The lesser circles are four:

The two tropics are those of Cancer and Capricorn: the first is 23 degrees 29 minutes north from the equator, and the other is the same distance to the south. On all globes and maps they are known by a double line.

The two remaining circles are still smaller, called the
arctic

arctic or polar circles. The north pole circle is distant 23 degrees 29 minutes from the north pole, and the south pole circle is equidistant from the south pole.

The cardinal points are the four quarters of the world, east, west, north, and south.

The collateral points are the principal divisions and subdivisions of the four chief; in all thirty-two.

1. The earth being divided into five parts by the two tropics and the two pole circles, those five parts are named zones. Two temperate, two frigid, and the torrid zone.

The north temperate zone includes all the land between the tropic of Cancer and the north pole circle: and the south temperate zone includes all between the tropic of Capricorn and the south pole circle.

Of the variety of situations, to climate latitudes, and different spheres.

The two frigid zones contain all the land from the two polar circles to the very poles. These, by the ancients, were thought uninhabitable; but navigators have discovered many well peopled countries within the arctic circle, almost round the north pole; though none has yet been discovered within the antarctic or south frigid zone.

The torrid zone includes all the space between the two tropics, the equator being in the middle. The whole is thoroughly inhabited, though it lies under the full annual course of the sun; for which reason the ancients thought it could not be peopled for extreme heat, any more than the frigid zones for extreme cold.

The temperate zones contain in latitude each 43 degrees 2 minutes, being the space between each tropic and the pole circle. The frigid zones contain each $46^{\circ} 58'$; that is to say, $23^{\circ} 29'$ on either side the pole: and the torrid zone, in like manner, contains $46^{\circ} 58'$ latitude; that is, $23^{\circ} 29'$ on each side the equator.

2. The zones are divided into climates, which exhibit the different length of days over all parts of the globe. A climate is a certain space of the earth parallel to the equator, whose longest day exceeds, by half an hour, the longest day of the preceding climate. The ancient geographers made but fourteen, that is, seven on either side the equator to 50 degrees and a half; but we now include the poles, and divide each hemisphere into thirty climates.

3. The exact situation of cities and places, where the inhabitants of the earth reside, is more particularly called their latitude and longitude. Latitude is the distance of any place from each side the equator to either of the poles; which

which distance being but 90 degrees each, no latitude can exceed that number.

Longitude is the distance of a place from the first, or some other meridian. When Ptolemy invented the way of distinguishing the situation of places, he did it by parallel and meridian lines; the latter passing round the globe through the equator and poles, and the former lying parallel to the equator; which parallel lines were found very convenient for marking the latitude into degrees and minutes. Then for longitude, he fixed upon Teneriff, one of the Canary islands, as the most western part of the then known world; which having a very high mountain, was a good mark for mariners, and the fittest place from whence to begin a general computation. Accordingly, all the old maps begin their east longitude from Teneriff; and because then only one side of the globe was known, the degrees were only 180: but since the discovery of America, they are carried quite round to 360. This method was always esteemed, and Teneriff reckoned a good standard meridian, till the French, who like nothing which they themselves do not invent, thought proper to alter it, and make the island Ferro their new meridian, which by late observation lies just two degrees more west. Wherefore, to prevent confusion, our modern geographers and delineators of maps make the metropolis of their own nation the first real meridian: and in this case longitude is twofold, being, from London, either west or east; as at sea it is computed from some known port or headland.

The longitude of any place from London being known, the difference in the hour of the day is also known. For as the sun performs his diurnal circuit in 24 hours, he gains in each hour 15 degrees, being a 24th part of 360, or one degree in four minutes. So that at any place 15 degrees east of us, noon is an hour sooner with them, as it is an hour latter with those who live 15 degrees west from us. The town of Pembroke in Wales, being five degrees west of London, their noon is therefore 20 minutes later. If a clock, or any time-piece could be so made as to go equal and true at any season or distance, the theory of longitude at sea would be no more a mystery: but as that is impracticable, our modern astronomers have contented themselves with observing the solar and lunar eclipses: for if their appearances and calculations are exactly known with us, and the same appearances are observed in any other part of this globe, the difference

difference arising from those times will settle the difference in longitude. The eclipses also of Jupiter's moons, and the spheroidal figure of the earth, two important discoveries of the seventeenth century, will each, in their turn, lead us farther on to a true system of longitude.

Lastly, though all degrees of latitude are equal in length, yet degrees of longitude vary in every new parallel of latitude: for all the meridian lines meeting and intersecting each other at the poles, the degrees of longitude do naturally diminish as they proceed either way from the equator.

The magnitude or circumference of the earth has generally been reckoned not less than 25000 British miles: but as the truth of that computation entirely depends on what precise number of statute miles a degree of latitude contains, the circumference of the earth could never yet be exactly determined. The first experiment for this discovery, which came near the truth, was made by our countryman Mr. Norwood, in 1635. He having, in two different years during the summer solstice, taken the sun's altitude at London and York, with a sector of five foot radius, found their difference in latitude to be 2 degrees 28 minutes: then he measured their distance; and, allowing for hills and turnings, brought it to an arc of the meridian containing 9149 chains; which, compared with the difference in latitude, gave him 3709 chains to a degree; that is, 367,196 foot English. Our statute measure for a mile being 5280 foot, Norwood's degree is therefore 69 miles, and 2876 foot over.

In the reign of Lewis XIV. the French Royal Academy of Sciences made a second trial; and Mr. Picard determined the arc of the meridian between Amiens and Malvoisine to be 78850 toises. He had a sector of ten foot radius, that bore a telescope of the same length, with which he observed the difference in latitude of those two places to be $1^{\circ} 22' 55''$, and from thence found a degree to contain 57060 toises. Note, a toise is a fathom of six French foot. The English foot is smaller than the Paris foot; for 15 French feet make 16 English: so that Norwood's degree exceeds that of Picard's above a quarter of a mile.

Norwood, as above, in English,	367,196
Picard, reduced to the same,	365,184

Difference,	2,012
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Picard's

Picard's due care in the experiment gave such satisfaction, that the king ordered the whole meridian of France to be measured in the same manner; which was performed by Cassini the mathematician, in 1718. He divided the meridian into two axes, which he measured separately; and the whole arc from Dunkirk to Callioure gave him 57060 toises to a degree, the very same as Picard.

Muffenbroek likewise measured a degree in Holland, and found it to be 27 toises less than Picard.

While the earth was believed to be a perfect sphere, it was enough to find the true length of any one degree of latitude: because one would confirm all the rest: but since the establishment of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy, the figure of the earth is understood to be that of a spheroid, gradually flattened towards the poles: so that a degree of the meridian at those places must be longer than any ^f where else (D).

Having

f Complete System of Geography.

(D) In all maps the north is at top, the south at bottom; the east on the right, and the west on the left: or, if it be otherwise, it is always expressed either by words on each side, or by a mariner's compass, wherein the mark of a flower-de-luce always denotes the north.

Maps are laid down and proportioned to a certain scale, which is always taken from the degrees of latitude.

The degrees of latitude are always marked on the east and west side of the map.

The degrees of longitude are always marked on the north and south side of the map.

A degree of latitude is always of the same breadth: wherefore the distance of two places seated directly north and south, is immediately known by knowing the different latitudes. But a degree of longitude is of different extent.

The latitude and longitude

of a place being known, you may find it immediately in the map by drawing a line or thread across the map both ways; and where the two lines cut one another, the place stands.

The earth being a globe, a map of the whole earth must necessarily consist of two parts, both sides of the globe not being visible at once: accordingly in a universal map, the right hand circle shews the old world, or Europe, Asia, and Africa: and the left hand circle shews the new world, or America.

Upon the general map are marked the circles correspondent to those in the sphere, namely, the equinoctial line, the two tropics, and the two polar circles, all which cross the map from east to west; and the first meridians surrounding the two hemispheres from north to south, the parallels lying from north to south

Having thus sketched out the general lines of geography, together with the division of the globe, we shall now proceed to the more particular history of the first human pair, whose posterity now inhabitate under such a variety of religions, laws, customs, tongues, temperaments, and complexions.

at ten degrees distance; and the meridians at the same distance from west to east, are also marked upon general maps.

Particular maps, being parts of this, retain the meridians and parallels belonging to that particular part; which are made smaller or larger, as the paper on which it is drawn will admit, and the distance of places mentioned in it are always exactly proportioned to the breadth of the parallels. So that let a map be ever so small, the distance of places is exactly shown, if measured according to the degrees of latitude in that particular map.

In both general and particular maps, the thick shadowing denotes the sea coast. Rivers are marked by large shadowed serpentine lines; roads by double lines; divisions of countries by dotted lines; larger for provinces, and smaller for subdivisions; and divisions of nations are often shewn by chain lines. Forests are represented by trees; mountains by rising shadows; sands by dott-

ed beds; marshes by shadowed beds; lakes by shadowed coasts.

The names of provinces are written in large capitals; and smaller divisions, in smaller capitals; great cities in round Roman characters; smaller towns in Italic.

The exact situation of a town is shewn by a little round o, but larger places have the addition of a church for a market town, if the size of the map will admit. A city is noted by a church with houses about it, as much as the scale will allow. Particular qualifications of cities are distinguished by marks, as a bishoprick has a cross, or sometimes a mitre over it. An archbishoprick, has a double cross over it. An university has a star, or sometimes a caduceus. An abbey is shewn by a crook, or pastoral staff. A fortress, by angles like bastions. A castle, by a little flag. A gentleman's seat, by an house only. Other marks are affected by particular engravers, which they explain in the margin.

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A. M.

I.

Ante Chr.

4004.

S E C T. III.

Of the Fall of Man.

Adam placed in paradise, and forbidden the tree of knowledge.

GOD having placed Adam in the garden of Eden, to dress and to keep it, gave him leave to eat freely of the fruit of every tree, except that of knowledge of good and evil, which he strictly commanded him not to taste, upon pain of death, the certain consequence of his disobedience.

Takes Eve to wife.

The first thing which Adam did after his introduction into paradise, and the very day of his creation, was to give names to all the beasts and birds, which presented themselves before him, to perform their homage.

God, having formed Eve out of his side, brought her to him: when knowing her to be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, he took her to wife, and lived with her, free from any sense of shame, though they were both naked.

The continuance of the state of innocence.

How long they continued in this happy condition, is very uncertain: it is probable they did not immediately transgress the divine command; but it should seem, by the narration of Moses, that their fall was not long after their creation. The Jews in general, and most of the Christian fathers, believe it to have been on the very day they were created, but this is next to impossible; for a day would be a great deal too short for the several actions, that must on that supposition have been comprised in it. Besides, God himself, after the sixth day was past, declared (as at the end of the preceding days) every thing to be very good; which is not reconcileable with truth, if sin, the greatest evil, had then entered into the world. Some therefore conjectured, that this calamity happened the eighth day, and others the tenth, of the world's age; supposing that, in commemoration thereof, the great day of expiation, being the tenth day of the year, was instituted in after-times. If we can subscribe to the opinion of those who make a day and a year to have been the same before the fall, there is indeed no difficulty in supposing it even on the sixth day.

The fall as related by Moses.

The fall of man is succinctly related by Moses, in the following manner: the serpent, being more subtle than

any beast of the field, asked the woman, whether it was true that God had not granted her and her husband leave to eat of every tree in the garden: she answered, that God had allowed them to eat of all, except only the fruit of the tree in the midst of the garden; which he commanded they should not taste, nor so much as touch, lest they should die. The serpent replied, that they should not die; for God knew the virtue of the tree; and that, so soon as they eat of it, their eyes would be opened, and they would become like Gods, knowing good and evil. Eve, seeing the fruit tempting to the view, took of the fruit and ate; and gave also to her husband of it, and he did eat. Immediately the eyes of both were opened, when perceiving they were naked, they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons. Adam and Eve, hearing the voice of God walking in the garden in the cool of the day, hid themselves among the trees; but, on God's calling for Adam, he excused himself for not appearing, because he was naked. God demanded of him, who it was that told him he was naked; and whether he had disobeyed his command, in eating the forbidden fruit. Adam confessed that the woman had offered him the fruit, and he had tasted it. She, being examined likewise, acknowledged what she had done; but said, the serpent had seduced and deceived her. God then proceeded to judgment; he first cursed the serpent above all beasts, and condemned him to go on his belly, and eat the dust; adding, that he would put enmity between him and the woman, and their offspring; that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, who should bruise the other's heel. The woman was subjected to the pains of childbirth, as well as to the dominion of her husband; and as to the man, God cursed the ground for his sake, declaring, that it should bring forth thorns and thistles, and he should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, till he returned to the dust, from whence he was taken. At last, having clothed them both with skins, he turned them out of the garden, lest they should take of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever: then, to prevent any attempt to return to their former habitation, he placed cherubim at the east of the garden, and a flaming sword, which turned every way, to guard the passage to the tree of life^a.

This concise account being, at first view, incumbered with some improbabilities, several learned and pious men

Objections to the letter of that relation.

^a Genes. ch. iii.

A. M.
1.
Ante Chr.
4004.

have been inclined to believe the whole ought to be taken in an allegorical sense, and not according to the strictness of the letter: they allege, that the ancients, and particularly the eastern nations, had two different ways of delivering their divinity and philosophy, one popular, and the other mysterious; that the Scripture uses both occasionally; sometimes accommodating itself to the capacities of the people, and at other times to the real, but more veiled truth; and that, to obviate the many difficulties which occur in the literal history of this sad catastrophe, the safest way is to understand it as a parabolical story, under which the real circumstances are disguised and concealed, as a mystery not fit to be more explicitly declared.

Though it cannot be denied that some of the ancient philosophers affected such an allegorical way of writing, to conceal their notions from the vulgar, and keep their learning within the bounds of their own school; yet, it is apparent Moses had no such design; and, as he pretends only to relate matters of fact, just as they happened, without art or disguise, it cannot be supposed but that this history of the fall is to be taken in a literal sense, as well the rest of his writings.

The circumstances of the aprons and coats explained.

When the effect produced by the intoxicating juice of the forbidden tree wore off, and the criminals began to retrieve their senses, the eyes of their understanding were opened, and they perceived their own nakedness (E), and the foul degradation of their nature; to conceal which, as far as they were able, they twisted or platted the flexible branches of the fig-tree round their waists; so that the broad leaves hanging down might serve them instead of aprons (F).

(E) By *perceiving* their nakedness, a late writer conceives, no more is meant than that they were sensible of their transgression. Thus, after the golden calf was consecrated, Moses is said to have seen the people naked, Exod. xxxii. 25. And in the New Testament γυμνός is sometimes taken for a sinner. Others, indeed, suppose, that the fruit of this forbidden tree provoked our first parents to lust, and some indecent motions of the body: *see* according to the modesty

of the Hebrew tongue, *nakedness* may well enough denote an irregular appetite to venereal pleasures; and this is the opinion of St. Austin.

(F) The original word, which is translated *sewed*, signifies no more than to *put together*, to *apply*, or *fit*, in which sense it is used Job xvi. 15. and Ezek. xiii. 18. And, that which we render *leaves*, signifies also, *branches of trees*, such as were fit to make booths or bowers, Nehem. viii. 15.

Judgment being passed on all that were concerned in this unhappy affair, it is said that God, before he drove Adam and Eve out of Paradise, clothed them with skins. It is common for the Hebrew tongue verbally to attribute things to God, which are not done by his immediate act, but by his direction, or even by the permission of his ordinary providence; so that it is probable, Adam and Eve only received instructions how to clothe themselves.

As to the cherubim and flaming sword, placed to guard the way of the tree of life, there are several opinions concerning them. They who place Paradise in the southern hemisphere, conceive the sword to have been no more than the torrid zone, which, in the parallel situation the earth is then supposed to have had, must have been a region of flame intolerably hot, like a furnace; and, consequently, impassable: its encompassing the whole earth sufficiently answering the Mosaic description, that it turned every way. Others have thought that it was a wall or circle of fire, encompassing Paradise (G); and that this flame was an accension of some inflammable matter round about the garden; which opinion may be more probable to those who place Paradise about Babylon, where there is such an abundance of naptha and bitumen, and where there are fields, which, even yet, at some time of the year, seem all on fire. If it be objected, that the cherubim had nothing to do with such a wall; it is answered, that it is usual for the Scriptures to express all extraordinary works of God by angels; as to call a plague, or famine, a destroying angel, and the like. Some rabbins are of opinion, that this flaming sword was an angel; which they found on that passage where it is said, that God maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire. And hence it has been imagined, that this flaming sword, which was esteemed by the Jews a second angel, was of a different kind from the cherubim, viz. a seraph, or flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery serpent, whose body vibrated in the air with lustre, and may be fitly described by the image of such a sword¹.

A. M.
1.
Ante Chr.
4004.

The cherubim and flaming sword, what.

¹ Tennyson.

(G) The words commonly rendered *flaming sword*, are, in the original, the *flame of cutting*, or *division*, or a *dividing flame*; for the same word which signifies a *sword*, signifies also *division*; and is, in the New Testament, translated both ways.

The General History to the Flood.

M. Having thus examined the circumstances of the fall, it
 Chr. may be proper to consider the effects it had upon our first
 104. parents and their posterity, and also upon the ground,
 which was cursed for their sake.

*Effects
of fall,
and
in the
end.* The unhappy pair did not, indeed, die immediately;
 but they became subject to death, which continually hung
 over their heads; the time they had to live being but as
 the space between a criminal's condemnation and his execu-
 tion. They had lost God's favour, and forfeited Para-
 dise: the necessaries of life were not now to be gotten but
 by hard labour of the man, and child-birth was to be at-
 tended with great pain in the woman; so that the re-
 membrance of their past happiness, and the prospect of
 the innumerable miseries to which they had made them-
 selves and their offspring obnoxious, must needs have fill-
 ed them with regret and despair. For since they could not,
 by generation, transmit any thing to their posterity, but
 what they had themselves, their descendants were destin-
 ed, in like manner, to undergo the troubles of life, and
 the pains and agonies of death, the necessary consequences
 of Adam's transgression. But that we are thereby be-
 come the objects of God's wrath, and deserving eternal
 damnation, by the imputation of the guilt of Adam's sin
 (which is the doctrine of St. Austin and his disciples,
 thence named Supralapsarians), has seemed to many a
 very harsh opinion, and to reflect on the goodness and
 justice of God ^k.

The fruits of the earth were at first spontaneous; and
 the soil, without being torn and tormented, satisfied the
 wants and desires of man; but, upon his apostacy from
 God, as a punishment for his sin, God cursed the ground,
 which immediately brought forth thorns and thistles: for
 we must not suppose, with some, that the original ferti-
 lity of the earth continued till the destruction brought up-
 on it by the universal deluge. The deluge was, indeed,
 the completion of the curse, but some considerable effects
 of it appeared before: otherwise, how could Adam be
 said to eat bread in sorrow, and in the sweat of his face,
 all the days of his life? As the earth was impoverished
 on man's transgression, so the air and other elements be-
 came disordered, in some measure unwholesome, and
 sometimes fatal. Hence proceeded famines, pestilences,
 earthquakes, storms, and all manner of natural calamities
 which caused an innumerable variety of diseases and dis-
 tempers.

^k See Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, p. 295, &c.

There was also a considerable difference between the condition of the woman before the fall, and that which she has since been in; particularly, she was then in a state of greater equality with the man, and less subject to sorrow in the propagation of posterity than at present.

Wherein the fecundity and amenity of the primitive earth consisted, and by what means it became so much altered for the worse, we cannot pretend to shew. The change is, indeed, presently accounted for, if we have recourse to the Divine interposition, and suppose that the sterility of the earth, the malignity of the air, and the general depravation of nature, was effected by God, or his subordinate agents. But to assign a probable natural cause of such effects, is not a task so easy (H).

A. M.
Ante Chr.
4004.

S E C T. IV.

The Chronology from the Creation to the Deluge stated.

BEFORE we enter on the history of the antediluvian world, it will be necessary, that we should settle the chronology of this period.

As Moses has not set down the particular time of any transaction before the flood, except only the years of the fathers age, wherein the several descendants of Adam, in the line of Seth, were begotten, and the length of their several lives; all we can do, in this period, is, to endeavour to fix the years of the lives and deaths of those patriarchs, and the distance of time from the creation to the deluge.

This might be easily done, if there were no varities in the several copies we now have of Moses's writings, which are, the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Greek version of the Septuagint: but as these differ very considerably from one another, learned men are much divided in their opinions concerning the chronology of the first ages of the world; some preferring one copy, and some another.

That the reader may the better judge of the variations in the three copies in this period, we shall, in the fol-

(H) Those who are inclined may consult Burnet and Whiston, to amuse themselves with ingenious theories on this subject,

The General History to the Flood.

Following table, subjoin the numbers of each; to which we take the liberty to add those of Josephus, as corrected by Dr. Wells and Mr. Whiston, the numbers in the present copies of that historian being greatly corrupted.

A TABLE of the Years of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

Their ages at their sons birth.					Years they lived after the sons birth.			Length of their lives.		
	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Jof.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
Adam, -	130	130	230	130	800	800	700	930	930	930
Seth, -	105	105	205	105	807	807	707	912	912	912
Enoch, -	90	90	190	90	815	815	715	905	905	905
Methuselah, -	70	70	170	70	840	840	740	910	910	910
Lamech, -	65	65	165	65	830	830	730	895	895	895
Noah, -	162	62	162	62	800	785	800	852	847	962
Shem, -	65	65	165	65	300	300	200	365	365	365
Ham, -	187	67	167	187	782	653	802	969	746	969
Japheth, -	182	53	188	182	595	600	565	777	653	753
Noah was aged at the Flood, }	600	600	600	600						
At the Flood, 1656	1307	2262	1556							

To this table it will be necessary, in order to explain the consequences of these variations, to add separate chronological tables, shewing in what year of his contemporaries the birth and death of each patriarch happened, according to the computation of each of the said three copies.

*A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the Patriarchs,
according to the Computation of the Hebrew.*

	Years of the world.	Years of Seth.	Years of Enos.	Years of Cainan.	Years of Mahalaleel.	Years of Jared.	Years of Enoch.	Years of Methufelah.	Years of Lamech.	Years of Noah.
Adam created,	1									
Seth born,	130									
Enos born,	235	105								
Cainan born,	325	195	90							
Mahalaleel born,	395	265	160	70						
Jared born,	460	330	225	135	65					
Enoch born,	622	492	387	297	227	162				
Methufelah born,	687	557	452	362	292	227	65			
Lamech born,	874	744	639	549	479	414	252	187		
Adam dies,	930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56	
Enoch translated,	987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113	
Seth dies,	1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168	
Noah born,	1056		821	731	661	596		369	182	
Enos dies,	1140		905	817	745	680		453	266	84
Cainan dies,	1235			910	840	775		548	361	179
Mahalaleel dies,	1290				895	830		603	416	234
Jared dies,	1422					962		735	548	366
Japhet born,	1556							869	682	500
Shem born,	1558							871	684	502
Lamech dies,	1651							964	777	595
Methufelah dies,	1656							969		600
The Flood, - -										

A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the Septuagint.

	Years of he world.	Years of Seth.	Years of Enos.	Years of Cainan.	Years of Mahalaleel.	Years of Jared.	Years of Enoch.	Years of Methuselah.	Years of Lamech.	Years of Noah.
Adam created,	1									
Seth born,	230									
Enos born,	435	205								
Cainan born,	625	395	190							
Mahalaleel born,	795	565	360	170						
Adam dies,	930	700	495	305	135					
Jared born,	960	730	525	335	165					
Enoch born,	1122	892	687	497	327	162				
Seth dies,	1142	912	707	517	347	182				
Methuselah born,	1387		852	662	442	327	165			
Enos dies,	1340		905	715	545	380	218			
Lamech born,	1474			849	679	514	352	187		
Enoch translated,	1487			862	692	527	365	200		
Cainan dies,	1535			910	740	575		248	61	
Noah born,	1662				867	702		375	188	
Mahalaleel dies,	1690				895	730		403	216	28
Jared dies,	1922					962		635	448	260
Japhet born,	2162							875	688	500
Shem born,	2164							877	690	502
Lamech dies,	2227							940	753	565
Methuselah dies,	2256							696		594
The Flood,	2252									600

A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the Patriarchs, according to the Computation of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

	Years of the world.	Years of Seth.	Years of Enos.	Years of Cainan.	Years of Mahalaleel.	Years of Jared.	Years of Enoch.	Years of Methufelah.	Years of Lamech.	Years of Noah.
Adam created,	1									
Seth born,	130									
Enos born,	235	105								
Cainan born,	325	195	90							
Mahalaleel born,	395	265	160	70						
Jared born,	460	330	225	135	65					
Enoch born,	525	392	287	197	127	62				
Methufelah born,	587	457	352	262	192	127	65			
Lamech born,	654	524	419	329	259	194	132	67		
Noah born,	707	577	472	382	312	247	185	120	53	
Enoch translated,	887	757	652	562	497	427	365	300	233	180
Adam dies,	930	800	695	605	535	470		343	276	323
Seth dies,	1042	912	807	717	647	582		462	388	335
Enos dies,	1140		905	815	745	680		553	486	433
Japhet born,	1207			882	812	747		620	553	500
Shem born,	1209			884	814	749		622	555	502
Cainan dies,	1235			910	840	775		648	581	528
Mahalaleel dies,	1290				895	830		703	636	583
Jared, Methu- felah, and La- mech, die,	1307		The Flood,		847			720	653	600

To the varieties exhibited in the two last tables, others might be added, by admitting the various readings of some numbers in the Samaritan and Septuagint: for as to the Hebrew copies, there is here a constant agreement among them (I).

The manuscript from which the Samaritan Pentateuch was published (K), agrees exactly with the Samaritan

(I) It is observable, that the Hebrew numbers were exactly the same when the two Talmuds were composed; and that the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, which is allowed to have been written about the time of our Saviour, does also agree with the Hebrew chronology.

(K) This MS. was written A. D. 1404. Vid. Joan. Marin. in præf. ed. Septuag. Gr. Lat. Paris, 1618.

A. M.
 Ante Chr.
 4004.

numbers given by Eusebius¹. But St. Jerom tells us^m, that, in his time, there were some Samaritan copies which make Methuselah 187 years old at the birth of Lamech, and Lamech 182 at the birth of Noah, just as the Hebrew does. Now if these numbers be approved as the true original numbers, the interval from the creation to the flood will be 1556 years (L); differing from the Hebrew computation but 100 years in the age of Jared at the birth of Enoch: and if this last be allowed to be a mistake of the transcriber, by his dropping a number, and writing 62 instead of 162, as has been suspected, the Samaritan will be perfectly reconciled with the Hebrew, and all difference between them vanish (M).

Scaliger, on the authority of an old Samaritan chronicle, having at the end a table of the years of the patriarchs to the time of Moses, would correct two of the Samaritan numbers in Eusebius; viz. instead of 65, the age of Mahalaleel when he begat Jared, he thinks it should be 75; and instead of 67, the age of Methuselah when he begat Lamech, he would have it 77ⁿ. By which alterations he reckons 20 years more to the flood than Eusebius and the manuscript; that is, 1327 (N). But as he acknowledges the table, whereon he grounds these corrections, contains some great absurdities, it seems unreasonable to oppose it to the joint authority of Eusebius and the Samaritan manuscript.

As to the Septuagint, in the common editions of that version, the age of Methuselah at the birth of Lamech is 167; and consequently the sum of this period, according to them, is no more than 2242. But in this case Methuselah will outlive the flood 14 years; and we may well

¹ In Chronic. Græc. p. 3, 4.
 Scaliger. in Græc. Euseb. p. 403.

^m Inquæst. in Genes. ⁿ Scaliger.

(L) Mr. Whiston, allowing of these two corrections, which are supported by the attestation of Josephus, follows this computation in his chronological table.

(M) This is the hypothesis of father Tournenime, who, in his Samaritan chronology, reckons 1656 years to the deluge.

(N) It is remarkable, that Scaliger, taking the Samaritan

numbers to be brought down no lower than to the birth of Noah, computes 1947 years to the flood, according to that chronology; wherein he is again mistaken 20 years, in the adding of the 600 years of Noah's life to the former number. And he, at the same time, quarrels with Syncellus for not committing the same fault.

wonder, with Eusebius, where he was preserved. To obviate this objection, we are told, that, in some copies, Methuselah is said to have lived but 782 (not 802) years after the birth of Lamech, and no more than 949 in all. But the Alexandrian manuscript entirely takes away the difficulty, by giving the same number in this place with the Hebrew.

A. M.
Ante Chr.
4004.

Pezron is of opinion, that the age of Lamech at the birth of Noah should be but 182, as it is both in the Hebrew and in Josephus, supposing, with St. Austin^o, that the present number is the error of the scribe, who first copied the original Septuagint manuscript in Ptolemy's library. So that he computes 2256 years to the flood. And, if this correction be admitted, and one more mentioned also by St. Austin, viz. that Lamech lived 595 years after the birth of Noah, and not 565, as in the present copies, there will remain no other difference between the Septuagint and the Hebrew than 600 years added to the ages of the six patriarchs when they begat their sons^p, and Methuselah will, conformably to the Hebrew and Samaritan, die in the year of the flood.

As we have chosen to follow, in this edition, the chronology of the learned Usher, grounded on the Hebrew whole numbers, after the flood, we have done the same in our calculations in this period; which may, with very little trouble, be reduced to the chronology of the Samaritan or Septuagint, by those who prefer the accounts of those copies.

S E C T. V.

The History of the Antediluvian Patriarchs.

WHERE Adam dwelt after his expulsion from Paradise is uncertain; but it is likely he did not remove far off. He now consummated his marriage with Eve, which, as the words of Moses seem to imply, he had not done before the fall^a. The eldest son of Adam, named Cain, was born probably in the first year of the world; and his second, Abel, the year following (O). When they

^o Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xv. ^p Vid. Pezron. l'Antiquité de Tems rétablie, p. 57, & Capelli Chron. Sacr. ^a Genes. iii. 24. iv. 1.

(O) The name Cain signifies an acquisition, or possession, being derived (though not very regularly) from the verb kana,

A. M.
129.
Ante Chr.
3875.

they were grown up, they betook themselves to distinct employments; the former to husbandry, and the latter to the keeping of sheep. Their inward dispositions were still more different, Cain being wicked and avaritious, but Abel just and virtuous^r.

Cain and
Abel, their
offerings.

In process of time the two brothers brought their respective offerings to God. Cain of the fruit of the ground, and Abel of the firstlings of his flock; but they met with very different success: for God accepted the offering of Abel, but Cain's he did not accept (P). At this preference, Cain was so enraged, and transported with envy against his brother, that he could not help shewing it by his countenance. God, however, condescended to expostulate the matter with him, and asked him what reason he had to be angry; since, if he did well, he should be accepted; and he could blame none but himself for what was the consequence of his own ill behaviour: in particular, he observed, that he could not justly be angry with Abel, who had no design to supplant him; but would always pay him the respect due to an elder brother. This admonition had so little effect on Cain, that, with the first convenient opportunity, when they were together in the field, he rose up against Abel his brother, and

^r Josephus Ant. lib. i. cap. 2.

to acquire. Abel, or rather Hebel, signifies *vanity*, and not *mourning*, as Josephus and Eusebius suppose.

(P) Though the difference put by God between the two offerings can be attributed to nothing but the wickedness and ill disposition of Cain, and the righteousness and faith of Abel; yet it has been imagined, that Cain's ill success was owing to some defect in his offering, or his presenting the worst part of it to God, and reserving the best to himself. The reason given by Josephus is very frivolous: he says, that God was more delighted with Abel's offering, as being the spontaneous production of nature; and displeased with

Cain's, because it was forced by the art and industry of a covetous man.

In what visible manner God declared his acceptance of Abel's offering, is not expressed by Moses. The common opinion is, that fire from heaven descended on the sacrifice, and consumed it, but did not touch Cain's. This is supported by the version of Theodotion, who translates the word, which we render *had respect unto*, into *immolation*, he set on fire; the usual sign whereby God has been pleased to testify his approbation in other instances. The Mohammedans likewise affirm the same thing. And the Heathens themselves boasted of the like extraordinary

and slew him (Q), and buried his body in hopes of concealing the murder^a.

After the commission of this horrid fact, Cain being questioned by God about his brother, returned an evasive answer, that he knew not what was become of him, churlishly asking, If he was his brother's keeper? But God soon convinced him, that what he had done was not hid from him; and, as a punishment, condemned him to be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth, and to till an ungrateful soil, which should not reward his labour with the plenty and increase he had before experienced. This sentence, though it fell short of the heinousness of his guilt, was yet thought too severe by Cain, who complained, that "his punishment was greater than he could bear;" since he was to be banished from the presence of God, and from his near relations; and that, being a vagabond and friendless, he would be in danger of being killed by the next that should meet him (R).

A. M.
129.
Ante Chr.
3875.

Abel murdered.

Cain's punishment.

But

^a Genes. iv. 9—15.

ordinary marks of the divine favour in some particular places.

(Q) The time, place, and manner of this murder are all uncertain. It happened, very probably, not long before the birth of Seth, who was appointed instead of Abel: but St. Austin (1) will not allow Seth to be the next son which Eve had after Abel's death; supposing that expression to mean no more, than that Seth succeeded that righteous person in his virtue and piety. Some are of opinion, that Adam assigned to his sons their several employments in the fiftieth year of the world (as Eusebius says he did); that Cain and Abel made their offerings A. M. 100; and that, thirty years after, Abel was killed. But neither reason nor Scrip-

ture lead us to believe, that Cain concealed his resentment so many years. The place where Abel was slain, according to an ancient tradition, is at the foot of a hill near Damascus (2). As to the manner in which Cain committed this murder, there is a great variety of opinions. Eutychius and the Arabs say, he struck him on the head with a stone; some Jews tell us, he tore him in pieces with his teeth; others, that he killed him with the jaw-bone of an ass, which is the weapon the painters generally put into Cain's hands; some arm him with a fork; St. Chrysostom gives him a sword; St. Irenæus a scythe; and Prudentius a pruning-hook.

(R) These words of Cain are variously interpreted. The first sentence, which our ver-

(1) De Civit Dei, lib. xv. cap. 15. Patr. tom i.

(2) Vide Heidegg. Hist.

A. M.
129
Ante Chr
38751

But God told him, that whoever slew Cain, vengeance should be taken on him seven-fold; and, the more effectually to secure him from that apprehension, was pleased to give him a sign (S), that none that met him should take away his life.

Cain, soon after this unfortunate affair, having wandered about for some time, at length settled with his wife and family in the land of Nod, where he built

tion renders, *My punishment is greater than I can bear*, some translate, *My sin is greater than can be forgiven*; and others interrogatively, *Is my sin too great to be forgiven?* which last is the sense followed by the Hebrew expositors, and seems to be the best. The latter words, in the English translation, *And it shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me*, have also been rendered, *I wish that any person that finds me may kill me*.

That there were such numbers of men in the world at the time of Abel's murder, that Cain might justly apprehend some danger from them, will appear from the calculations made of the increase of mankind before the flood.

(S) Many ridiculous conjectures have been made as to this imaginary mark. Some say, that God stigmatized Cain on the forehead with a letter, which was to serve him as a passport, being taken either from the name of Abel, or the ineffable name of God, or from the word *repentance*; that every one might perceive Cain had repented. Others say this mark consisted in three letters, which composed the name of

the sabbath; or else that it was the sign of the cross. Others suppose, that Abel's dog was given him as a constant companion, either to warn people not to attack him, or to prevent his taking any dangerous road. Others say, that his face was covered with leprosy. Others, that the mark was nothing but a wild aspect, with bloody eyes, which rolled in a horrid manner. Most of the fathers imagined, that his body continually trembled. The Septuagint version favours this opinion; for instead of *a fugitive and a vagabond*, they have translated *είρων καὶ τρέμων*, *lamenting and trembling*; and the Hebrew words do indeed import a restlessness and uneasiness of mind, with which Cain is supposed to have been afflicted all his life. Some say, that wherever he stopped, the earth shook and trembled round about him. Others pretend, that God inspired him with extraordinary courage, and rendered him void of all fear. And another notion, as well founded as any of the former, is, that a horn grew out of his forehead (3).

(3) Vide Corn. a Lapide in Gen. iv. Sabian Annal. tom. i. Procop. in Gen. iv. Heidegg. Hist. Patr. tom. i.

a city, and called it after the name of his son, Enoch[†].

A. M.

129.

Ante Chr.

3875.

Where the land of Nod (which word signifies *wandering*) was situate, is uncertain. Moses places it, according to our translation, on the east of Eden; and it has been observed, that Ptolemy mentions a city called Anuchtha in Sufiana, or Khuzestan, a country lying eastward from Chaldæa: which situation, and the near resemblance of the name *Anuchtha* to the original *Hanakh*, (for *tha* is supposed to be only the Chaldean termination), induced the learned Huet to believe it to be the same with that built by Cain. But it seems very improbable, that the city of Enoch, built before the flood, should either withstand the deluge, or retain its ancient name, after so great an alteration of the face of things. Besides, Sufiana being a very fertile and pleasant country, it is not likely Cain should be banished thither, but rather to some barren and desolate land, remote from the place of his nativity, and separated by mountains, or other natural obstructions, from the commerce of his relations. For which reason Grotius and Junius are of opinion, that the country into which Cain retired was the desert of Arabia; but that lying on the west, and not on the east of Eden, to remove so formidable an objection, it is said, that the words which we translate *on the east* of Eden, signify no more than *before*, or *over-against* Eden, as it is rendered in the Septuagint[‡].

He goes into banishment, and builds a city.

Josephus says, that the punishment inflicted upon Cain was so far from effecting any amendment in him, that he grew worse, and became a reprobate to all sense of goodness, indulging himself in all manner of pleasures, though he wronged his neighbours to procure them; that he amassed abundance of wealth by rapine and violence, encouraging his followers in luxury and robbery, and becoming their instructor in evil courses; that he first corrupted that simplicity wherein men had originally lived, by the invention of measures and weights, changing their innocence of life, which was happily ignorant of such things, and their integrity, into fraud and cunning. The same author also observes, that Cain first set bounds to fields and possessions, and walled the city which he had built, obliging his dependents to live

Grows more wicked.

[†] Genes. iv. 16, 17.
Testament.

[‡] See Wells's Geog. of the Old

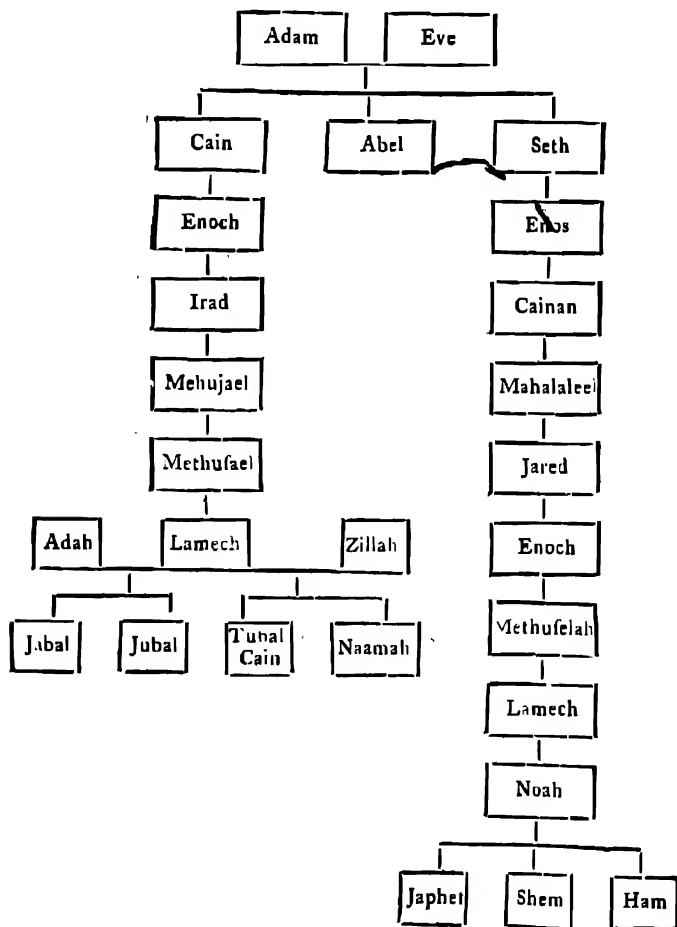
A. M.
130.
Ante Chr.
3874.

Seth born.

in a community*, the better, it is probable, to secure their ill-gotten wealth.

Soon after the murder of Abel, his loss was made up to his parents in another son they had, whom Eve named Seth, that is, *appointed*; because he was appointed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew.

As the whole progeny of Adam, of whom we have any mention in Scripture, were the descendants of Cain and Seth, it may be proper to give the following genealogical table of the antediluvians.



* Joseph. Ant. lib. i. cap. 2. See Bayle's Dict. Hist. art. Cain, rem. D.

The sacred historian, confining himself chiefly to the line of Seth, from whence Noah was descended, has acquainted us with very few particulars relating to that of Cain: nor can we thus form any conjectures how long he or any of his descendents lived. All we know is, that *Lamech*, the fifth in descent from him, married two wives, *Adah* and *Zillah*^γ, the first known instance of polygamy; that by the former he had two sons, *Jabal* who was the first that dwelt in tents, and fed cattle (T); and *Jubal*, the inventor of music; and by the other, a son named *Tubal-Cain*, who found out the art of forging and working metals (U). *Zillah* likewise brought him a daughter named *Naamah* supposed^z to have invented spinning and weaving (X): and we are told that, on some occasion or other, *Lamech* made a speech to his wives^a, the explication of which has greatly puzzled the interpreters (Y).

A. M.
130.
Ante Chr.
3874.

Of the line
of Cain.

However,

^γ Genes. iv. 19. ^z R. Lipoman, in Catena, & Genebrard. in Chron. Vid. Volumn de Idolol. lib. i. cap. 17. ^a Genes. iv. 23, 24.

(T) This seems to be understood, as R. Sol. Yarhi explains the passage, of feeding cattle in the desert, and removing with their tents and herds from place to place, as they found pasture, which is the way of life of the Arabs, thence called *Scenitæ*: for others, and in particular *Abel*, followed a pastoral life before *Jabal*.

(U) Josephus commends *Tubal-Cain* (whom he calls *Thobel*) for his great strength and skill in war; to the perfecting of which art he probably contributed by the invention of arms.

(X) Some imagine *Naamah* to have been the wife of *Noah*, others of *Ham*; and that she being saved from the destruction of the deluge was therefore mentioned by *Moses*. Her name signifies *delightful* or *beautiful*; and her person is

said to have been so charming, that *Aza* and *Azael*, two angels, fell in love with her, and begat on her dæmons called *Gedim*.

Josephus makes the whole number of *Lamech's* issue, by his two wives, to be seventy-seven.

(Y) His words, according to our translation, are: "Hear my voice, ye wives of *Lamech*; hearken unto my speech: for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt: if *Cain* shall be avenged sevenfold, truly *Lamech* seventy and sevenfold." Almost to the same purpose are the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac versions. It is thought *Lamech* spoke them on occasion of some terror or apprehension his family was in, lest *Abel's* murder should be avenged on them; which fear he shews to be ground-

A. M.
 235.
 Ante Chr.
 3769.

However, we are assured by the historians, and it is highly probable, that the posterity of Cain was enormously wicked, exceeding their father, if possible, in all manner of villainies; every succeeding generation growing worse than the former, and becoming wholly addicted to rapine and brutish lusts. This reprobate race is generally supposed to be meant by Moses under the designation of men, and the daughters of men, as the other family of Seth is by that of the sons of God^a.

Enos born. Seth had this year a son named Enos; about which time it is thought his descendants, who were as eminent for piety and virtue, as those of Cain were for the reverse, received the appellation we have just mentioned; for it is conceived that those words, which in our translation are rendered, "Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord," properly signify, "Then men began to be called by or after the name of the Lord," that is, the sons of God. But some take the words, according to the former version, to mean, then the public worship of God was first set up; and proper ceremonies, and stated times, were appointed for that service^b; and others, particularly the Jews, suppose they intimate, that idolatry, or the deifying of men, had its rise about this time, either adhering to the latter version, or translating the passage thus: "Then men prophaned in calling upon the name of the Lord^c (Z)."

Of

^a Vide Heidegg. ubi supra, p. 136.
 cerus, &c. Vide Simfon Chron. coll. 56.
 Dis Syris, Proleg. cap. iii.

^b Perron. Drusius, Mercerus, &c. Vide Selden. De

less, because he had done nothing to deserve any ill treatment. This interpretation seems the most reasonable, but cannot be depended on; the speech being introduced by Moses very abruptly, and without any connection with what precedes or follows it.

(Z) The interpretation of Onkelos is, "Then men left off calling upon the name of the Lord;" as if the worship of

God began then to be neglected.

Some of the Jews (particularly Maimonides) have gone so far as to charge Enos himself with being the author of idolatry, and inventing images, by whose mediation men might address themselves to God (4).

But the introduction of the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies and angels is, by

(4) Vide Hottinger, Smegma Orient. p. 230, Heidegg. ubi supr. p. 148.

the

Of the three next descendents of Seth, Cainan, Mahaleel, and Jared, and of Methufelah and Lamech, the grandfather and father of Noah, Moses has recorded no more than their several ages. The oriental authors commend them, as they do Seth and Enos, for their piety, and the salutary injunctions they left behind them, forbidding their children any intercourse with the race of cursed Cain^d.

A. M.
235.
Ante Chr.
3769.

Enoch, the son of Jared, and father of Methufelah, was a person of most extraordinary piety, "Walking with God," as the Scripture expresses it, for at least the last three hundred years of his life: as a reward for which exemplary behaviour in so corrupt an age, he was taken up by God into heaven, without tasting death^e (A).

Enoch
translated.

That

^d Vide Eutych. p. 20, &c. E[li]macin.

^e Genes. v. 22. & 24.

the Sabians, the professors of it, referred to Seth himself. They give him also a son called Sabi, from whom the sect seems to have taken its name, unless it be rather derived from Saba, or the host of heaven, the objects of their worship. They call the book, which contains the fundamentals of their religion and morality, the Book of Seth; and reckon the patriarch Enoch also among the propagators of Sabiism.

(A) Moses expresses it thus: "And Enoch walked with God, and he was not: for God took him." Which passage the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews paraphrases in this manner: "By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death, and was not found, because God had translated him; for before this translation he had this testimony, that he pleased God." By which words it seems plain, that Enoch did not die, but suffered only such a change as

was necessary to fit him for the place whither he was going. Yet several of the Jews believe he actually died.

The Greek Christians suppose Enoch to be the same with the first Egyptian Hermes, who dwelt at Sais; that he first discoursed on superior substances, and foretold the deluge: and that he built the pyramids, engraving thereon the figures of artificial instruments, and the elements of the sciences; fearing lest the memory of them should perish in that general destruction. Eupolemus also attributes the invention of astronomy to Enoch, and says he was the same with Atlas, to whom the Greeks ascribe the same thing. Origen mentions a book attributed to Enoch, different from his prophecy, containing secrets concerning the names of the parts of heaven, and of all the stars and constellations, which is said to be extant among the Ethiopians, in their tongue. The learned Mr. du

A. M.
235.
Ante Chr.
3769.

That Enoch was a prophet, and that some prophecy of his was preserved, either in writing, or by tradition, even to our Saviour's time, appears from the passage quoted thence by St. Jude^f. However, the piece under the title of The Scripture or Prophecy of Enoch, of which we have some fragments extant (B), is allowed to be a manifest forgery; though several of the fathers had a better opinion of it than it deserves. Many passages are quoted thence in that very ancient writing, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs; and it is also cited by Clemens Alexandrinus. St. Austin makes mention of the Scripture of Enoch, but denies it to be genuine. And when Celsus objected its authority to Origen, he replied, that the books attributed to Enoch were not looked upon by the church as divine writings. That there was a book under the name of Enoch, in the hands of the Jews, appears from its being referred to in their ancient book Zohar.

A. M.
930.
Ante Chr.
3074.

Adam, having seen a numerous posterity issue from his own loins (C), after a life of nine hundred and thirty years, paid that natural debt to which he had, by his disobedience, subjected himself and them. That he repented of his sin, and made his peace with God, is very reasonable to believe, notwithstanding the uncharitable opinions of some to the contrary (D).

*Conjectures
concerning
the place of
his burial.*

Where he was buried cannot be collected from Scripture. St. Jerom^g seems to approve of the opinion of those who imagine he was buried at Hebron (E), in the
cave

^f Jude v. 14, 15.

^g Hieron. in Matth. xxvii.

Peirese used his utmost endeavours to get it from thence, but to no purpose.

(B) These fragments were first published by Joseph Scaliger, in his notes on the Greek Chronicon of Eusebius; and afterwards more correctly, by J. Goar, in his edition of the Chronography of George Syncellus.

(C) Besides Adam's three sons named by Moses, and the supposed twin sisters of Cain and Abel, we are told he had two daughters, one named Afuam, or Saue, who married

Cain, and the other Azura, who was the wife of Seth.

(D) A certain heretical sect, named Tatianites, affirmed, he was damned.

(E) This is offered to be proved by this passage of Scripture, according to the Vulgate translation, "Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariath-arbe: Adam maximus ibi inter Enacem situs est." But the name Adam is unwarrantably inserted in the text; the Hebrew plainly signifying (as the other versions render it), that Hebron was formerly called Kerjath

cave of Machpelah, or the double cave, which Abraham, many ages after, bought for a burying-place for himself and family. The oriental Christians say, that when Adam saw death approaching, he called Seth, Enos, Cainan, and Mahalaleel, to him; and ordered them to ~~embalm~~ his body with myrrh, frankincense, and cassia, and deposit it in a certain cave on the top of a mountain, which he had chosen for the repository of his remains, thence named the cave of Al-Konuz (F). The primitive fathers generally believe that he died in the place where Jerusalem was afterwards built; and that he was interred on Mount Calvary, in the very spot whereon Christ was crucified (G), which opinion opened a large field for rhetorical flourishes and allusions.

A. M.
930
Ante Chr.
3074.

The

Kerjath-Arba, or the city of Arba, who had been a great man among the Anakims. There is, however, another origin of that ancient name of Hebron given by some writers, who, taking the word Arba, which also signifies *four*, in that sense, and not for a proper name, say, that city was so called because four couple were there buried, viz. Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob and Leah (5).

(F) From the Arabic *kana-za*, to lay up privately, as treasure, &c. Some Jews say, that this precaution was ordered by Adam to be taken, lest his posterity should make his relics an object of idolatry.

The eastern Christians add that he farther directed his family, that, when they were obliged to leave the neighbourhood of Paradise, they should take his body with them, and place it in the midst of the earth: because thence should come his salvation, and that of

all his posterity. Which order, it is said, was repeated by Lamech to his son Noah, with this addition, that he should take with the body, gold, frankincense, and myrrh, as offerings, and appoint one of his sons to attend the corpse to and at the new sepulchre, who was to be a religious person, and unmarried; was to shed no blood, nor offer any sacrifices but bread and wine only; was to be clothed in skins, and should neither cut his hair nor pare his nails, and was to be called the Priest of God; meaning thereby Melchizedek. And this Noah and Melchizedek are said to have performed.

(G) This opinion may be reconciled with the preceding, if we suppose the body was removed to Golgotha after the flood, in pursuance of the above mentioned orders. Jacobus Edestenus says, that Noah carried the bones of Adam with him into the ark; and, when he came out of it,

(5) Vide R. Eliezer Perke, cap. 20. Heidegg. ubi supra, p. 106.

A. M. 930
Ante Chr. 3074.
The time of the death of Eve, the mother of all living (H), is not intimated in Scripture; but there are some who venture to tell us, that she outlived her husband ten years.

*Opinions of
the Eastern
writers
concerning
Seth.*

After the death of Adam, as the eastern writers say, Seth, with his family, separated themselves from the profligate race of Cain, and removed to the mountain where Adam was buried, which they chose for their habitation; Cain and his family remaining below, in the valley where Abel was slain. But how this near neighbourhood is consistent with Scripture, which plainly intimates Cain's banishment into a country at some considerable distance from the residence of Adam, and his posterity by Seth, we cannot conceive; unless it should be supposed, that Cain, or his descendants, left their own settlements to dispossess Seth and his offspring; or else, that the posterity of both were, by this time, so greatly increased, that, after gradually extending their borders on both sides, they at length met, and streightened each other. However this be, the eastern tradition is, that the progeny of Seth lived in the said mountain in great sanctity and purity of manners. Their constant employment was; praising God, from which they had few or no avocations; for their only food was the fruit of the trees which grew on the mountains; so that they had no occasion to undergo any servile labours, nor the trouble of sowing or getting in harvest: they were utter strangers to envy, injustice, or deceit. Their only oath was by the blood of Abel; and they every day went up to the top of the mountain to worship God, and to visit the body of Adam, as the means of procuring the divine blessing^h.

What time they had to spare, in these happy circumstances, they seem to have employed in cultivating their minds, and in sublime speculations; while the children of Cain, seeking no farther than present convenience and pleasure, were taken up with improving agriculture, and inventing mechanical arts and musical instruments. For it is said, that the offspring of Seth, by contemplation of the heavenly bodies, laid the foundations of the science of

^h Eutyech. p. 20. Elmacin. p. 6.

he divided them among his sons, giving the skull to Shem, who, coming into Judæa, reposed it in the sepulchre of Adam on Mount Calvary.

(H) From whence she had her name, which is properly written Hawwah, and derived from the root *baya*, to live.

astronomy;

astronomy; and, lest their inventions should be forgotten or lost, before they were publicly known, understanding, from a prediction of Adam, that there would be a general destruction of all things, once by the rage of fire, and once by the violence and multitude of waters, they ~~made~~ two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone, and engraved their inventions on each, that, if the pillar of brick happened to be overthrown by the flood, that of stone might remain; which Josephus¹ tells us, was to be seen in his time, in the land of Siriad (I).

How long the descendents of Seth continued thus religious, and imitators of their father's virtue, is uncertain.

¹ Joseph. Ant. lib. i. cap. 2.

A. M.
930.
Ante Chr.
3074.

Pillars of
Seth.

The defec-
tion of the
sons of
Seth.

(I) Where this land of Siriad was is a great dispute. The name is variously written in the manuscripts, *κατὰ τὴν τὴν Σιριάδα*, and *Συριάδα*; by others *Σιριά*, and by Eustathius *Σηριάδ*: which last seems the more correct. Some place it in Syria; others, with a little more probability, have taken it to be the same with Seirath mentioned in Scripture, and suppose the *pefilim*, which the English translation renders *quarries*, near Gilgal, in the tribe of Ephraim, were the ruins of Seth's stone pillar, Yet others understand those *pefilim*, or *τὰ γλυπτά*, the *sculptures*, as the Septuagint translate the word, to have been certain idols lately set up there by Eglon.

But the more certain opinion is, that the Siriadic land was in Egypt: for we are told, that Manetho extracted his history from certain pillars there, whereon inscriptions had been made by Thoth, or the first Mercury, in the sacred letters and dialect; but were, after the flood, translated from the sacred dialect into the Greek tongue, but written in

the sacred letters, and laid up in books by the second Mercury, in the sacred recesses of the Egyptian temples. These pillars were in subterraneous caverns near Thebes, and beyond the Nile, not far from the sounding statue of Memnon, in a place called Syringes, which are described to be certain winding apartments under ground, and which (as it is said) those who were skilled in ancient rites, foreseeing the coming of the deluge, and fearing lest the memory of their ceremonies should be obliterated, built and contrived in vaults dug with vast labour in several places; cutting on the walls many sorts of birds and beasts, and innumerable kinds of animals, which they called hieroglyphic letters. That Seth was not a name unknown to the Egyptians, appears from Plutarch, who tells us, that they constantly called Typhon, which was a Greek name, Seth; and hence, it is probable, Josephus was led into the mistake of ascribing these pillars to the sons of Adam.

A. M.
930.
Ante Chr.
3074.

Moses says, "That when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose ^k". By which expression it appears, that the beginning of their corruption was, their marrying into the wicked family, of Cain; by whom their manners were soon debauched, and, at length, degenerated so far, that "the wickedness of man was very great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." Josephus writes, that the family of Seth persevered in the true worship of God, and in the pursuit of virtue, for seven generations; after which, in process of time, they neglected both, shewing twice as much eagerness after wickedness, as they had formerly shewn zeal for virtue; by which means, they drew down on themselves the indignation of God.

The oriental writers place the beginning of this defection somewhat sooner, in the days of Jared, and in his fortieth year; when they say, one hundred of the sons of Seth, hearing the noise of the music, and riotous mirth of the Cainites, agreed to go down to them from the holy mountain; and, on their arrival among them, were so captivated with the beauty of the women, who were naked, that they immediately defiled themselves with them. Thus the sons of men perished, by whoring with the daughters of Cain; for when they offered to return again to their former abode, the stones of the mountain became like fire, and permitted them to pass no farther. The lubricity of the Cainites is described in very strong terms: the men neighed after the women like horses, and the women in the same manner after the men, committing whoredom, and all manner of filthiness, promiscuously with one another in public; the old women being, if possible, more brutish and lewd than the young. The fathers lay with their daughters; and the young men with their mothers; so that the children could not distinguish their parents, nor the parents know their children.

*Opinion of
those who
suppose an-
gels defiled
themselves
with wo-
men.*

The appellation of the sons of God, given by Moses to the children of Seth, led Josephus, Philo Judæus, and several of the fathers, into a strange interpretation of this passage; as if the angels, who are also called in Scripture the sons of God, were asserted to have had communication with women, and to have begotten on them the in-

^k Genes. vi. 1, 2.

solent and impious race we shall mention immediately. This supposition, we think, needs no refutation, being utterly repugnant to the notions we have of the nature of those spiritual beings, who are neither married, nor given in marriage¹; though it be hard to accuse, as some have done², those who have fallen into this mistake, of heresy and blasphemy. Others, indeed, and particularly, several of the Jewish writers, by the sons of God, understand the fallen angels, who, seeing the daughters of Cain walking in the nakedness of their flesh, and painting their eyes like whores, wandered after them, and took wives from among them³.

A. M.
930.
Ante Chr.
3074.

It may not be amiss to mention another opinion, more reasonable than the last, which is embraced by the Jewish interpreters⁴; they suppose, that, by the sons of God, in this place, are meant the princes, great men, and magistrates of those times, who, instead of using their authority to punish and discountenance vice, were themselves the greatest examples and promoters of lewdness and debauchery; taking the daughters of men, of the inferior and meanest sort of people, and debauching them by force (K)

The example of these sons of Seth, who, tempted by the allurements of the daughters of Cain, first left their seat of innocence, was afterwards followed by others, who from time to time descended in great numbers from the holy mountain, and took wives, in like manner, of that profligate and abandoned race⁵. From these unhappy marriages issued a generation, which seems to have been no less extraordinary for their great stature and strength, than for their monstrous impiety and injustice. "There were in those days giants (L) in the earth⁶,"

*Issue of the
Sethites
and the
daughters
of Cain,¹
and their
impiety.*

who

¹ Matth. xxii. 30. Luke xx. 35. ² Philastrius Brixienfis adv. Hær. cap. 108. Chrysost. Homil. xxii. in Genes. cap. v. ³ R. Eliezer, cap. xxiii. ⁴ Targumim Onkelos & Ben. Uzziel. R. Sol. Yarhi, Aben Ezra, &c. ⁵ Eutyech. p. 27. ⁶ Genes. vi. 4.

(K) To support this interpretation, they tell us, that the verb, which is generally rendered *to take*, signifies also *to ravish*, or *take by violence*.

(L) The Hebrew word is *nephilim*, from *naphal*, *to fall*.

Some take these nephilim to have been men of ordinary

stature, so called on account only of their enormous impiety, rapaciousness, and insolence; which was the opinion of Josephus. But others, with greater reason, believe, they were also of extraordinary stature and strength: the word *nephilim* being used elsewhere in

in

A. M.
1535
Ante Chr.
2469.

The 120
years of
God's for-
bearance.

who being, most probably of Cain's race, both by father and mother, and born before the conjunction of the two families (M), made use of their superior power to spoil and tyrannise over the weaker. And the same course of life was followed by the mongrel offspring, who signalized themselves also by robberies and oppressions, and "became mighty men," in other words, men of renown¹.

Mankind running thus headlong into all manner of vice, and the posterity of Seth, who had, for some ages, retained their integrity, becoming at length, by their imprudent alliance with the race of Cain, infected with the same contagion of profaneness and immorality, so that all sort of wickedness began to overspread the earth; notwithstanding the frequent admonitions they probably received by persons from time to time sent by God; the divine vengeance might with justice have been immediately executed on so perverse a generation; but God, out of his great mercy, was pleased to grant them a convenient time for repentance, no less than one hundred and twenty years; during which space, but no longer, he declared his Spirit should "strive with man," or endeavour to awaken and reclaim them from their wicked course of life (N).

¹ Genes. vi. 4.

¹ Ibid. ver. 3.

in Scripture to denote men above the common size. Not but that it may also signify those that fall away, apostates.

(M) This the words of Moses seem to imply; "There were giants (says he) in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, &c." So that there appear to have been two distinct races of nephilim; one of which arose pretty early in the world, being of the posterity of Cain; and another, which began some ages after, being the issue of the sons of Seth by the daughters of Cain: and both of them probably continued to the flood.

(N) This passage of Scripture is variously interpreted: the English translation seems to give the true sense of the Hebrew; but the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac versions, render the word (which we translate *strive with*) *continue*, or *dwell in*; supposing the meaning to be, either that God's spirit of admonition, or forbearance, would not always wait on man; or else, that the spirit, or breath of life, should not always continue in him; that is, no longer than the space of one hundred and twenty years, after which, if he continued impenitent, he should be destroyed. And this is the sense of Onkelos.

Amidst

Amidst this general corruption, one man, however, was found to be just and perfect in his generation, walking with God^t. This extraordinary person was Noah (O), the son of Lamech, who, not thinking it sufficient to be righteous himself, unless he did his utmost to turn others likewise to righteousness by admonition, as well as example, became a preacher^u to the abandoned race among which he lived, employing both his counsel and authority to bring them to a reformation of their manners, and to restore the true religion among them (P). But all he could do, was to no purpose, for they continued incorrigibly obstinate; so that, at length, (as Josephus^x tells us), finding himself and family in imminent danger of some violence in return for his good will, he departed from among them, with his wife and children.

A. M.
1535.
Ante Chr.
2469.

*Noah
preacher.*

On his departure, it is probable, they fell into greater disorders than before; having now none to controul, or even to trouble them with unwelcome advice. Moses assures us, that "the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was continually evil;" and that "the earth was corrupt and filled with violence, all flesh (Q) having corrupted his way upon the earth." These words leave no room to enquire into the particular crimes of the antedi-

*Mankind
incorrigi-
ble.*

^t Genes. vi. 9. ^u 2 Pet. ii. 5. ^x Antiq. lib. i. cap. 3.

(O) Lamech gave his son this name, which signifies *comfort*: for "this fame," says he, "shall comfort us concerning our work, and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." Which words not expressing the means by which Noah was thus to comfort his friends, some writers have thence inferred, that he invented the tools and instruments of husbandry.

(P) The eastern Christians say, that when God ordered Noah to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of in the East,

at this day, instead of bells, to call the people to church, and named, in Arabic, *naku*, which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the deluge.

(Q) The oriental writers agree in making this defection so universal, that at last, they say there was none left in the holy mountain of all Seth's race, except only Noah and his wife, and his three sons and their wives (6).

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2348.

*The whole
world de-
stroyed by a
flood, ex-
cept Noah
and his fa-
mily.*

luvian world, which seems to have been over-run with a complication of all manner of debauchery and wickedness, and above all with violence and injustice towards one another. The eastern authors affirm that the children of Seth were seduced to idolatry by the Cainites^y.

Things being in this state, God, as the sacred historian^y pathetically expresses it, "repented that he had made man on earth, and it grieved him at his heart." And the time of forbearance being elapsed, he passed the sentence of their utter destruction by a flood of waters; a sentence which likewise included the beasts of the earth, and every creeping thing, and of the fowls of the air. But "Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord," who had before acquainted him with his design of bringing a deluge on the earth; and directed him to make an ark, or vessel, of a certain form and size, capable of containing not only himself and family, but such numbers of animals of all sorts, as would be sufficient to preserve the several species, and again replenish the earth, together with all necessary provisions for them. All these injunctions Noah performed; and, by God's peculiar favour and providence, he and those that were with him, survived this tremendous calamity. This event, the most extraordinary that is recorded in history, must be the subject of a future discourse, after we shall have taken a view of what the profane writers offer us towards the history of this period.

S E C T. VI.

The Profane History before the Flood.

*Accounts of
antediluvian
affairs
besides that
of Moses.*

BESIDES the particulars in the preceding section, taken from the writings of Moses, we have some farther accounts relating to this period, transmitted to us by ancient authors; particularly those who have recorded the Phœnician, Babylonian, and Egyptian antiquities.

*Sanchoniatho's Phœ-
nician his-
tory.*

Sanchoniatho, who wrote the Phœnician antiquities, began his history from the origin of the world and of mankind; but his work being apparently written with a design to apologize for idolatry, instead of deducing the history from Adam in the line of Seth, the worshippers of the true God, he has, according to the most probable

^y Vid. Eutych. Annal. p. 31.

hypothesis (R), given us that of the idolatrous line of Cain; that the religion patronized by this author, or those he transcribed, might appear to be introduced by the elder branch, a circumstance which they might think gave it no small lustre and reputation. In this author we find not the least mention of the deluge; an omission so extraordinary, considering the great antiquity of this record, and the country where it was written, that it has been adduced as a strong presumption against the credibility of a general deluge.

Sanchoniatho, having delivered his cosmogony, or generation of the other parts of the world, begins his history of mankind with the production of the first pair of mortals, whom Philo, his translator, calls Protogonus and Æon, the latter of whom found out the food which is gathered from trees.

Generation
I.

Their issue were called Genus and Genea, and dwelt in Phœnicia: but when great droughts came, they stretched forth their hands to heaven towards the sun (S), for him they thought the only god and lord of heaven, calling him Beelsamen, which in Phœnician is *lord of heaven*, and in Greek *Zeus*.

Generation
II.

From Genus, the son of Protogonus and Æon, other mortal issue was produced, whose names were Phos, Phur, and Phlox, that is, Light, Fire, and Flame. These found out the way of generating fire by rubbing pieces of wood against each other, and taught men the use thereof. They begat sons of vast bulk and height, whose names were given to the mountains on which they seized: so from them were named mount Cassius and Libanus, Antilibanus and Brathys.

Generation
III.

Of these last were begotten Memrumus, and Hypsuranius, so named by their mothers, the women of those times, who lived in the most brutal state of prostitution. Hypsuranius inhabited Tyre, where he invented the art of making huts with reeds and rushes, and the papyrus. He fell at variance with his brother Ufsous, who first invented a covering for his body made of the skins of wild

Generation
IV.

(R) Viz. that of bishop Cumberland.

(S) This seems to have been the first introduction of idolatry, which began with the worship of the sun: several of Cain's descendents added other methods of idolatrous worship,

distinctly set down by this author. They proceeded to deify the several parts of nature, and men after their death, and even to consecrate plants, which the first men judged to be gods, and worshipped, as beings that sustained their lives.

beasts.

Generation
V.

beasts. He made a raft of boughs, and was so bold as to venture upon it into the sea. He also consecrated two rude stones, or pillars, to fire and wind, and he worshipped them, and poured out to them the blood of such wild beasts as had been caught in hunting. But in process of time, stumps of wood, and pillars were also consecrated to them, and they were worshipped as deities.

Generation
VI.

Many years after this generation, came Agreus and Halieus (I), the inventors of the arts of hunting and fishing, from whom huntsmen and fishermen are named.

Generation
VII.

They begat two brothers, the inventors of iron and of the forging thereof; one of these called Chrysor (U), the same with Hephæstus, or Vulcan, exercised himself in words, and charms, and divinations; he found out the hook, bait, and fishing-line, built light boats, and was the first of all men that sailed: wherefore he also was worshipped after his death for a god, and they called him Zeus Michius, or Jupiter the Engineer; and some say his brothers invented the art of making walls of brick.

Generation
VIII.

From this generation proceeded two brothers, one of them called Technites, or the Artist; the other, Geinus Autochthon, the Home-born Man of the Earth. These found out the art to mingle stubble (X), or small twigs, with the clay of which they made bricks and tiling.

Generation
IX.

One of their posterity was called Agrus (*field*), and the other Agrouerus, or Agrotos (Y) (*husbandman*), who had

(T) These names are Greek, and therefore translated by Philo from eastern names of like import. All that can be understood of this age is, that the arts or employments here mentioned were then much improved: for Ufous was a huntsman before.

(U) Bochart's origination of this name from Chores-ur, which he renders Πυρρὸς χυρῆς, *an artificer by fire*, is not improbable. Yet bishop Cumberland rather derives it from a simple root *charas*, *to bestir one's self vigorously*, *to cut*, &c. from whence χρῶς, *beaten or cut gold*, is allowed to come, and why not Chrysor? since it

differs only in termination; and compositions must not be admitted in eastern words without necessity.

(X) Technites seems to be a translation of the eastern name *Malachi*, from *malaca*, *workman/ship*, *art*. The other, Geinus, signifying *earthy*, has some affinity with Ephraim and Ephraim, Canaanitish names, probably used by Sancho-niatho.

(Y) This generation is remarkable, because to the men thereof the first statue, or idol to be worshipped, and the first temple we read of, was erected in Phœnicia; a small temple, or rather tabernacle; it was like

had a statue much worshipped, and a temple carried about by one or more yoke of oxen in Phœnicia; and among those of Byblus he is eminently called the greatest of the gods. These first made court-yards about men's houses, fences, and caves or cellars. Husbandmen, and such as use dogs in hunting, derive their origin from these; and they are also called Aletæ and Titans.

Of these were begotten Amynus and Magus (Z), who taught men to constitute villages, and feed flocks. Generation X.

In this age there was one Eliun, which imports in Greek, *Hyphistus* (the *most high*); and his wife was named Beruth, who dwelt about Byblus; and by him was begotten one Epigeus, or Autochthon, whom they afterwards called Uranus, (*heaven*). He gave his name to that element which is over us, and by reason of its excellent beauty, is called heaven; and he had a sister of the same parents called Ge (*the earth*), and by reason of her beauty, the earth from her took its denomination.

Hyphistus, the father of these, being slain by wild beasts, was consecrated, and his children offered sacrifices and libations to him. But Uranus taking the kingdom of his father, married his sister Ge, and had by her four sons; Hus, who is called Chronus (or Saturn); Betylus; Dagon, who is Siton, or the god of corn; and Atlas; but by other wives Uranus had much issue.

The Babylonian antiquities were collected by Berosus, a Chaldean by birth, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great^z. But of that work we have now remaining only some few fragments, the substance of which, so far as comes within the present period, we here subjoin. Berosus's Babylonian antiquities.

^z Alex. Polyhist. apud Syncell. p. 28.

like that of Moloch and his star Chiun, or Remphan, and drawn by oxen; in the same manner as the ark, or epitome of God's tabernacle, was sent home by the Philistines, successors to the old Phœnicians in their religion and country.

The names of these men import *gods of husbandry*, as Pan, Pales, and Sylvanus, among the Greeks and Romans. Bishop Cumberland guesses, that in Sanchoniatho,

the person whom Philo expresses by Agrus, might be called Siddim, or Sadid, a name whereby one of Chronus's sons is afterwards called; either of which will answer the Greek.

(Z) Amynus seems to import in this place a *defender from enchantment*, and Magus a *sorcerer*; though both words are capable of a more favourable interpretation.

After

*Manner of
men's ac-
quiring the
knowledge
of arts and
sciences.*

After a description of Babylonia, he writes, that in the first year there appeared out of the Red Sea, at a place near the confines of that country, a certain irrational animal (A) whose name was Oannes. His body was like that of a fish, but beneath his fish's head another grew; he had also feet like a man, which proceeded from the fish's tail, and a human voice, according to the picture of him which was preserved to the time of our author. This animal conversed with men in the day, without eating any thing; he communicated the knowledge of letters, arts, and sciences; he taught men to dwell together in cities; to erect temples; to introduce laws; and instructed them in geometry; he likewise shewed them how to gather seeds and fruits; and, in short, imparted to mankind whatever was necessary and convenient for a civilized life. When the sun set, this animal retired into the sea again, and stayed there in the night, being of the amphibious kind. After him there appeared several other animals of the same form, mentioned in the ensuing history. This Oannes did not deliver his instructions by word of mouth only, but wrote of the origin of things, and of political œconomy*.

Other authors have also made mention of this Oannes. Helladius calls him Oes, and agrees in general with the foregoing account; but adds, that he had hands, as well as the head and feet of a man; that it was reported he was produced from the primigenial egg, as his name testified (B); and that he was in reality no more than a man, though he seemed to be a fish, because he was completely dressed in a fish's skin. Hyginus likewise writes, that Euahanes, a name not very distant from Oannes, came out of the sea in Chaldea, and explained astrology.

*Antediluvian kings
of Chaldea.*

Berosus proceeds to give us a series of ten kings who reigned in Chaldea before the flood; but as there are

* Alex. Polyhist. ex Beroso, apud Syncell. p. 28.

(A) The Greek is ζῷον ἀφ' ὧν; but the sequel plainly shews him to have been nothing less than irrational: some corruption may therefore very justly be supposed.

As to the names of Oannes and Annedotus given to this person, and those of the same appearance who are mentioned

below, it may seem a folly to offer at any explanation of them. By their coming up out of the sea, it is most probable they were strangers, and arrived in Chaldea by shipping.

(B) An egg in Greek is called ὀν.

some

some small variations in the authors who have transcribed that historian, we shall here exhibit them to the reader's view.

A TABLE of the Chaldean Kings before the Flood, from Berofus.

According to Afri- canus.	Sari. Ya.	According to Abi- denus.	Sari.	According to Apol- lodorus.	Sari.
1. Alorus reigned	10 00	1. Alorus reigned	10	1. Alorus reigned	10
2. Alafpharus	03 00	2. Alaparus	03	2. Alaparus	00
3. Amelon	13 00	3. Amillarus	13	3. Amelon	00
4. Amenon	12 00	4. Ammenon	12	4. Ammenon	00
5. Metalarus	18 00	5. Megalarus	18	5. Megalarus	18
6. Daonus	00 99	6. Daos	10	6. Daonus	10
7. Euedorachus	18 00	7. Eudoreschus	00	7. Euedreschus	18
8. Amphis	10 00	8. Anodaphus	00	8. Amempfinus	10
9. Otiartes	08 00	9. -	00	9. O-iartes	08
10. Xixuthrus	18 00	10. Sifithrus	00	10. Xifuthrus	18

110 99

The reigns of these kings Berofus computes by sari or decads of years (C), which seems to have been a very convenient method in those times, when the lives of men were at least ten times as long as they have been in later ages. According to which way of reckoning, the sum of all their reigns amounts to twelve hundred, or, more nicely, eleven hundred and ninety-nine years; a number which offers no violence to the Mosaic chronology.

*Length
of their
reigns.*

As these ten successions exactly answer the ten generations from the creation to the flood, the first king Alorus has been supposed to be the same with Adam and Xifuthrus. Alorus gave out, that God himself had declared him the pastor of the people; and, indeed, if any man would pretend to dominion by divine right, it must have been Adam.

*Remark-
able events
under
them.*

(C) Berofus wrote his chronology by the computation of *sari, ner, and sussi*; which being ancient measures of time, and well known when the original records were written, could not, it is conceived, have wanted explanation in those records. But Berofus, or some late writers, have, either out of ignorance, or design, mag-

nified these measures of time beyond all imagination, and tell us, that the sari contained the interval of three thousand six hundred years; the nerus of six hundred years; and the sossus of sixty. However, other authors have taken those years for days only, and blame Eusebius for not perceiving them to be days.

Of Alasparus, the second king, nothing remarkable is related. His successor Amelon, or Amelarus, was of the city of Pantibibla (D): in his reign, according to Abydenus, a second Annedotus, or animal resembling the demi-god Oannes, arose out of the sea, twenty-six fari, or two hundred and sixty years after the beginning of this monarchy; but Apollodorus writes, that he appeared under the next prince Amenon,^c after forty fari, or four hundred years; which, if they be computed from the creation, (according to the Samaritan chronology), will end in that king's reign; but if from the first year of Alorus, will reach twenty years within that of Metalarus. Others, supposing this Annedotus was the hateful Oannes himself, blame Polyhistor for anticipating the time of his coming, by placing him in the first year.

After Amenon and Metalarus, who were both of Pantibibla, succeeded Daonus, who was of the same city, and a shepherd. In his time four animals of a double form, half man and half fish, came out of the sea, whose names were Euedocus, Eneugamus, Eneubulus, and Anementus.

Under the next prince, Euedereschus, who was likewise of Pantibibla, there appeared another animal like the former, named Odacon. All these explained more particularly what Oannes had summarily and concisely delivered.

The eighth and ninth kings were both of another city, called Laranchi. The last of these, Ohartes, or, as Polyhistor calls him, Ardates, was succeeded by his son Xifuthrus.

*Chaldean
account of
the flood.*

In his reign happened the great deluge, of which our author gives the following account: Chronus or Saturn appeared to Xifuthrus in a dream, and warned him, that on the fifteenth of the month Dæsius mankind would be destroyed by a flood; he therefore commanded him to write down the original, intermediate state, and end of all things, and bury the writings under ground in Sippara, the city of the sun; he likewise directed him to

(D) Of this city of Pantibibla, as Scaliger observes, the ancients have taken no notice. It seems to be the same with Sippara, hereafter mentioned, (probably the Sipphara of Ptolemy), where Xifuthrus deposited the records he wrote be-

fore the flood. This latter name may be derived from the Chaldee *sephar*, or *sphar*, a book, or record; and *Pantibibla* is the translation of that name into Greek. Sir Isaac Newton takes it to be the *Sepharvaim* of the Scripture.

build

build a ship, and go into it with his relations and dearest friends, having first furnished it with provisions, and taken into it fowls and four-footed creatures; and told him that when he had provided every thing, and was asked whither he was sailing, he should answer, "To the gods, to pray for happiness to mankind." Xisuthrus accordingly built a vessel, whose length was five furlongs, and breadth two furlongs. He put on board all that he was directed to provide, and went into it with his wife, children, and friends. The flood being come, and soon ceasing, Xisuthrus let out certain birds, which, finding no food, nor place to rest upon, returned again to the ship. After some days he sent forth the birds again; but they came back to the ship, having their feet daubed with mud; but when they were sent away the third time, they returned no more; a circumstance from whence Xisuthrus understood that the earth had appeared again. He now made an opening between the planks of the ship; and seeing that it rested on a certain mountain, came out with his wife, his daughter, and his pilot; having worshipped the earth, and raised an altar, and sacrificed to the gods, he, and those who went out with him, disappeared. They who were left behind in the ship, finding Xisuthrus, and the persons that accompanied him, did not return, went out to seek for him, calling him aloud by his name; but Xisuthrus was no more seen by them; only a voice, issuing from the clouds, enjoined them to be religious; declaring that Xisuthrus, on account of his piety, was gone to dwell with the gods; and that his wife, and daughter, and pilot, were partakers of the same honour. It also directed them to return to Babylon, and taking the writings from Sippara, communicate them to mankind; and finally told them, that the place where they were was the country of Armenia. Thus informed they offered sacrifice to the gods, and unanimously repaired to Babylon; dug up the writings at Sippara, built many cities, raised temples, and rebuilt Babylon ^b.

The Egyptians have also a series of kings, who, as they pretend, reigned in Egypt before the flood; and their account begins the same year with that of Berosus ^c.

Antediluvian kings of Egypt.

^b Vide Alexand. Polyhistor. ex Beroso, apud Syncell. p. 30, 31. & apud Cyrill. contra Julian. lib. i. Abydenus ex eodem, apud Syncell. p. 38, 39. & apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. ix, cap. 12.

^c Syncell. p. 17.

There was an ancient chronicle extant among the Egyptians not many centuries ago, which contained thirty dynasties of princes who ruled in that country, by a series of one hundred and thirteen generations, through an immense space of thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five years (E), during which Egypt was successively governed by three different races; of whom the first were the Auritæ, the second the Mestrai, and the third the Egyptians (F).

But this extravagant number of years Manetho (G) (to whose remains we must chiefly have recourse for the ancient Egyptian history) has not adopted, however in other respects he is supposed to have been led into errors in chronology by this old chronicle, which yet seems to have been a composition since Manetho's time. That writer^d began his history with the following sixteen dynasties, or reigns of princes; the first of whom were

^d Manetho apud Syncell. p. 18. & Euseb. Chron. Græc. p. 7.

(E) This number appears manifestly to have been not a real chronological, but a fictitious astronomical calculation, produced by multiplying 1461 by 25; and is the period of the grand revolution of the zodiac, so famous in the Egyptian and Greek fables; at the end of which it will return to the point whence it began to move, viz. the first minute of the first degree of Aries.

From some such computation it is probable Diodorus took the numbers he mentions of eighteen thousand years, the space which the gods and heroes reigned, and fifteen thousand from Orus the son of Isis, the last of them, to the 180th Olympiad, during which time Egypt was governed by men; or those, which he elsewhere tells us were the number of years from Isis and Osiris to Alexander the Great, viz. above ten thousand, or somewhat less than twenty-

three thousand. Other extravagant numbers were also by the Egyptian priests imposed on Herodotus and Plato.

(F) These three races, if there be any shadow of truth in this account, seem most probably to have been the gods, demi-gods, and mortal men, who are by other authors said to have reigned successively in Egypt: the Auritæ; which name Goar derives from *Abaris* or *Avaris*, (though that city was built long after the flood by the Pastors), and Perizonius more probable from *our, light*, being the gods or antediluvian princes; the Mestrai, the demi-gods, or post-diluvians, of the race of Mizraim; and the Egyptians, the mortal kings, the first of whom was Menes; and this hypothesis accounts tolerably for the chronology.

(G) This writer was somewhat later than Berofus.

called gods, and the other nine demi-gods. These, he says, reigned one thousand nine hundred and eighty-five years; and the first of them, Vulcan, nine thousand.

A TABLE of the gods and demi-gods, who are supposed to have reigned in Egypt before the flood.

G O D S.

	Years	Months	Days
1. Hephæstus, or Vulcan, reigned	724	6	4
2. Helios, or the Sun, the son of Vulcan	86	0	0
3. Agathadæmon - - - -	56	6	10
4. Chronus, or Saturn - - -	40	6	0
5. Osiris and Isis - - - -	35	0	0
6. - - - - -	0	0	0
7. Typhon - - - - -	29	0	0

D E M I - G O D S.

8. Orus - - - - -	25	0	0
9. Aries, or Mars - - - -	23	0	0
10. Anubis - - - - -	17	0	0
11. Hercules - - - - -	15	0	0
12. Apollo - - - - -	25	0	0
13. Ammon - - - - -	30	0	0
14. Tithoes - - - - -	27	0	0
15. Sofus - - - - -	32	0	0
16. Zeus, or Jupiter - - -	20	0	0

As to this table, it must be observed, that the numbers were no part of the original record, but added by some moderns, who have mangled the chronology according to their own fancies, and therefore deserve no regard; though we have transcribed them as we found them in Syncellus.

Though the transcribers of Manetho^e have generally taken it for granted, that this succession of princes was supposed by Manetho himself to have reigned before the flood; yet we very much doubt whether that historian really made the nine last, called demi-gods, to be antediluvians. For it appears, from the sum of the years which these gods and demi-gods are said to have reigned, that all of them could not possibly have reigned before the flood, even according to the Hebrew account; and,

^e Africanus, Eusebius, Panodorus, & Syncellus.

if the epoch of the Egyptian kingdom began the same year with that of the Babylonians, as is expressly said, the total of the reigns of their antediluvian princes could not exceed twelve hundred years. Besides, the number of sixteen kings seems too large in proportion to that of the Babylonian kings, and of the generations of Moses in the same period. It is therefore more conformable to Manetho's chronology, to suppose the first seven only, whom he calls gods, and the old chronicle styles Auritæ, were antediluvians; and that they reigned twelve hundred years, part of the nineteen hundred and eighty-five, the remainder of which will be accounted for hereafter. And this hypothesis seems to be confirmed from the consideration of the last of these gods, Typhon, who probably reigned immediately before the flood, and perished therein. For several circumstances of the deluge are mentioned in the history of Osiris and Typhon; particularly the very day when it began, or when Osiris (who is taken for Noah) was shut up in the ark. The name of Typhon, according to some learned men, signifies also a *deluge* or *inundation* (H); whence the Egyptian priests called the Sea-Typhon; and Typhon, or, as the Latin poets call him, Typhæus, is represented as a monstrous giant, warring against heaven, and at last overcome by Jupiter, and overwhelmed in water. It appears probable, therefore, that he was one of those mighty men of old, whose wickedness was so exceeding great, that it drew down that judgment upon them^f.

By these gods Manetho, as he elsewhere explains himself, meant no more than mortal men, who, for their wisdom and goodness, were severally promoted to the regal dignity, and afterwards made immortal. Their particular inventions, and institutions, which gained them this honour from the people, we may more conveniently consider, when we enter on the history of the Egyptian nation. It would be in vain to endeavour to reconcile the foregoing table with the accounts of the Greek authors, which seem rather to relate to the times after the flood. For the Greeks were very liberal in bestowing the names of their gods, and frequently gave the same name to several persons. This confusion might have

^f Vide Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir. p. 356. Appolon. Argon. lib. ii. Maneth. apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. i.

(H) The Arabs at this day the word *al tufan*, express the general deluge by

been avoided, had they given us the true Egyptian names, instead of undertaking to interpret them. Nor is it the only instance in which those writers, especially the later Greek chronologers, have corrupted and confounded Manetho's history.

Having mentioned the old Egyptian chronicle, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that, according to that record, Vulcan has no time assigned him, as appearing both night and day: the Sun, who was the son of Vulcan, reigned thirty thousand years; after him, Saturn, and the other twelve gods, reigned three thousand nine hundred and eighty-four years; then the eight demi-gods, two hundred and seventeen years; and after these began the thirty dynasties.

S E C T. VII.

Of the Deluge.

SIXTEEN hundred and fifty-six years after the creation, the earth was overflowed and destroyed by a deluge of water, which overspread the face of the whole globe, from pole to pole, and from east to west; so that the floods over-reached the tops of the highest mountains; the rains descending after an unusual manner, and the fountains of the great deep being broke open, a general destruction and devastation was brought upon the earth, and all things in it, mankind and other living creatures; excepting Noah and his family, who, by a special providence of God, were preserved in a certain ark, or vessel, with such kinds of living creatures as he took on board. After these waters had raged for some time on the earth, they began to lessen and shrink. The great waves and fluctuations of this deep, or abyss, being quieted by degrees, the waters retired into their former channels and caverns within the earth: the mountains and fields began to appear, and the whole habitable earth assumed that form and shape wherein we now see it. From that little remnant preserved in the ark, the present race of mankind, and of animals, in the known parts of the earth, were propagated. Thus perished the old world, and the present arose from its ruins.

That there was such an universal destruction by water, is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of several

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2348.

A short history of the flood.

Profane testimonies of this catastrophe.

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2348.

of the most ancient writers and nations in the world. What account the Chaldean records give of it, we have already seen. The Indian and Persian tradition we may mention hereafter. That the Egyptians were no strangers to this event, appears not only from those circumstances in the story of Osiris and Typhon mentioned above; but also from the testimony of Plato; who says, that a certain Egyptian priest recounted to Solon, out of their sacred books, the history of the universal flood, which happened long before the particular inundations known to the Grecians. The inhabitants of Heliopolis, in Syria, shewed a chasm or cleft in the earth in the temple of Juno, which swallowed up the waters of the flood^b. Nay, the very Americans are said to acknowledge and speak of it in their continent: and we are told, that there is a tradition among the Chinese, that Puoncu, with his family, escaped the general deluge; though another expressly asserts, the Chinese annals make no mention at all of the flood, and that it is a mistake in those who imagine they do: however it seems, their historians do speak of a flood, which some suppose to be that of Noah, but they do not make it universal. Most nations have some tradition of a deluge, which happened in their respective countries: but it must be owned, at the same time, that several of them were particular inundations only, and therefore carefully to be distinguished from that of Noah; though ancient and modern writers frequently confound them together (I).

*Whether to-
tical.*

Some difficulties, which seem to attend the Mosaic account of the deluge, such as the finding waters sufficient to drown the world, and the improbability that all sorts of animals were preserved in the ark, have induced some men of learning, to suppose, that Noah's flood was not universal, but national only, confined to Judæa, and the

^b Lucian. de Dea Syria, tom. ii. p. 882.

(I) Not only Deucalion's flood in Thessaly, but those of Ogyges in Attica, and Prometheus in Egypt, have been thought the same with that of Noah. Those spoken of by the Americans seem to have been national; as was that of Asia Minor, mentioned by Dio,

dorus, from the Samothracian tradition, which yet they pretended was the most ancient of all; to omit several others enumerated by sir W. Raleigh, some of which he has taken from the spurious Xenophon of Annius.

regions

); or perhaps to that tract of land which lies between the four seas, the Persian, Caspian, Euxine, and Mediterranean, or, at most, that it reached no farther than the continent of Asia. And to support this presumption, they allege, that, since the primary design of the flood was to destroy mankind only, who could hardly be thought in so short a time to have overspread the face of the whole earth, there was no necessity to carry the waters beyond the bounds of what was inhabited. Bedford indeed has gone so far as to suppose, that all mankind did not perish in the deluge; and has endeavoured to prove, from a peculiar exposition of the curses of Cain and Lamech, that the Africans and Indians are of their posterity¹.

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2348.

If the deluge was universal, the quantity of water required to effect it is so immense, that it has been generally thought extremely difficult, if not impossible to say whence it came, or whither it went. The proportion of water, sufficient to cause such an inundation, has been computed at eight oceans. But Dr. Keil, who was well able to make the calculation, says, that there must have been, at the lowest computation, twenty-two oceans. And where to find this quantity is the question. There are the clouds above, and the deeps below, and in the bowels of the earth; and these are all the stores we have for water; and Moses directs us to no other, for the causes of the deluge: "The fountains of the great deep," says he, "were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights^k." By the great deep some understand the ocean; but others, with more reason, say it means the subterraneous abyss, or vast collection of waters in the bowels of

*Conjectures
as to the
manner
wherein
the deluge
was effect-
ed.*

¹ Vid. Le Clerc's Dissertations: Stillingfleet Orig. Sacr. book iii. Voss. de Æt. Mundi, p. 203. Bedford's Scripture Chronology, p. 39. ^k Burnet's Theory, book i. chap. 2. Dr. Keil, in his Remarks on Whiston's Theory. Ray's Dif. p. 118.

(K) Melo, who wrote a book against the Jews, speaking of the deluge, seems to make it topical, and not to have reached Armenia. His words are these: "At the time of the deluge, a man who had escaped with his sons, went from Armenia, being driven out of his possessions by those of the country; and, passing over the intermediate region, reached the mountainous part of Syria, which was then desolate" (7).

The General History to the Flood.

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
1542.

the earth (L). But it is thought the waters which either the abyfs or the rain could afford, will fall prodigiously fhort of the proportion required. According to the obfervations made of the quantity of water that falls in rain, this fupply could not afford one ocean, nor half an ocean, and would be a very inconfiderable part of what was neceffary for a deluge. If it rained forty days and forty nights throughout the whole earth at once, the lower grounds might be laid under water, but fuch a fource would fignify very little as to the overflowing of the mountains; fo that it has been faid, that, if the deluge proceeded from rains only, not only forty days, but forty years would have been required for that effect. If we fuppofe the whole atmofphere condensed into water, it would not at all have been fufficient. And as to the abyfs, if by it we mean the fea, that it is no higher than the land, and therefore could contribute nothing to the deluge; if we underftand the fubterraneous waters, they would be quiet in their cells, and not afcend otherwife than by force; and, if force were ufed to draw them out on the furface of the earth, their places muft be filled again with other waters; fo that this turns to no account upon the whole (M).

*The moft
rational
account of
the deluge.*

After all, the divine affiftance muft be called in, on this occafion. For though the waters, which covered the earth at the creation, might be fufficient to cover it again; yet how this fhould be effected by mere natural means, cannot be conceived. The waters which were fufpended in the clouds, might, indeed, defcend upon the earth, and that in cataracts, or fpouts of water, (as the Septuagint interpret *the windows of heaven*), like thofe in the Indies, where the clouds frequently, inftead of dropping, fall, with a terrible violence, in a kind of torrent; and this alone might caufe a great inundation in the lower grounds;

(L) Notwithftanding the word, *tehom*, *depth*, in fome paffages, is fuppofed to fignify the *fea*, yet it may be there much better interpreted of *fubterraneous waters*, as it manifefly muft in other places. And, being here joined with the epithet *rabbah*, *great*, it feems Moles intended that vaft collection of waters, which the moft fagacious naturalifts place

in the womb of the earth, the receptacle of the greateft part of that deep which covered the earth at the beginning of the creation.

(M) Thofe who would know how far human philofophy has proceeded in accounting for this phenomenon upon natural principles, may confult the theories of Burnet, Whifton, and Woodward,

but

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2348.

but as the clouds could pour down no more water than they had, which would soon be exhausted at this rate; it seems, from the length of the rain's continuance, that the showers were rather moderate, and gradual. The subterraneous stores would afford a much more plentiful supply to complete the deluge, and, probably, contain more waters than enough to drown the world (N): the only difficulty is, to draw it out of the abyss on the surface of the earth. And here, since we can assign no natural cause, we apprehend we may resolve it into the divine power, which might, on this occasion, so far controul the usual course of nature, as to effect this purpose. And, indeed, the event was so extraordinary, and the consequences thereof so considerable, that it is very reasonable to believe God did, in an especial manner, interpose.

Having thus considered the efficient causes of the deluge, we must, next, take a view of the ark, in which Noah and his family were preserved from destruction.

We might presume, if Moses had not told us so, that a vessel proportionable, and adapted to the use designed, must have been of more than human contrivance, and built by the direction of God himself. The length of it was 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30; but what was the exact measure of the cubit here mentioned, is disputed. Some, fearing the capacity of the ark would be otherwise too small for the intended purpose, have enlarged the dimensions, even to extravagance (O); but the general opinion of learned men is, that

*Of the ark,
its size and
figure.*

(N) Though sir W. Raleigh allows thirty miles for the height of the mountains, yet the highest in the world will not be found to be above five direct miles in height. Olympus, whose height is so extolled by the poets, does not exceed a mile and a half perpendicular, and about seventy paces. Mount Athos, which is said to cast its shade into the isle of Lemnos, (according to Pliny, eighty-seven miles), is not above two miles in height; nor Caucasus much more: nay, the Pike of Teneriff, reputed

the highest mountain in the world, may be ascended in three days (according to the proportion of eight furlongs to a day's journey), which makes it about the height of a German mile perpendicular. And the Spaniards affirm, that the Andes, those lofty mountains of Peru, in comparison of which, they say, the Alps are but cottages, may be ascended in four days compass.

(O) When Celsus objected, that the ark was a monster, with all things in its belly, Origen answered, that the ark

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2348.

that they were but common cubits, one of which, though formerly supposed equal to 18 of our inches, is now allowed to contain almost 22, or, more exactly, 21.888, according to which measure, the ark must have been 547.2 English feet long, 91.2 broad, and 54.72 high; and the solid contents 2,730,781.0008 feet, almost double to what they would be by the former computation. The form of it was an oblong square, a parallelopiped, with a flat bottom, and a sloped roof raised a cubit in the middle¹. It had neither sails nor rudder, nor was it made sharp, so as to cut the water; which form, as it was admirably contrived for lying steadily on the water without rolling, which might have endangered the lives of the animals within it; so it was very unfit for swimming to a great distance, or for riding in a boisterous sea. It consisted of three stories, each of which, abating the thickness of the floors, might be about 18 feet high, and was partitioned into a great many rooms, or apartments. This vessel was, without doubt, so contrived, as to have the air, and light on all sides (P); though the particular construction of the windows be not mentioned; and the whole seems to have had another covering

¹ Vid. Buteon. De Arca Noe. Poole's Synopsis in loc. Bernard. de Mensuris & Ponder. Antiq. lib. iii.

was like a great city, whose base was 90,000 cubits long, and 25,000 broad; but in another place he is more moderate, and, without encreasing the number of the Mosaic cubits, supposes they were geometrical cubits, each containing six ordinary cubits; which last opinion is approved by St. Austin. Some, who cannot digest these geometrical cubits, suppose the ark was measured by a larger cubit of three feet, or by the sacred cubit, which was larger, by a hand's breadth, than the common cubit, all without the least ground or intimation, to that purpose, in the sacred historian. Sir W. Raleigh supposes the antediluvian cubit was larger than that

which was afterwards in use; because, as he imagines, mankind were then of a larger stature. But this gains no room in the ark, because the bulk of its cargo must have been increased in proportion.

(P) There are various translations of the word *sôhar*, which is found but once in the whole Bible, in this sense, our version renders it *window*, as it seems very properly; for the root in the Chaldee signifies *to shine*, or, *to give light*; wherefore one of the paraphrasts imagines *sôhar* to have been a *precious stone*, or *carbuncle*, which Noah was to fetch from the river Phison, to illuminate the ark. From the following words, "and in a cubit shalt thou

covering besides the roof, probably made of skins, like that of the tabernacle (Q).

That the space in the ark was abundantly sufficient to contain both Noah and his family, and the animals, and all necessary provisions for them, does evidently appear from the geometrical calculations of learned men (R), who have yet generally supposed the length of the cubit to have been but 18 inches; whereas, if we take the dimensions according to the larger measure above mentioned, the whole capacity will be nearly doubled.

We cannot pretend to explain in what manner the unknown kinds of serpents in Brazil, and all those strange species of animals seen in the West Indies, should either come into the ark, or be conveyed out of it into those

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2348.

thou finish it above," some have supposed the window was to have been a cubit square, or but a cubit high, which would have been much too small; but the relative *it* being in the Hebrew of the feminine gender, and *sobar* of the masculine, those two words cannot agree; and therefore the proper antecedent seems to be *the ark* which was to be covered with a roof, raised a cubit high in the middle.

(Q) Noah is said, after the Flood, to have removed "the covering of the ark;" which cannot well be supposed to have been the roof, but something flung over it, like that of the tabernacle, which is expressed by the same Hebrew word; and the use of it was probably to hang over and defend the windows in bad weather.

(R) Bishop Wilkins has reduced the number of species of animals, which, at first view, may seem almost infinite, within very moderate bounds; he reckons they do not amount to one hundred of quadrupeds, and two hundred of birds; and of these must

be excepted such as live in the water, such as proceed from a mixture of different species, and such as change their colour, shape, and size, by changing their climate; and thence, in different countries, seem to be of different species, when they are not. He afterwards enters into a particular detail of the animals, the quantity of food necessary for them, and of the capacity and proportion of the ark; and concludes, there was room enough, and to spare: whereupon he observes, that had the most skilful mathematicians and philosophers been set to consult what proportions a vessel designed for such an use should have in the several parts of it, they could not have pitched on any more suitable to the purpose than those mentioned by Moses. After all, we must have recourse to the interposition of God's miraculous power; for, according to the principles of ship-building, such a vessel must have been overset by the least agitation of the water.

countries,

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2344.

countries, the climate of which seems now necessary to their existence. It is indeed probable, that the temperature of the air before the deluge, was so equal and serene, that all kinds, even of the American animals, might live and be found in those parts of Asia when Noah went into the ark, though none of them could bear the climate since, by reason of the change in nature. The great difficulty is, how to get them into America after the flood was over : and here we must confess we can neither account for this emigration, nor conceive by what means America was peopled.

Its materials.

The timber of which the ark was framed, Moses calls gopher-wood ; but what tree the gopher was (S) the learned have not yet determined. Some contend for the cedar, others for the pine ; some incline to the box, and others, particularly the Mohammedans, to the Indian plane-tree : but those seem to be in the right, who suppose it to be the cypress ; which, besides the resemblance in name, is allowed to be a very proper sort of timber for ship-building. To preserve it from leaking, Noah was directed to smear it with pitch, or rather with bitumen, such as was used in the building the Tower of Babel.

Where built.

Nor is there less disagreement as to the place where the ark was built, and the time spent in this work. One supposes it was built in Palestine, and that Noah planted the cedars of which he made it, in the plains of Sodom : another takes it to have been built near Mount Caucasus, on the confines of India ; and a third, in China ; where he imagines Noah dwelt before the flood ; but the place seems rather to have been somewhere near Eden ; from whence it is to be presumed Noah would not remove far, though not for the reason alleged by some, viz. because he was the eldest son, in a lineal descent, from Seth, which is no way certain from Scripture ; nor can we think it was far from Ararat, where the ark rested,

(S) Aben Ezra and Kimchi only say it is a sort of wood so called, which is light, and swims on the water. The Vulgate and Septuagint take the word *gopher* not to denote the species of timber, but for an adjective ; the first translating *ligna levigata*, smoothed or planed timber, and the other *ξύλα τετράγωνα*, square timber.

Vossius endeavours to prove, that the expression of this last version signifies not timber squared by the workman, but trees whose branches shoot quadrangularly, or by five and four, at equal distances from the earth. Of which kind are the pine, fir, cedar, and some others ; but not the cypress.

that

that being a vessel which could not be driven to a great distance. It was therefore probably built in Chaldæa, in the territories of Babylon; where there was so great a quantity of cypress, in the groves and gardens, in Alexander's time, that he built a whole fleet of it for want of other timber; and this conjecture is confirmed by the Chaldæan tradition, which makes Xisuthrus sail from that country.

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2348.

As to the time, a rabbin says, the ark was fifty-two years in building; the fathers and oriental authors allow a hundred, because Noah is said to be five hundred years old, before any mention is made of the ark. Some, from the words of St. Peter, "That the long suffering of God waited while the ark was preparing," suppose Noah was employed therein the whole time of forbearance, which was one hundred and twenty years; and others think the time much shorter, because Noah's three sons, the eldest of whom was born in his five hundredth year, are not only mentioned before the directions given for the ark, but they and their wives are ordered to be taken into the ark in those very directions, a circumstance which seems to imply they were then married; and yet they had no children till after the flood, unless they perished in the deluge. But there is no such connection or exact order of time kept in this whole narration, as to establish any of these conjectures. All we can affirm is, that such a vessel as the ark, and the necessary preparations of the timber for it, could not be the work of a few years.

And in
what time.

The appointed time of the deluge being come, and all things in readiness, Noah, at God's command, went into the ark with his wife, his sons, and his daughters-in-law (T); taking along with him, pursuant to the divine directions, of all kinds of beasts, of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth on the earth; of the unclean by pairs, and of the clean by sevens, the male and his female (U).

Noah, &c.
enter into
the ark,
and the
flood begins.

Noah

Genes. vii. 7. and 2, &c.

(T) It is certain, both from the testimony of Moses and St. Peter, that eight persons, and no more, were saved in the ark.

(U) It is a doubt whether there went into the ark but seven of every clean, and two of every unclean species, or four-

teen of the first, and four of the last. Some adhere to the former exposition, and others to the latter, which seems to be the natural sense of the Hebrew words *seven* and *seven*, and *two* and *two* the *male* and *his female*. If there were but seven of the clean beasts

A. M.
1656.
Ante Chr.
2348.

Noah went into the ark in the six hundredth year of his age, on the seventeenth day of the second month, which answers to our seventh of December (X), while the rest of mankind, contemning his repeated admonitions, were eating and drinking, marrying and given in marriage, until the flood came and destroyed them all. For on the self-same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. The waters of the flood continued gradually to increase for five months, till they reached their utmost height, which was fifteen cubits, or twenty-seven feet above the tops of the highest mountains.

*The waters
assuage.*

At the expiration of the five months, God caused a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters began to assuage, the two sources which fed them being stopped and restrained. On the very first day of their decrease, the seventeenth day of the seventh month, being the sixth of May, they fell so much, that the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat; and by the first of the tenth month, or nineteenth of July, the tops of the neighbouring mountains began to appear. About the twenty-eighth of August, Noah, the better to judge the height of the waters, opened the window or lattice of the room where the birds were kept, and let out a raven, which flew to and fro till the earth was dry, but gave him no satisfactory information; whereupon he sent out a dove (Y) three several

beasts, one must have been without a mate. If this be admitted, the capacity which we have allowed the ark, being double to what bishop Wilkins computes it, will be no more than necessary for double the number of animals.

If it be asked by what means Noah got all these animals together into the ark, the best answer we can make is, that they came voluntarily by a supernatural impulse from God.

(X) It is remarkable, that the day assigned by Moses for the beginning of the deluge, agrees exactly with the day wherein Plutarch tells us Osiris

went into the ark, viz. the seventeenth of Athyr, which month is the second after the autumnal equinox, the sun then passing through Scorpio. Nor does it differ above a day or two from that set down by Berofus, if we allow what probably may have been the case, that he, or his transcribers, fell into the mistake above mentioned, and supposed the flood began the second month from the vernal equinox, which was Dæsius; whereas the true month was Apellæus, the second from the autumnal equinox.

(Y) The Chaldean tradition agrees with the Mosaic history

several times, intermitting seven days between each excursion. The first time the dove quickly returned, finding no place dry enough for her to rest on; the second time she came back in the evening, bringing in her mouth an olive-leaf plucked off, which shewed a considerable abatement of the waters; and the third time she returned no more.

A. M.
1657.
Ante Chr.
2347.

On the first day of the first month, answering to the twenty-third of October, in the six hundredth and first year of Noah's life, that patriarch removed the covering of the ark, to have a more extended view, and saw the surface of the earth was cleared of the waters: however, he stayed on board till the twenty-seventh of the second month, or the eighteenth of December, when, by God's direction, he went forth with his family, and all that were with him, having remained in the ark a year and ten days, according to the antediluvian computation; and, according to the present, a full year, or three hundred sixty-five daysⁿ.

Noah, &c.
leave the
ark.

We shall conclude this section with adding a word or two of the Persian and Indian traditions concerning the deluge.

The Persian and Indian traditions of the flood.

An eastern writer tells us, that some of those who embrace the Magian religion, are said to deny the flood, or at least the universality of it; pretending, that it reached no farther than a cliff near Hulwan^o, a city of Irak, bordering on Curdestan. Yet the orthodox among them acknowledge this general destruction by water, sent by God to punish the crimes of mankind; one of whom, named Malcus, was a monster of wickedness and impiety. One odd circumstance mentioned by them is, that the first waters of the deluge gushed out of the oven (Z) of a certain old woman, named Zala Cufa^p.

ⁿ Genes. vii. & viii. ^o Ebn Shohnah. ^p Vide Hyde de Rel. vet. Persar. cap. 10. and Lord's Account of the Religion of the Perses, p. 9.

in the circumstance of the bird's being sent out by Xifuthrus. And Plutarch says, that, according to the mythologists, a dove was let out of the ark; and that her going out was to Deucalion a sign of fair weather, as her return denoted the reverse.

(Z) Mohammed has bor-

rowed this circumstance, and inserted it in his Koran; the commentators say, it was the sign by which Noah knew the flood was coming. And some pretend it was the same oven which Eve made use of to bake her bread; and that it descended from patriarch to patriarch, till it came to Noah (8).

(8) Vide Al Koran, cap. xi. D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient.

A. M.
1657.
Ante Chr.
2347.

We are told by the same author, that the Indians acknowledge no deluge; but this must not be understood of all; for the Bramins say, that the four tribes, or casts, of which the first race of men consisted, degenerating from their primitive innocence, the priest neglecting his piety, the soldier becoming insolent and tyrannical, the merchant practising deceit in trade, and using false balances, and the artizan spending the profits of his inventions in riot and excess, God's indignation was justly provoked, and he sent a flood, which destroyed all nations without exception: after which extermination, in order to repair mankind, he created three persons of greater excellency than those of the former generation; to one of whom, named Bremaw, he gave the power of creating men and animals; the first human pair proceeding one from his right side, the other from his left. The man was called Manow, and the woman Ceteroupa, and by them was the earth replenished. It must be observed, however, that these people believe several successive events of this nature^a.

S E C T. VIII.

Of the State of the Antediluvian World, and the Changes made in the Earth by the Deluge.

*Of the state
of the old
world.*

WE cannot dismiss the history of the old world, without taking a transient view of the antediluvian state of mankind, and of the alterations which have been wrought in nature by the flood.

The religion, policy, arts, and sciences of these first men would be a very entertaining subject; but all we know of these articles, is reducible to a few conjectures.

*The religion
of the
antediluvians.*

The only circumstance we know as to their religious rites is, that they offered sacrifices, both of the fruits of the earth and of animals; but whether the blood and flesh of the animals, or only their milk and wool were offered, is a dispute among the learned. Some have endeavoured to prove, that all the patriarchs from Adam had stated places, and annual and weekly times set apart for divine worship, and also a separate maintenance for the priests: all which particulars may be true, though they cannot be

^a Lord's Discourse of the Banian Religion, chap. vi. and vii. Pro- pag. of the Gospel in the East, part i. lett. 3.

proved

proved from the Scripture. But, what is more extraordinary, they pretend to tell us the very day of the week on which the antediluvian sabbath was kept, and that it was the same with the Christian sabbath, or Sunday^r.

Of the arts and sciences of those people we have not much more to say. They seem to have spent their time in luxury and wantonness, to which the abundant fertility of the first earth invited them, rather than in discoveries or improvements, which, probably, they stood much less in need of than their successors. The art of working metals was found out by the last generation of Cain's line; and music, which they might be supposed to practise for their pleasure, was not brought to any perfection, if invented, before the same generation. Some authors suppose astronomy to have been cultivated by the antediluvians, though this opinion is probably owing to a mistake of Josephus: but it is to be presumed, the progress they made therein, or in any other science, was not extraordinary; it being even very doubtful whether letters were so much as known before the flood, whatever is pretended by some men, who have conceived so high an opinion of Adam's knowledge, that they suppose it to have been almost universal; nor can any thing be inferred from the books attributed to that patriarch, or to Seth and Enoch, which are forgeries too gross to deserve any consideration.

Arts and sciences.

As to their politics and civil constitutions, we have not so much as any circumstances whereon to build conjectures. It is probable the patriarchal form of government, which certainly was the first, was set aside when tyranny and oppression began to take place, and much sooner among the race of Cain than that of Seth. It seems also, that their communities were but few, and consisted of vastly larger numbers of people than any formed since the flood; or rather, it is a question, whether, after the union of the two great families of Seth and Cain, there was any distinction of civil societies, or diversity of regular governments at all; it is more likely that all mankind made but one great nation, though living in a kind of anarchy, divided into several disorderly associations; which, as it was almost the natural consequence of their having but one common language, so it was a circumstance that greatly contributed to the general corruption, which otherwise, could not have so universally overspread

Their polity.

^r Smith's Doctrine of the Church of England, concerning the Lord's Day. Vid. Bedford's Scripture Chronol. p. 6.

the antediluvian world. For this reason, chiefly, so soon as the posterity of Noah were sufficiently increased, a plurality of tongues was miraculously introduced in order to divide them into distinct societies, that they might not be so easily debauched for the future.

The state of the natural world before the flood seems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at present.

The old world more populous and fertile than the present.

The antediluvian world was, in all probability, stocked with a much greater number of inhabitants than the present earth either actually does, or perhaps is capable of containing or supplying. This increase of population seems naturally to follow from the great length of their lives, which exceeding the present standard of life, in proportion, at least, of ten to one, the antediluvians must accordingly, in any long space of time, double themselves, at least, in about the tenth part of the time in which mankind do now double their number; for they began to get children as early, and left off as late, in proportion, as men do now: and the several children of the same father seem to have succeeded as quickly one after another as they usually do at this day; and as many generations, which are but successive with us, were contemporary before the flood, the number of people living on the earth at once, would be sufficiently increased to answer any defect which might arise from other circumstances not considered. So that, if we make a computation on those principles (A), we shall find that there were a considerable

(A) It is now generally owned, and that from good observations, that mankind do double themselves in about three hundred and sixty, or three hundred and seventy years; or, allowance being made for all, but very uncommon and very rare cases of general wars, famines, plagues, and such like desolations, in about four hundred years (9). So that, allowing the period for doubling of mankind from the creation to the deluge, to be ten

times shorter, by reason of their so much longer lives; if we have a series of forty numbers, beginning at two (for so many God created himself at first), and doubling themselves in forty, or, for convenience, in forty-one years at a mean, or one age with another, till the deluge, we shall, in some degree, obtain the sum total of mankind at the deluge, and also in the several ages before that time; though this period of doubling must still have

(9) See Sir W. Petty's Essay on the Multiplication of Mankind, and the Philosophical Transactions, N^o 197. p. 597.

considerable number of people in the world at the death of Abel, though their father Adam was not then one hundred and thirty years old, and that the number of mankind before the deluge would easily amount to above one hundred thousand millions (even according to the Samaritan chronology); that is, to twenty times as many as our present earth has, in all probability, now upon it, or can well be supposed capable of maintaining in its present constitution*. From whence it follows, that, to sustain so much large a number of inhabitants (besides the brute animals, which were, very probably, as numerous in proportion), the earth must have been much more fruitful before that desolation than it has been since; though it was then barren, in comparison of its primitive fertility before the fall.

One of the most extraordinary circumstances which occurs in the antediluvian history, is the vast length of *Of the longevity of the antediluvians.*

* Whiston's Theory, p. 246, &c.

† Ibid. p. 256.

been much shorter in the earliest, and longer in the latest times of the interval; which computation Mr. Whiston, to

whom we are obliged for these observations, has given us in the following table.

Number of mankind.	Years of doubling.	Series.	Number of mankind.	Years of doubling.	Series.
4	2	1	2,097,152	420	20
8	6	2	4,194,304	462	21
16	12	3	8,388,608	506	22
32	20	4	16,777,216	552	23
64	30	5	33,554,432	600	24
128	42	6	67,108,864	650	25
256	56	7	134,217,728	702	26
512	72	8	268,435,456	756	27
1,024	90	9	536,870,912	812	28
2,048	110	10	1,073,741,824	870	29
4,096	132	11	2,147,483,648	930	30
8,192	156	12	4,294,967,296	992	31
16,384	182	13	8,589,934,592	1,056	32
32,768	210	14	17,179,869,184	1,122	33
65,536	240	15	34,359,738,368	1,190	34
131,072	272	16	68,719,476,736	1,260	35
262,144	306	17	137,438,953,472	1,332	36
524,288	342	18	274,877,906,944	1,406	37
1,048,576	380	19	549,755,813,888	1,482	38

human lives in those first ages, in comparison with our own. Few persons now arrive to eighty or an hundred years, whereas, before the flood, they frequently lived to near a thousand; a disproportion almost incredible, though supported by the joint testimonies of sacred and prophane writers (B). Some, to reconcile the matter with probability, have imagined that the ages of those first men might possibly be computed not by solar years, but months^a, an expedient which reduces the length of their lives rather to a shorter period than our own. But for this there is not the least foundation; besides, the many absurdities that would thence follow, such as their begetting children at about six years of age, as some of them in that case must have done, and the contraction of the whole interval, between the creation and the deluge, to considerably less than two hundred years, even according to the larger computation of the Septuagint.

Causes of it. The causes of this longevity are variously assigned: some have imputed it to the sobriety of the antediluvians, and the simplicity of their diet; alleging, that they eat no flesh (C), and had none of those provocations to gluttony, which wit and vice have since invented. Temperance might, undoubtedly, have some effect, but not possibly to such a degree. There have been many temperate and abstemious persons in latter ages, who yet seldom have exceeded the usual period. Others have imputed that longevity to the excellency of their fruits, and some peculiar virtue in the herbs and plants of those days; but as the earth was cursed immediately after the fall, its fruits, we may suppose, gradually decreased in their vir-

^a Varro, apud Lactant. Inst. Divin. lib. ii. cap. 11. Vid. Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. xv. cap. 12.

(B) Josephus reckons up the testimonies of Manetho, Berosus, Mochus, Hestizus, Jerom the Egyptian, and the writers of the Phœnician antiquities. He says also, that Hesiod, Hecatæus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Nicolaus, wrote that the ancients lived a thousand years. Of all which testimonies we have none now extant, except

that of Hesiod, in Oper. & Dieb. ver. 130.

(C) A learned physician has advanced a very contrary opinion. Among several causes of the longevity of the first men, enumerated by him, one is, their eating of raw flesh; the most nourishing and best parts whereof he supposes, are carried off in dressing by the action of the fire. Beverovicus, Thes. Sanitate, lib. iiii.

tue and goodness till the flood; and yet we do not see the length of men's lives decreased considerably, if at all during that interval. Others have thought, that the long lives of those inhabitants of the old world proceeded from the length of their stamina, or first principles of their bodily constitutions: which might, indeed, be a concurrent, but not the sole and adequate cause of their longevity; for Shem, who was born before the deluge, and had all the virtue of the antediluvian constitution, fell three hundred years short of the age of his forefathers, because the greatest part of his life was passed after the flood.

It has therefore been more rationally supposed, that the chief cause of this longevity was the wholesome constitution of the antediluvian air, which, after the deluge, became corrupted and unwholesome, breaking, by degrees, the pristine crasis of the body, and shortening men's lives, in a very few ages, to near the present standard. But how the flood should induce or occasion such a change in the air, is not easy to comprehend*.

If no rain fell in sensible round drops, to refract and reflect the rays of light, on which the rainbow entirely depends, the appearance of that beautiful phenomenon could not be expected; and, indeed, it is somewhat hard to conceive how it could be a sign or confirmation of the covenant which God made with Noah, that he would drown the world no more with water, if it had been in the clouds before, and with no regard to this promise. For if we suppose it even an arbitrary sign, and to have no connection with the effect, it seems that, to make it significant and satisfactory, it must be something new, otherwise it could not signify a new thing, or be the confirmation of a new promise.

*Whether
any rain-
bow before
the flood.*

Whether flesh was permitted to be eaten before the deluge, is also a question which has been much debated. By the permission expressly given to Noah for that purpose, after the flood, and God's assigning vegetables only for food to man, as well as beast, at the creation, one would imagine it was not lawful before; yet others have supposed, that it was included in the general grant of power and dominion given to Adam by God over the animal creation; and the distinction of beasts into clean and unclean, which was well known before the flood, is insisted on as a strong argument on this side, and which it is not

*Whether
any flesh
might be
eaten be-
fore the
flood.*

* Vid. Burnet's Theory. Whiston's Theory. Ray on the Deluge.

easy to answer. To say, that distinction was used prophetically, is a mere subterfuge; and to suppose it made solely to distinguish what was lawful or unlawful to be sacrificed, and not what might or might not be eaten, is little better; it being the custom to offer to God such fruits and animals as were fit for food and sustenance, and not such as were of no use or benefit to mankind in that respect.

S E C T. IX.

An Inquiry concerning the Situation of Mount Ararat, and the various Opinions about it.

IT may be proper, before we close this chapter, to give some account of the mountains of Ararat, whereon the ark rested, the situation of which is still uncertain.

The Sibylline verses place Mount Ararat in the borders of Black Phrygia, near Celænæ, at the springs of the river Marſyas, which rises out of the same lake with the Mæander, and falls at length into that river. But it appears from good authorities that there is really no mountain at all in that place, at least none near so high as Ararat must needs have been. This fancy, therefore, seems to have taken its rise from the surname *Cibotos*, or *the ark*, given to Apamæa, another city near Celænæ. This appellation, however, it did not receive, as Bochart observes, from any tradition of Noah's ark, but from its situation, shut up like an ark or chest, by three rivers; as the port of Alexandria in Egypt was called *Cibotos*, from the bay surrounding it: besides, *Cibotos* was a new name, which does not seem to have been known in those parts till given to Apamæa, built by Seleucus, or Antiochus Soter; and Celænæ had a prior right to it, if there had been any such tradition; so that what is farther alleged of the Apamean medals having on the reverse the impression of an ark, as may be seen on three severally struck in honour of Adrian, Septimius Severus, and Philip the Arabian, is of no weight.

Ben Gorion seems to extend the name of Ararat to Caucasus; but by the mountains of Ararat, both ancient and modern authors have generally understood those of Armenia. Ararat is by the Septuagint, and in the Vulgate, rendered Armenia (D); and there is actually a pro-

(D) The Samaritan version the name the eastern writers
translates it Serendib, which is give to the island Ceylon.

vince

vince of that country named Ararat, or Airarat, from a plain therein, so called in memory of Arai the eighth king of that nation, who was there slain in battle; *Arai* ~~and~~ signifying *the slain of Arai*. But though authors have generally agreed in placing Ararat in Armenia, yet they differ as to the particular situation of the mountain where the ark rested. There are two opinions concerning it, and each is supported by tradition.

The first opinion is, that it was one of the mountains which divide Armenia on the south from Mesopotamia, and that part of Assyria inhabited by the Curds, from whom those mountains took the name of Curdue, or Cardu, by the Greeks turned into Gordyæi (E). It is called by the Arabs Al Judi, and also Thamanin.

First tradition about Mount Ararat.

The tradition, which affirms the ark to have rested on these mountains, must have been very ancient, since it is the tradition of the Chaldeans themselves: the Chaldee paraphrasts assent to this opinion, which obtained very much formerly; but when we come to enquire into the peculiar part of these mountains, whereon the ark rested, authors seem to place it out of Armenia; Epiphanius, in the country of the Cordyæans, or between the Armenians and Cordyæans, on the mountain Lubar; the eastern authors, as well Christians as Mahomedans, on Mount Thamanin, or Al Judi, which overlooks the country of Diyah Rabbah, in Mesopotamia, near the cities of Mausol, Forda, and Jazirat Ebn Omur, which last is said to be but four miles from the place where the ark rested.

To confirm this tradition we are told the remains of the ark were to be seen upon these mountains. Berofus and Abydenus both declare there was such a report in their time. The first observes farther, that several of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood scraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet; and the latter says, they used the wood of the vessel as a remedy for many diseases, with wonderful success. The relics of the ark were to be seen also in the time of Epiphanius, if we may believe his assertion; and

Remainder of the ark to be seen for a long time on the Cardu mountains.

y Vide Eutych. Annal. p. 41. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. i. Onkelos & Jonathan in Genes. viii. Benj. Tudelens Itiner. p. 61.

(E) The Greek and Latin writers name them Carduchi, Cardiei, Cordyæi, Cordueni, Gordi, Cordæi, Curdi, &c. Bochart supposes they are the same that are called by mistake, in Josephus, Cæron.

we are told, the emperor Heraclius went from the town of Thamanin up the mountain Al Judi, and saw the place of the ark. This town of Thamanin is, or was, situated at the foot of the mountain Al Judi; the name signifies *eighty*, in memory of the eighty persons who, according to a Mohammedan tradition, were saved in the ark; though the Christian writers among the Arabs, who say this city was built by Noah and his sons, near Forda, and suppose it was so called because they were eight².

*Monastery
of the ark
formerly
there.*

There was formerly a famous monastery, called The Monastery of the Ark, upon the Cardu mountains, where the Nestorians used to celebrate a festival on the spot where they supposed the ark rested; but in the year of Christ 776, that monastery was destroyed by lightning; since which time, probably, the credit of this tradition has declined, and given place to another which at present obtains.

*Second tra-
dition a-
bout Mount
Ararat.*

The second opinion, therefore, places Mount Ararat towards the middle of Armenia, near the river Araxes, or Aras, above two hundred and eighty miles distant from Al Judi, to the north-east.

Jerom seems to be the first who hath given an account of this tradition: "Ararat, says that father, is a campaign country, incredibly fertile, through which the Araxes flows, at the foot of Mount Taurus, which extends so far." Wherefore, by the mountains of Ararat, whereon the ark rested, are not to be understood the mountains of Armenia in general, but the highest mountains of Taurus, which overlook the plains of Ararat. These, probably, are the plains mentioned before, which gave name to the country. An author of the middle age observes, that near the city of Naxuhan (Naxh-chuvan) are the mountains on which the ark rested, the Araxes running at the foot of them; and since that time, all the travellers into those parts mention these as the real mountain of Ararat.

*Called Ma-
fis by the
Armenians.*

But the Armenians are convinced that this is the very mountain on which the ark rested; they call it Mafis, and derive the name from Amasia, the third successor of Haikh, the founder of their nation. The Turks named it Agridagh, that is, the *heavy* or *great mountain*, and Parmack-daghi, or the *mountain of the finger*, in allusion to its

² Vide Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 4. Abyden. apud Euseb. Chron. Græc. & Præp. Evan. lib. ix. cap. 4. Ebn Amid. Hist. Arab. lib. ii. cap. 1. D'Herbelot, p. 677.

appearance : it stands about twelve leagues to the east (or rather south-east) of Erivan, and of Ejmiadzin, or the *three churches* (from which last it is two short days journey), four leagues from the Aras, and ten to the north-west of Naxh-chuvan. Sir Walter Raleigh rests the ark, not upon the mountains of Armenia, but on some of those between Persia, Tartary, and India : he takes the mountains of Ararat in a more extended sense than either the ancient traditions or Scripture will allow : he supposes the mountains of Caucasus, towards Bactria and Scythia, to be part of a branch of Taurus, which, in its way through Asia, crossed Armenia.

All that has been said by all the writers who have treated on this subject, amounts to no more than frivolous conjecture, unsupported by fact, or philosophy.

Mount Mafis is encompassed by several petty hills, on the tops of which are found many ruins, said to have been the buildings of the first men, who feared, for a time, to descend into the plains. It stands by itself, in form of a sugar-loaf, in the midst of a very extensive plain, detached from the other mountains of Armenia. It consists of two hills ; the lesser is the more sharp and pointed ; the higher, which is that of the ark, lies north-west of it, and raises its head far above the neighbouring mountains. When the air is clear, it does not appear to be above two leagues from Erivan, and may be seen four or five days journey off. Yet travellers agree that the height of it is not extraordinary : one thinks, he hath passed a part of Caucasus, which was higher ; and another says, it is not above twice as high as Mount Valerian, near Paris : they therefore impute its being visible so far off, to its lonely situation, in a vast plain, and upon the most elevated part of the country.

*Descrip-
tion of
Mount
Mafis.*

The Armenian monks tell a thousand idle stories concerning the ark, the whole, or a part of which, they pretend, is still to be seen on the top of the mountain ; though at the same time they affirm, that no man ever reached the spot : they pretend that those who have attempted to ascend the hill out of zeal, or otherwise, have been punished, or at least brought back again by angels at night, to the place they set out from in the day, to prevent their approaching that vessel : this was the case with a monk of Ejmiadzin, afterwards bishop of Nisibin, called James ; though God at length so far complied with his desires, as to send an angel to him with a piece of the ark, who bid him, at the same time, not fatigue himself in vainly

*Fables of
the Arme-
nians con-
cerning it.*

vainly endeavouring to ascend the mountain; for that God had prohibited the access to the top of it, and would not suffer men to pull in pieces a vessel which had saved so many creatures. But if they are asked, whether they have any relics of the ark, they gravely answer, that it still lies buried in the vast heaps of snow; which, indeed, is the charm that hinders the ascent, and is sufficient to defend the ark without the help of an angel. Yet a certain missionary conceits, that the earthly Paradise still remains in some agreeable plain of this mountain, which God preserves from heat and cold, and where the prophets Enoch and Elias enjoy a thousand delights.

The Armenian patriarch informed Tournefort, that God had favoured one saint with the sight of the ark itself. And Rubruquis was assured by a bishop, that the before mentioned piece of the ark (brought to James) was in their church; and the Copts shew part of a beam of that vessel in theirs at Old Cairo in Egypt: what credit ought to be given to these venerable testimonies, appears from the account Tournefort has left us of his attempt to climb this mountain, in which having spent a whole day with infinite fatigue, he was obliged, by the snow and intense cold, to return without accomplishing his design, though it was then in the middle of summer.

The situation of Ararat, whether it be Mount Mafis, or the mountain of Cardu, is very convenient for the journey of the sons of Noah from thence to Shinaar, the distance not being very great, and the descent easy, especially from the latter, into the plains of Mesopotamia, of which Shinaar is a part. We discover plainly, through the Mosaic history, a neighbourhood between the land of Eden, where man was created; that of Ararat, where the remains of mankind were saved; and that of Shinaar, where they fixed the centre of their plantations^a.

^a Vid. Rubruquis de Tartaris, cap. xlviii. Tournefort's Voyages, lett. vii. Tavernier's Voyage, p. 181. Poulet Nouv. Relat. du Levant, part. i. chap. 10. Chardin Voy. en Perse, tom. i. p. 157. Shuckford's Connect. vol. i. p. 98.

C H A P. II.

From the Deluge to the Birth of Abraham.

S E C T. I.

The Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of Abraham from Haran, stated.

BEFORE we proceed to the postdiluvian history, we shall settle the chronology of this first period of it, which, as well as that of the preceding, can be adjusted only from the records of Moses.

For the planting of the world, the forming of societies and governments, the rise of arts and sciences, and the beginning of states and monarchies, falling within this province, nothing could have been more serviceable to history, than a fixed and uniform chronology of these early ages; whereas authors, divided in their opinions about the authenticity of the several copies, have every one chosen to follow that which agreed best with his own notions or hypothesis; whereby they have so perplexed and confounded all transactions, both sacred and profane, which fall within this period, that the history thereof can be compared to nothing but the original chaos.

After the birth of Abraham, indeed, we enter upon a more certain series of time, about which chronologers are more generally agreed; the variety of the several copies making a difference of but a few years, not several ages, as we find the difference arises to in this period; for the better exhibiting of which, we have inserted the following tables, adjusted in the same form with those we have given of the antediluvian patriarchs.

A TABLE of the Years of the Postdiluvian Patriarchs, to the birth of Abraham.

	Their ages at their sons birth.				Years they lived after their sons birth.			Length of their lives.		
	Heb.	Jof.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.	Heb.	Sam.	Sept.
Shem, aft. the flood	2	2	2	2	500	500	500	600	600	600
Arphaxad, -	35	135	135	135	403	390	430	438	438	565
Cainan, -	0	0	0	130	0	0	330	0	0	460
Salah, -	30	130	130	130	403	303	330	433	433	460
Eber, -	34	134	134	134	430	270	370	464	404	504
Phaleg, -	30	130	130	130	209	109	209	239	239	339
Reu, -	32	132	132	132	207	107	207	239	239	39
Serug, -	30	130	130	130	200	100	200	230	230	330
Nahor, -	29	29	79	79	119	69	129	148	148	208
Terah, -	130	70	130	130	75	75	75	205	205	205
Sum to }										
Abraham's birth,	352	892	1002	1132						

A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the Postdiluvian Patriarchs to the call of Abraham, according to the Computation of the Hebrew.

	Years of the flood.	Yrs. of Noah.	Yrs. of Shem.	Yrs. of Arphaxad.	Years of Salah.	Years of Eber.	Years of Peleg.	Years of Reu.	Years of Serug.	Years of Nahor.	Years of Terah.	Years of Abraham.
The flood, -	0	600	98									
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100									
Salah born,	37	637	135	35								
Eber born,	67	667	165	65	30							
Peleg born. Confusion of tongues, and dispersion of mankind,	101	701	199	99	64	34						
Reu born,	131	731	229	129	94	64	30					
Serug born,	161	761	261	161	126	96	62					
Nahor born,	193	793	291	191	156	126	92					
Terah born,	222	822	320	220	185	155	121	91				
Haran born,	292	892	390	290	255	225	191	161	129	99		
Peleg dies,	340	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	177	147	118	
Nahor dies,	341	941	439	339	304	274		210	178	148	119	
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	313	283		219	187			
Abraham born,	352		450	350	315	285		221	189			
Reu dies,	370		468	368	333	303		239	207			
Serug dies,	393		491	391	356	326			230			
Terah dies, and Abraham is called from Haran, -	427		525	425	390	360						

A Chronological TABLE of the Years of the Postdiluvian Patriarchs to the call of Abraham, according to the Computation of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

	Year of the Flood,	Yrs. of Noah.	Yrs. of Shem.	Yrs. of Arphaxad.	Yrs. of Salah.	Years of Eber.	Years of Peleg.	Years of Reu.	Years of Serug.	Years of Nahor.	Years of Terah.	Years of Abraham
The flood,	0	600	98									
Arphaxad born,	2	602	100									
Salah born,	137	737	235	135								
Eber born,	267	867	365	265	130							
Noah dies,	350	950	448	348	213	83						
Peleg born. Confusion of tongues, and dispersion of mankind,	401		499	399	264	134						
Arphaxad dies,	440		538	438	303	193	40					
Shem dies,	502		600		305	255	101					
Reu born,	531				394	264	130					
Salah dies,	570				433	303	169					
Peleg dies,	610					373	239					
Serug born,	663					396						
Eber dies,	671					404						
Reu dies,	770						239					
Nahor born,	793							107				
Terah born,	872							130				
Serug dies,	893							209				
Nahor dies,	941							230				
Abraham born,	1002								148			
Terah dies, and Abraham is called from Haran,	1077									79	21	69
										130		75
											275	75

There is no difference in this period between the Hebrew and the Samaritan, but what arises from the different computation of the years of the genitures of the patriarchs: the great difficulty, in both copies, consists in Terah's age at the birth of Abraham; some will have him born in the seventieth year of Terah, which cannot be, unless Abraham were the eldest son, as it is evident he was not (for Lot, Haran's son, was near as old as Abraham) or unless Haran was born before his father was seventy, which seems not to be agreeable to the text; and, if Terah was two hundred and five years old at his death, Abraham being then but seventy-five, he must have been one hundred and thirty when Abraham was born. The Samaritan copy, indeed, makes Terah's age, at his death, no more than one hundred and forty-five; but then the first objection as to Haran's seniority remains, so that in this point the fault seems to be in the Samaritan;

tan ; for it must be confessed, the Hebrew number is in this place more to be depended upon.

The call of Abraham, where the period ends, is, by some, reckoned five years sooner, when he left Ur ; but this will not agree with Scripture, as shall be shewn, when we come to settle the next period.

There are some variations between the present copies of the Septuagint ; but as most of them relate to the length of some of the patriarchs lives, a circumstance not very material, and which makes no difference in the computation, we shall pass them by ; and only observe, that some copies place the birth of Arphaxad twelve years after the flood, which will encrease the total of this period ten years ; and that some make the age of Nahor, at the birth of Terah, one hundred and seventy-nine (F).

We have chosen to follow the readings of the Alexandrian manuscript ; according to which, the only difference between the Septuagint and the Samaritan, in this period, is one hundred and thirty years given to Cainan, who is added between Arphaxad and Salah ; but is to be found neither in the Hebrew nor the Samaritan, nor in the chronology of those times, given us, from the Septuagint itself, by Africanus and Eusebius^b ; which circumstance we look upon as sufficient authority to reject him out of the number of the patriarchs, notwithstanding his name is inserted in St. Luke, which may easily have happened, by its being added from some erroneous copies of the Septuagint, and first, as is most probable, put in the margin, though it has since crept into the text.

The difference between the Hebrew reckoning and the Samaritan, in this period, is very considerable, being no less than five hundred and fifty years ; in which the Hebrew falls short of the Samaritan. As to the objections,

^b Vide Euseb. Chron. Græc. p. 9.

(F) Father Pezron, following the present copies of Josephus, places the birth of Terah in the one hundred and twenty-ninth year of Nahor ; which agrees with the Hebrew, and the amended number of Josephus, with the addition only of one hundred years ; and thus the total

of this period will be one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven. But afterwards, taking in the ten years, added as above, between the flood and the birth of Arphaxad, he, in his second computation, makes the whole one thousand two hundred and sixty-seven.

VOL. I.

G.

which

which have been thence formed against the former calculation, the reader will find them fully answered by Usher, Capovius, and other eminent chronologers; and we shall have occasion to take notice of them hereafter.

S E C T. II.

The History of Noah after the Flood, and of his Descendants to Abraham.

Yr. of Fl.
1.
Ante Chr.
2347.

Noah comes
out of the
ark.

The pre-
cepts given
him by God.

THE time of Noah's going forth of the ark is fixed, in Scripture, to the first day of the six hundred and first year of his age. Immediately upon his landing, he built an altar, and offered a burnt-sacrifice, of every clean beast, and every clean fowl (G). God, having accepted the sacrifice, blessed Noah, and gave him power over all living creatures, with a permission to eat of them as freely as of the produce of the ground: he prohibited him however from eating the blood of animals, or shedding that of man; ordering him to punish manslaughter with death, and to people the world with all possible expedition.

The permission to eat flesh, now first explicitly given, seems to intimate, that it had not been allowed before the flood ^d.

The rabbins pretend, that God gave to Noah, and his sons, certain general precepts, which contain the law of nature, common to all men indifferently. These precepts imported that they should abstain from idolatry, blasphemy, murder, adultery, and theft; and that judges should be instituted to maintain these laws; and that they should carefully avoid eating the flesh of any animal, cut off while the creature was living. Which last precept was supposed to be intended by the words, "The flesh, with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat." This barbarity some Pagans are said to have practised. From the time of Moses, the Jews would not suffer a stranger to live among them, unless he observed the precepts of the Noachidæ, and never gave quarter, in battle, to any who were ignorant of these injunctions.

c Genes. viii. 13.

d Genes. viii. 20, &c.

(G) Some rabbins pretend, that Noah offered the sacrifice, and suffered for that office, by having the misfortune to be bit by a lion.

Mai-

to the Birth of Abraham.

Maimonides says, the six first precepts were given to Adam, and the seventh to Noah. To these, some rabbins add others; such as a prohibition to draw out the blood of any living creature to drink; to maim animals; to use magic and sorcery; to couple beasts, and ingraft trees, of different kinds; but there is no notice taken of them, either in Scripture, nor in Onkelos, nor in Josephus, nor in Philo; neither are they mentioned by Jerom, nor Origen, nor any of the ancient fathers.

Yr. of F.
1.
Ante Chr.
2347.

God farther made a covenant with Noah, that he would never drown the world again; promising, as a sign of this convention, to set his bow in the clouds, when it rained. This seems to have been done in order to take away Noah's apprehensions, who, according to Josephus, sacrificed to appease God's wrath, fearing an anniversary deluge; for which supposition that historian has been censured somewhat too severely.

*God assures
Noah the
world
should not
perish by a
second de-
luge.*

Noah, being come down from the mountain, applied himself to husbandry, and planted a vineyard; and having drank of the wine to excess, lay carelessly uncovered in his tent. His son Ham perceiving him naked, called in his brothers, Shem and Japhet, to behold the disgraceful attitude in which he lay; but they, out of a sense of duty and modesty, took a garment, and, going backwards, covered their father's shame; for which act of filial decorum, when he came to know what had passed, he blessed them, and cursed Ham in his posterity*.

*Noah be-
comes an
husband-
man.*

Noah died in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of his age, and, according to the tradition of the Orientals, was buried in Mesopotamia, where they shew his sepulchre, in a castle near a monastery called Dair Abunah, that is, *the monastery of our father*.

Noah diss.

All mankind being the issue of these three sons of Noah, who were saved with him in the ark; before we proceed any farther, it will be proper to give a genealogical table of their descendants, in the same manner as we have already specified those of the antediluvian patriarchs.

*The genea-
logy of the
descendants
of Noah.*

The chief design of Moses being to record what particularly concerned the Israelites, he has given us the genealogy of the line of Shem only entire. As to the descendants of the other two sons of Noah, his design seems to have been, to bring them down as low as the dispersion,

* Genes. xi. 20, &c. Selden de Jure Nat. & Gent. lib. i. Calmet. Dict. Art. Noachid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 3. Eutyech. p. 43.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

in order to leave to posterity the names of the first founders of nations, and there to dismiss them; for it is observable, that though several particulars are mentioned in the course of the Mosaical history, relating to the Canaanites, as the people with whom the Israelites were more particularly to be concerned; yet he hath deduced the genealogy of that branch of Ham no farther; on the contrary, it is shorter than those of Mizraim and Cush, by one generation.

Nor indeed, is there much to be collected from Scripture, relating to the descendents of Shem; more than their names, and the ages of the patriarchs in the line of Peleg, till we come to Terah, the father of Abraham, with whom the period ends. But whatever there may be wanting in the sacred history, the Jews have taken care, according to their usual custom, plentifully to supply with the figments and conceits of their rabbins, a set of men who have surpassed all others in the art of trifling and inventing absurdities. On the other hand, the Christian chronologers and historians, of all ages, who have endeavoured to connect the profane history with the sacred, within this period, would furnish us with materials enough to fill up the vacancies, could we think it worth while to collect their several opinions and conjectures; few of them agreeing in any one point, which yet every one is confident he has settled. We shall, therefore, take notice of but a very few of them; such contradictory sentiments serving only to shew the uncertainty of the whole, and, consequently, to confound, rather than to instruct the reader.

We shall not, in this place, touch upon the migrations, or the planting of nations by the posterity of Noah, which we have reserved for the subject of a distinct section, that we might not mix the history of that remarkable transaction with other matters. We have also thought proper to change the order of the table, and give an account of the line of Ham before that of Shem, which will more naturally close this section.

*Japhet
and his pos-
terity.*

Though Japhet is generally placed last in Scripture, yet he is expressly said to be the eldest; and that he was so, is farther evident, for that Noah was five hundred years old when he begat his three sons; according to which manner of expression in Scripture, one of them was born in his five hundredth year; but it could not be Shem, for he being in the one hundredth year of his age at the birth of Arphaxad, two years after the flood, when Noah was

fix hundred and three years old, it follows that he himself was born in the five hundred and third year of Noah; nor could it be Ham, for he is expressly said to have been the younger; so that Japhet was the eldest of the three sons.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

Japhet, being affected, as well as Shem, with filial concern at Ham's exposing their father's nakedness, assisted to cover him, and received a blessing from Noah, on that occasion. "God," says that patriarch, "shall enlarge Japhet (H); and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." The first part of this prophecy has been verified in the great possessions which fell to the descendants of Japhet; as all Europe, and all the northern part of Asia, the Lesser Asia, Media, Armenia, the countries between the Euxine and Caspian seas, as well as those lying to the north of them, Grand Tartary, with India and China. Add to these the European colonies in America of late ages; for, as to the original inhabitants of that continent, it is uncertain from which of the three branches they are descended. The next part of the prophecy, implying, that he should dwell in the tents of Shem, seems to refer to the overthrow of the Assyrian empire by the Medes, in conjunction with the Babylonians, as well as to the conquests of the Greeks and Romans in Asia; alluded to afterwards by Balaam, in his prophecy, that ships should come from the coasts of Chittim, and should afflict Ashur, and should afflict Eber; that is, they should afflict the Assyrians, and those who dwelt beyond the river Euphrates. And at the same time that they dwelt in the tents of Shem, they made the posterity of Ham their servants, by subduing the Babylonians, the Canaanites, the Egyptians, and other nations descended from that branch, wherein was the completion of the last part of Noah's prophecy.

The Septuagint version, followed by Eusebius and others^f, mentions an eighth son of Japhet, named Elisa, who is neither in the Hebrew nor the Chaldee.

No particulars being mentioned in Scripture, with reference to the descendants of Japhet, farther than what

^f Euseb. Chron. lib. i. p. 3. Chron. Alexandr. Augustinus.

(H) Noah here alludes to *sage*, "God shall persuade Japhet," that is, bring him over the name of *Japhet*, the root of which signifies *to enlarge*; in time to the true worship, though others translate the passage, "God shall persuade Japhet," that is, bring him over in time to the true worship, figured by the tents of Shem.

Yr. of Pl.
1350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

*Ham and
his poster-
ty.*

relates to their founding of nations, we must refer the reader for what may be said of them under that head, to our account of the migration.

When Noah was acquainted with the irreverent action of Ham, he cursed him in a branch of his posterity; "Curfed," says he, "be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." This curse being pronounced, not against Ham the immediate transgressor, but against his son, who does not appear, from the words of Moses, to have been any way concerned in the crime, hath occasioned several conjectures. Some have believed that Noah cursed Canaan, because he could not well have cursed Ham himself, whom God had not long before blessed; others, more reasonably, think Moses's chief intent in recording this prediction was to raise the spirits of the Israelites, then entering on a terrible war with the children of Canaan, by the assurance, that, in consequence of the curse, that people were destined by God to be subdued by them; for the opinion of those who imagine all Ham's race were here accursed, seems repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, which confines the malediction to Canaan and his posterity, and also contrary to fact.

Among those who were for extending the curse to Ham and his other race, some have supposed another effect of it, not mentioned by Moses; that Ham became a blackmoor, and communicated that colour to his descendants; but this opinion is a mere chimera.

In consequence of this undutiful act of his telling his brothers that he had seen his father's nakedness, Ham has been looked upon as the first introducer of wickedness after the flood; and authors have imputed to him many enormities, some of them ridiculous enough, which they have grounded solely upon this single passage. They have believed that he was a reprobate, who had committed all sorts of abomination. They take it for granted, that none but he, and his posterity, were concerned in the building of Babel, which they consider as a very wicked attempt. They make him the first propagator of idolatry after the flood, and the inventor of magic. They pretend that he set a very unedifying example of incontinence, by getting his wife with child in the very ark (I). Nay, it has been imagined, that the crime

(I) Though St. Ambrose words of Moses, that the matrimonial duty was superseded and
and others conceive from the
and

crime which he committed against his father was infinitely more enormous than it is represented in Scripture; some concluding that Ham castrated Noah; others, that he rendered him impotent by virtue of some magic charms; others again, that he committed incest with his father's wife; whilst a fourth party accuse him of all sorts of uncleanness. This character is very conformable to what we meet with in the ancients concerning Cronus, with whom, among many others (K), Ham is supposed to have been the same.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

If we may judge by the number of persons in the three generations of Ham's line mentioned by Moses, which exceeds the numbers of persons descended from both his brothers in the same degree, he must have had the most numerous issue of the three sons of Noah, and a greater part of the earth to his share. But though much mention is made of the latter posterity of Ham, in the succeeding part of the Jewish history, Moses has recorded nothing relating to his first descendants, besides their names, and some general circumstances, excepting Canaan and Nimrod.

Canaan (L) was the fourth son of Ham, if we may be allowed to judge by the order in which we find his name

Of Ca-
naan.

§ Genes. ix. 25. Chrysoft. Serm. 29. in Genes. August. Quæst. 17. in Genes. Heidegg. Hist. Patr. tom. i. p. 418. Bayle Dict. Hist. art. Cham.

and suspended during the time Noah and his family lived in the ark; nevertheless it is an opinion which has spread pretty much, that Ham did not observe continency on that occasion, but that his wife brought forth Canaan in the very ark.

(K) The history of Cronus, from Sanchoniatho, whose account of him is the most full, will be given in the next section. Marham thinks Ham is to be found in profane history under the names of Hammon, Thamuz, Thamus, Adonis, Ofiris, Baal, Belus, Jupiter, and Saturn the second. The same author says the Hebrew chronology requires that Ham should be the same with Menes, the first

king of Egypt, whom almost all other authors make to be Mizraim, his second son. Such are the wretched conjectures made by those who have attempted to reconcile the Jewish historian with those of other nations.

(L) The Hebrew word כנען is not pronounced as we commonly do Canaan, making *Ca* the first syllable, but *Cbenaan*, or rather *Cbnaan*, the *Shevab* joining the *cb* and *n* into one syllable, and so the Jews pronounce it; which reading brings the word nearer the *Cbna* of Sanchoniatho and Stephanus; it signifies a merchant, or trader, as the Canaanites or Phœnicians were.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

placed in the Scripture. Neither the length of his life, nor the time of his birth, are mentioned by Moses; however, some will have it, that he was born in the ark; and that, because he was the fruit of an unseasonable incontinence, therefore he was a wicked man. It has been already observed, that the curse given by Noah to Canaan was peculiar to this son of Ham, and does not seem to have extended to the rest of his brethren. And, indeed, the prophecy of Noah, that Canaan "should be a servant of servants to his brethren," seems to have been wholly completed in him. It was completed with regard to Shem, not only in that a considerable part of the seven nations of the Canaanites were made slaves to the Israelites, when they took possession of their land, as part of the remainder of them were afterwards enslaved by Solomon; but also by the subsequent expeditions of the Assyrians and Persians, who were both descended from Shem; and under whom the Canaanites suffered subjection, as well as the Israelites; not to mention the conquest of part of Canaan by the Elamites, or Persians, under Chedorlaomer, prior to them all. With regard to Japhet, we find a completion of the prophecy, in the successive conquests of the Greeks and Romans in Palestine and Phœnicia, where the Canaanites were settled; but especially in the total subversion of the Carthaginian power by the Romans; besides some invasions of the northern nations, as the posterity of Thogarma and Magog; wherein many of them, probably, were carried away captive.

It is believed that Canaan lived and died in the country called after his name; where formerly they shewed his tomb, which was twenty-five feet long, in a cave of the mountain of the Leopards, not far from Jerusalem.

Canaan seems to have been known to the ancient heathens. Sanchoniatho expressly says, Chna was the first Phœnician, or the first who was called a Phœnician. The Scripture mentions nothing particular with respect to any of his sons; but the transactions of the Israelites, with their descendants, make up a great part of the Jewish history, and will be treated of in their proper place.

Nimrod was the sixth son of Cush, and, in all appearance, much younger than any of his brothers; for Moses mentions the sons of Raamah, his fourth brother, before he speaks of him. What the sacred historian says of him is short; and yet he says more of him than of any other of the posterity of Noah, till he comes to Abraham. He tells

Of Nimrod.

tells us, that "Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the earth;" that he was a "mighty hunter before the Lord," even to a proverb; and that "the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinaar."

Yr. of R.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

From this account he is supposed to have been a man of extraordinary strength and valour. Some represent him as a giant (M); all consider him as a great warrior. It is generally thought, that, by the words a *mighty hunter*, is to be understood, that he was a great tyrant; but some of the rabbins interpret those words favourably, saying, that Nimrod was qualified by a peculiar dexterity and strength for the chase, and that he offered to God the game which he took; and several of the moderns are of opinion, that this passage is not to be understood of his tyrannical oppressions, or of hunting of men, but of beasts. It must be owned that the phrase, *before the Lord*, may be taken in a favourable sense, and as a commendation of a person's good qualities; but in this place the generality of expositors understand it otherwise.

Hunting must have been one of the most useful employments in the times just after the dispersion, when all countries were over-run with wild beasts, of which it was necessary they should be cleared, in order to make them habitable; and therefore nothing seemed more proper to procure a man esteem and honour in those ages, than his being an expert hunter. By that exercise, we are told, the ancient Persians fitted their kings for war and government^b; and hunting is still, in many countries, considered as one part of a royal education.

There is nothing in the short history of Nimrod which carries the least air of reproach, except his name, which signifies a *rebel*; and that is the circumstance which seems to have occasioned the injurious opinions which have been entertained of him in all ages. Commentators, being prepossessed in general, that the curse of Noah fell upon the posterity of Ham, and finding this prince stigmatized by his name, have interpreted every passage relating to him to his disadvantage. They represent him as a rebel against God, in persuading the descendants of

^b Vide Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. i.

(M) The Hebrew word *gibber*, which our version renders *a mighty one*, is, by the Septuagint, translated *a giant*.

Br. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1498.

Noah to disobey the divine command to disperse, and in setting them to build the tower of Babel, with an impious design of scaling heaven. They brand him as an ambitious usurper, and an insolent oppressor; and make him the author of the adoration of fire (N), of idolatrous worship given to men, and the first persecutor on the score of religion (O). On the other hand, some account him a virtuous prince, who, far from advising the building of Babel, left the country, and went into Assyria, because he would not give his consent to that project (P).

Nimrod is generally thought to have been the first king after the flood; though some authors, supposing a plantation or dispersion prior to that of Babel, have made kings in several countries before his time. Mizraim is thought by many, who contend for the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy, to have begun his reign much earlier than Nimrod; and others, from the uniformity of the languages spoken in Assyria, Babylonia, Syria, and Canaan, affirm those countries to have been peopled before the confusion of tongues¹.

The four cities (Q) Moses gives to Nimrod constituted a large kingdom in those early times, when few kings

¹ Vide Marsh. Chron. Can. p. 18. 23. Hornius ad Sulpit. Sever. p. 27.

(N) The Orientals make Nimrod the author of the sect of the Magi, or worshippers of fire; they tell us, that accidentally seeing fire rise out of the earth, at a great distance from him, in the East, he worshipped it; and appointed one Andesham to attend the fire there, and throw frankincense into it.

(O) The person persecuted by Nimrod, according to several Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan authors, was Abraham, who, by the Hebrew chronology, might have been his contemporary.

(P) Jonathan Ben Uzziel paraphrases the passage thus; Nimrod going out of that land, reigned in Assyria, because he

would not come into the measures of those who were concerned in the division; therefore God gave him another country, where he built four other cities, viz. Nineveh, Platiathkartha, Parioth, and Telasar.

(Q) We might be able to make some judgment concerning the extent of the first Babylonian kingdom, could we fix the situations of these four cities; but this is very difficult; all of them having been long since destroyed, and authors differing greatly in opinions about them. There are even two traditions with regard to the ruins of Babel; some placing them at Felugia, a village on the Euphrates, about thirty-six miles to the south-west

kings had more than one; only it must be observed, that possessions might at first have been large, and afterwards divided into several parcels; and Nimrod being the leader of a nation, we may suppose his subjects settled within those limits; whether he became possessed of those cities by conquest, or otherwise, does not appear; it is most probable he did not build Babel; all the posterity of Noah seeming to have been equally concerned in that affair; nor does it appear that he built the other three, though the founding of them, and many more, with other works, are attributed to him by some authors (R). It may seem also a little strange, that Nimrod should be preferred to the regal dignity, and enjoy the most cultivated part of the earth then known, rather than any other of the elder chiefs or heads of nations, even of the branch of Ham. Perhaps it was conferred on him for his dexterity in hunting; or, it may be, he did not assume the title of king till after his father Cush's death, who might have been settled there before him (S), and left him the sovereignty; but we incline to think, that he seized Shinaar from the descendants of Shem, driving out Ashur, who from thence went and founded Nineveh, and other cities in Assyria.

The Scripture does not inform us when Nimrod began his reign (T). Some date it before the dispersion; but such

west of Baghdad, on the Tygris; others, about the same distance from Felugia southward, on the first of those rivers; how much more uncertain then must be the situation of the rest, which were towns not so famous, and whose ruins, if any remain, are seldom enquired after!

(R) Abu'lfarag, says Nimrod, built three of these cities, mentioned by Moses, viz. Erech, Ascad, and Calya, or Calne. Others ascribe to him the building of Babel, Nineveh, Resen, and several others, among which was Adherbijan, in the Persian province of the

same name. An Arab author mentions a city called Takharat, or Takharan Sar, where Nimrod coined money (1).

(S) Al Tabari, a Persian author of great authority, affirms, that Cush, or Cutha, was king of the territory of Babel, and resided in Erak; and attributes to him the making of the river Cutha. Dr. Hyde places the original seat of Cush in the same country, which he calls *the most ancient Cush*; and says, that his posterity removing into Arabia, it thence took the name of Cush also.

(T) The Arabs say that Nimrod reigned in Al Sowad,

(1) Abu'lfarag Hist. Dyn. p. 18. Eutych. Annal. p. 64. Ahmed. Ebn Yusef. apud Hyde, p. 71.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

Tr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

such a conjecture does not seem to suit with the Mosaical history: for before the dispersion we read of no city but Babel; nor could there well be more, while all mankind were yet in a body together; but when Nimrod assumed the regal title, there seem to have been other cities; a circumstance, which shews it was a good while after the dispersion. We have placed the beginning of his reign thirty years from that event, and, in all likelihood, it should be placed rather later than earlier.

Authors have taken a great deal of pains to find Nimrod in profane history: some have imagined him to be the same with Belus, the founder of the Babylonish empire; others take him to be Ninus, the first Assyrian monarch. (U) Some believe him to have been Evechous, the first Chaldæan king after the deluge; and others perceive a great resemblance between him and Bacchus, both in actions and name. Some of the Mohammedan writers suppose Nimrod to have been Zohak, a Persian king of the first dynasty; others contend for his being Cay Caus, the second king of the second race; and some of the Jews say he is the same with Amraphel, the king of Shinaar, mentioned by Moses. But there is no certainty in these conjectures, nor have we any knowledge of his immediate successors (X).

The Scripture mentions nothing as to the death of Nimrod; but authors have taken care, that such an essential circumstance in his history should not be wanting.

that is, the *black country*; for so they call Irak Arabi, from the black tents of the Senite Arabs scattered over the province. They suppose his father Cush resided at Erak, in the province of Babel; though Babel is generally thought, by Christian authors, to have been the regal seat of Nimrod.

(U) Many have confounded the Babylonian and the Assyrian empire together, by mistaking the sense of the text, as if both of them had been founded by Nimrod; but this point will be discussed hereafter, when we come to speak of the foundation of the Assyrian

empire.

(X) Some Christian and Mohammedan historians call the most ancient kings of the Babylonians, who succeeded Nimrod, Nimaredah, that is, Nimrods. Some of the latter say, he reigned in Al Sowad four hundred years; and that he was succeeded by a prince of the same family, called Nabat Ebn Koud, who ruled one hundred years; and some of the former tell us, that Bokhtanfer (or rather Bakht Nafr, which is the name the Orientals give to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon) was of his race.

Some

Some of the rabbins pretend he was slain by Esau, whom they make his contemporary. There is a tradition, that he was killed by the fall of the tower of Babel, which was overthrown by tempestuous winds. Others say, that as he led an army against Abraham, God sent a squadron of gnats, which destroyed most of them; and particularly Nimrod, whose brain was pierced by one of those insects^k.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

We now come to the history of Shem and his posterity; which, for convenience, we have placed last, though he was the second son of Noah by birth, and by prerogative the eldest, the right of primogeniture seeming to have been lodged in him.

*Of Shem
and his
posterity to
Abraham.*

The posterity of Shem are twice recited by Moses. In the first place, he only mentions the names of such of his descendents as were concerned in the first dispersions. In the other, he deduces the genealogy in the line of Arphaxad down to Abraham.^l But the sacred writer having been more brief in the history of these patriarchs, than in that of the branch of Ham, relating nothing farther of any of them than their ages, and the year of their lives wherein they begot their sons (from whence we are enabled to collect the chronology of this period, and no more); for the rest we must have recourse to the traditions and conjectures of the Jewish and Christian writers, where we shall not want for matter.

Shem was born ninety-eight years before the flood; for two years after it; at the birth of Arphaxad, he was one hundred years old: we shall have given the reader all that is to be found in Scripture concerning this patriarch after the deluge, when we have acquainted him, that he assisted his brother Japhet in covering the nakedness of their father, and shared in his blessing for so doing: "Blessed be the God of Shem," said Noah, "and Canaan shall be his servant."

Shem, having lived five hundred and two years after the flood, died at the age of six hundred. He left five sons, Elam, Ashur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. The more moderate Persian historians say, their first king, Cautharras, was a son of Shem; meaning probably, Elam, whom Moses makes the founder of that nation.

The Scripture has recorded no one action of any of these sons of Shem, except one circumstance of Ashur;

^k Abu'Israg. Hist. Dyn. p. 12. Hyde de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 74-

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

and the passage relating to him is very material, as it fixes the true time of the foundation of the Assyrian kingdom. This remarkable fact is related by Moses in these words; "Out of that land" (namely Shinaar) "went forth Ashur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rhoboth, and Calah, and Refen, between Nineve and Calah: the same is a great city¹". We are sensible this text is by many applied otherwise, and rendered, according to the marginal reading of our translation, *he went out into Assyria*; as if Nimrod was the person spoken of; but we shall shew hereafter, that such a sense puts a manifest force upon the words. This Assyrian kingdom we suppose might have been founded about the same time with that of Babel; that is, thirty years after the dispersion. As to the situation of the cities built by Ashur, we find ourselves more at a loss than we were with regard to those which composed the kingdom of Babel. However, we may venture to draw this inference, that, as the number of cities of which each monarchy consisted was equal, so it is probable their dimensions were much the same; and that the other three cities lay at no great distance from Nineveh, whose situation has been, in some measure, preserved by tradition (Y).

Arphaxad,

¹ Genes. x. 11, 22. D'Herbelot. Bib. Orient.

(Y) Nineveh is supposed to have stood on the east side of the Dijlat, or Tigris, opposite to Mosul; at least, the tradition of the country will have it so: but there are no ruins to be seen there, as there are at old Babel.

The city Rehoboth is by many supposed to be Rehoboth, on the Euphrates, the same, probably, with that called Rahabat Malek, not many miles below the place where the Khabur falls into the Euphrates; and Refen to be the Refania of the ancients, in Mesopotamia, still in being, and called Ras Alain, that is, *the head of the fountain*, on account of the many springs rising thereabouts; and among

the rest, that of the Khabur: it is also called Ain Wardah. But others endeavour to find Rehoboth and Refen nearer Nineveh; and object, that they cannot be Rahabat, and Ras Alain, because these last are not in Assyria, which lies to the east of Tigris. They suppose, that Rehoboth is the same with the BIRTHA of Ptolemy, or VIRTHA of Ammianus Marcellinus, situate at the mouth of the river Lycus; from which the present ruins of Nineveh are not many miles distant to the north; and the reason they give is, because BIRTHA signifies in the Chaldee the same which Rehoboth does in the Hebrew; that is, *streets*. And as a confirmation

tion,

Arphaxad, or, as the Masoretes read the name, Arpachshad, the third son of Shem, had one advantage above the rest of his brethren, ~~namely~~, that of having the patriarchal line continued through him. Many derive the name, as well as the nation of the Chasdim, or Chaldeans, from Arphaxad (Z); which opinion seems more reasonable

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

tion, that these names are the same, Ptolemy also places a BIRTHA on the Euphrates, about the place where we have supposed the other Rehoboth to have stood; nor does his placing it above the confluence of the Khabur and Euphrates, instead of below it, lay any good objection in the way; since Ptolemy is full of such faults. It may rather be objected, that Moses seems to have given all the cities he mentions, the names they went by in the country where they stood, as near as the Hebrew orthography would allow; but in such doubtful cases, we must always make allowances: so that BIRTHA, or VIRTHA, may stand for Rehoboth; since we cannot find a more likely place.

Calah, the next city, is supposed to be the Calach, situate about the springs of the river Lycus, mentioned by Strabo, as the capital of a province called Calachene, which seems to be the same with Ptolemy's Calacine, above Adiabene, towards Mount Niphates. Bochart thinks it is the same with Halah, whither the Israelites were carried captives; the *beth* being sometimes changed into the *kaph*; of which that author produces some instances.

Could we be sure of being

right as to the situation of Calah, that of Resen would be found of course; for Moses says it lay between it and Nineveh (2).

(Z) Some rabbins are of this opinion; and, if the authority of Josephus be of any weight, he affirms the same: "Arphaxad," says he, "gave name to the Arphaxadæans, at present called Chaldeans; whose prince he was." He certainly does not mean that the name Chaldeans is derived directly from the name Arphaxad; but perhaps he meant, that the true name Chasdim is derived thence; and this opinion is more probable, because the Chaldeans were not only called Khasdim before Chesed was born, but appear to have been a nation when Abraham came out of Ur of the Chasdim; at which time Chesed was neither old, nor considerable enough to have built towns, and founded a nation. After all, nothing can be determined as to this point, nor will it be repugnant to Scripture, to deny the derivation of the name of Khasdim, either from Arphaxad or Chesed.

Some compound Arphaxad's name of *rafa khasbed*; that is the *healer*, or *prelate* of Chal-

(2) Vid. Thevenot's Travels, part ii. chap. 2. Ranwolf's Travels, part ii. ch. 9. Geo. Nub. Clim. 4. part 6. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xx. 2 Kings, xvii.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

reasonable than that which makes Chesed, the son of Nabor, Abraham's brother, to be the founder of them; though possibly the Chafdim had another original; for nothing is mentioned in Scripture concerning it. Some Mohammedan authors make Arphaxad both a prophet and an apostle, and lodge the chief sovereignty over the nations of the world in his descendents. Arphaxad was born in the hundreth year of his father, two years after the flood; and having begat the succeeding patriarch in the thirty-fifth year of his age, died, after he had lived, in all, four hundred and thirty-eight years.

Who this son so begotten by Arphaxad was, has occasioned no small dispute among the learned: according to the Hebrew and the Samaritan, Salah was his son; but in the Septuagint version we find Cainan put in between the two, as the son of the first, and father of the latter. This variation not only adds another link to the chain of succession, but alters the chronology of this period, making that of the Septuagint to exceed the Samaritan by one hundred and thirty years, the age fixed for Cainan to have begotten his son. Those who adhere to the Septuagint, draw their chief argument from St. Luke's mentioning Cainan in his genealogy of Christ. However, the Septuagint version having been received over a great part of the Christian world, Cainan passeth for one of the patriarchs, as well as a founder of nations (A) in many countries; and there are more traditions concerning him, (B) than of Salah, the true son and successor of Arphaxad.

Salah is the only patriarch concerning whom the Christian writers have observed an equal silence with Moses. He hath been thought by some to be the same with the prophet Saleh, sent to preach the true religion to the

de; supposing it to have been given to Cainan as a name of dignity.

(A) The Alexandrian chronicle derives the Samaritans from Cainan; Eustachius Antiochenus, the Saggodians; George Syncellus, the Gafpheni; Epiphanius the Cajani; Salianus thinks the river Caina in India takes its name from him.

(B) Besides the particulars already mentioned, it is said, Cainan was the first after the flood who invented astronomy, and that his sons made a god of him, and worshipped his image after his death. The founding of the city of Haran in Mesopotamia is also attributed to him; which, it is pretended, he so called from a son he had of that name.

tribe

tribe of Thamud, in Arabia Petræa^m, but this person appears to have been much later than the patriarch.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

It is the general opinion, that the Hebrews derive their name from the patriarch Eber (C), the son of Salah; and many of the Jews attribute to him the honour of being the founder of their name and nation. But there is much more appearance, that the name of Hebrews was given to Abraham and his descendants, on account of his passing over the rivers in his way from Irak, or Chaldea, into Syria: so that a Hebrew should signify nothing else, in the original sense of the word, than a man from beyond the Euphrates.

In consequence of the same opinion, it has been commonly believed that the Hebrew language also took its name from Eber, and that, at the confusion of tongues, it remained solely in the family of that patriarch, and his descendents: but as the first part of this assertion hath no better ground than the former opinion; so the latter is false in fact, the Hebrew language having been common to people who had no affinity with the family of Eber, as the Phœnicians, or Canaanites, who, in the time of Abraham, spoke Hebrew, or a language differing very little from it.

The building of Babel is referred to the time of Eber, just before the birth of his son Peleg, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and of the flood 101, according to the Hebrew calculation. But some of the rabbins, and Christian fathers, who refer that event to a subsequent part of Peleg's life, say, Eber gave him that name prophetically, to denote a division of the earth, which was to happen some time after; and accordingly, reckon Eber a prophet, chiefly upon that accountⁿ.

Till this time, all mankind lived in a body together, and spoke one language; but God, being offended at the building of that city and tower, confounded their speech, and dispersed them abroad, in order to people and plant

^m Hyde de Relig. vet. Persar. p. 58. D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. art. Salah.

ⁿ Vid. Arbu'lfarag. p. 11. Hyde de Rel. vet. Persar. p. 47, &c. Ebn Amid. p. 14. Shalh. Hakk. p. 803. Zamach. Dav. p. i. p. 6.

(C) The Hebrew word *eber*, why might it not have been signifies *beyond*, or simply, a given him prophetically, by *passage*: for what reason he was to called is uncertain; but, Salah, to denote the future passage of his posterity over the Euphrates, into the land of Canaan?

Vr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1988.

the earth. But what particular language the first was, in what manner it was confounded, together with an account of the whole transaction relating to the building of Babel, and the dispersion of mankind, are subjects that will be discussed in the sequel.

The original of idolatry, by image-worship, is, by many, attributed to the age of Eber, though most of the fathers place it no higher than that of Serug; which seems to be the more probable opinion, considering that, for the first hundred and thirty-four years of Eber's life, all mankind dwelt in a body together; during which time it is not reasonable to suppose idolatry broke in upon them: then some time must be allowed, after the dispersion, for the several nations, which were but small at the beginning, to increase and settle themselves; so that if idolatry was introduced in Eber's time, it must have been towards the end of his life.

Eber had two sons, Peleg and Joktan; Peleg was born just after the dispersion happened, on which occasion that name (D) was given him, Venerable Bede affirms, that temples were first built in his days; and that several of the chiefs of nations were worshipped for gods. On the death of this patriarch, contention arose between his sons and those of his brother Joktan; whereupon men began to build castles for their defence.

The Scripture mentions only one son of Peleg, but the Orientals have given him another, mentioned in Scripture, though not as Peleg's son; namely, Melchisedek. They say, he begat him two hundred and nine years after the birth of his brother, which is a more rational opinion, though perhaps no better grounded than that of the Jews, who make him to be the same with Shem^o.

Joktan is generally supposed to have been Peleg's elder brother, upon a presumption that he and his thirteen sons were leaders of colonies at the dispersion of Babel. They are, indeed, mentioned at the same time with the other heads of nations; and are, doubtless, to be included amongst those "by whom, it is said, the nations were

^o Vid. Bochart. Phaleg, lib. i. cap. i. Abu'lfarag. p. 12. Ebn Aïmd. p. 28. Eutyck. Annal. p. 48. Ebn Aïmid. ibid.

(D) The name Peleg, or Phaleg, signifies *division*. The division of the earth, and dispersion of mankind, was, doubtless, the same transaction; tho' several authors make two of them, as we shall observe hereafter.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1998.

divided in the earth after the flood:" but we do not think it follows from thence, that they must have been leaders in that first dispersion, in case their ages would allow it. Besides, by this account, we should not only postpone the time of that transaction, which seems to be necessarily connected with the birth of Peleg; but introduce five generations, in the line of Shem, as concerned in it, which are two more than we find of the descendants of Ham and Japhet; and therefore we have reserved them for a second remove or plantation.

The Scripture gives to Joktan thirteen sons; whereas the Arabs, who derive their original from Joktan, or, as they more usually call him, Kahtan, assign him one and thirty by the same mother, of whom all but two, leaving Arabia, went and settled in India. Yarab, the elder of the two who stayed, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Yaman, or Arabia Felix, and gave his name to that country, as well as to the Arabic language, which he first spoke. Jorham, the younger, founded the kingdom of Hejaz, which contained part of Arabia Petræa, and other territories.

We find little said concerning the three succeeding patriarchs, Reu (E), Serug, and Nahor; however, some authors refer the founding of certain kingdoms and cities (F), the invention of several arts (G), the spreading of idolatry (H), and some other particulars of less moment, to their times.

Terah

(E) This patriarch's name is variously written, Reu and Ragau; and sometimes Eru and Argau.

(F) The building of Babel is, by some, placed in the seventieth year of Reu, and the beginning of Nimrod's reign in his hundred and thirtieth.

(G) It is pretended, that the first mint for coining, and the first foundery for gold and silver ornaments, were erected in the days of Reu. Others attribute this invention to Terah, as that of coining gold and silver is ascribed to Serug. Weights and measures are said

to have been invented by Samirus, king of the Chaldeans, in the days of the same patriarch; though the use of them seems not to have been instituted till Nahor's time. The art of weaving silks, and of dying, is also attributed to the same king.

(H) Though the generality of authors, and particularly of the fathers, agree to place the origin of idolatry in the time of Serug, whom some suppose to be the introducer of it, erroneously making him (if he be not a different person from the patriarch) of the race of Japhet; yet others make it

Yp. of Fl.

352.
Ante Chr.
1996.*Abraham
born.*

Terah, the son of Nahor, was the father of Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew or Jewish nation. The Scripture informs us, that Terah, after the seventieth year of his age, begat three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran. But of these sons Haran only, who was the eldest, at least much older than Abram, was born in that year, and the other two, probably, much later, and, as is supposed, by a different mother. Haran died in his native country, in Ur of the Chaldees, before his father, leaving a son named Lot, and two daughters, one named Milcah, and the other Iscah. Nahor married Milcah, his niece, and Abram Sarai, his half sister.

Terah, who is generally supposed to be the same whom the Asiatics call Azer, is, on all hands, allowed to have been an idolater; he is expressly said, in Scripture, to have served other gods. The eastern authors unanimously agree, that he was a statuary, or carver of idols; and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before; and taught that they were to be adored as gods: however, we are told, his employment was very honourable, and that he was a great man; that, at length, he was converted, by the earnest persuasions of Abraham, and prevailed upon to

it more early; and, it is said, that in Reu's days, mankind was fallen into various kinds of false worship; some adoring the heaven, others the celestial bodies, others animals and plants, others the images of their deceased friends. About the same time, also, the custom of sacrificing children to devils is pretended to have been introduced on the following occasion: a certain rich man dying, his son made a golden statue in representation of him, and placed it on his tomb, setting a servant to watch it. Some time after the son was robbed of all he had, and, coming to make his complaints at his father's sepulchre,

the devil spoke out of the image, and promised to restore all he had lost if he would offer his youngest son as a sacrifice to him, and bathe himself in his warm blood. He accepted the terms, and thereupon the devil, coming out of the image, entered into the young man, and taught him magic. But, at length, this practice of human sacrifices growing frequent, God sent a violent earthquake, the first of the kind, with a whirlwind, which broke all their idols in pieces, and overthrew their temples. The rise of the Sabian religion is, by some, referred to the age of Nahor (3).

(3) Eutych. Annal. p. 63. Ebn. Amid, p. 56. Euseb. Chron. Græc. p. 13.

leave Ur. Josephus says he quitted Chaldea, because he could not bear to live in that country after the loss of his son Haran. Some would have it, that he did not become an idolater till he was settled at Haran, which is absurd: and others say, he never was converted, any more than his son Nahor, who afterwards left Ur to join his father Haran, which, from him, was called the city of Nahor: but there is more probability that both Nahor and Haran were converted, seeing Lot was bred in the true religion, and Abraham chose Isaac a wife out of the family of Nahor, not caring to marry him to the idolatrous daughters of Canaan.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

Terah, towards the latter part of his life, desiring to remove from Chaldea into the land of Canaan, took his son Abraham, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, and his grandson Lot, and leaving Ur came to Haran, a city in the north-west parts of Mesopotamia; where, having dwelt for some time, he died, being two hundred and five years old.

Thus have we collected, what we have found worth notice, from writers of various times, religions, and countries, relating to the postdiluvian patriarchs. In the next section we shall proceed to give part of the fragments of a heathen author, whose history is supposed to relate to the earliest times of this period.

S E C T. III.

The History of Sanchoniatho after the Flood.

HAVING, in a preceding section, brought down the Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho to the tenth generation, which probably perished in the flood, though he takes no notice of that great event; we shall here resume the thread of his narration (I).

Sanchoniatho's history continued.

From

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 7. Tostat. apud Pererium in Genes. cap. xi. Bayle Dict. art. Abraham. rem. C. Chrysoft. Hom. xxxi. and xxxvii. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xvi. cap. 13. Genes. xxiv. 3. Hyde de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 62.

(I) Bishop Cumberland, suspecting the Phœnician records to have been corrupted in this place, has proposed an amendment of them. He supposes a

dislocation in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth generations, either through neglect in transcribers, or rather purposely made by the Cabiri,

H 3

who

Generation
XI.

From these men, says he, proceeded Misor (K) and Sydyc (L), i. e. *Well-freed*, and *Just*, who discovered the use of salt.

From

who wrote those records to conceal the great judgment of the flood, which swept away the race of Cain, and of which, for that reason, they have suppressed all mention. To support this opinion, he alleges, 1. That Sydyc and Misor could not be the children of Amynus and Magus, because the tenth generation in the line of Genus or Cain, wherein those two last persons are placed, must have been drowned in the flood, together with such children as might then be born of them, answering to Shem, Ham, and Japhet. 2. That Sydyc being Melchizedek, whom he takes to be Shem, and Cronus Ham, it was necessary to join them both together under the line of Uranus, which Sanchoniatho owns to be distinct from that of Genus. 3. That Misor being

manifestly Mizraim, the son of Ham, or Cronus, there is a necessity of placing him ~~one~~ generation lower than he is placed in Sanchoniatho, viz. in the twelfth; and that, without this change, the beginning of the Egyptian kingdom would be placed too near the flood. 4. That Japhet being still wanting to make up the three sons of Noah, and Nereus being the only person in Sanchoniatho's genealogies, which answers the Scripture account of him, he has joined him to Sydyc and Cronus in the line of Uranus. But the alterations will better appear by giving the reader a table of Sanchoniatho's genealogies, from the place where the bishop's corrections begin, referring him for our remarks on the scheme itself to the succeeding notes.

The two lines, as they stand in the Sanchoniatho.

Seth's line.		Cain's line.
9. Eliun or Hypsistus,	Agrus,	Agrouerus,
10. Uranus,	Amynus,	Magus,
11. Cronus,	Misor,	Sydyc,
12. &	Thoth,	Cabiri or Dioscuri,
13. &		The sons of the Dioscuri.

Seth's line in Sanchoniatho, corrected.

9. Eliun or Hypsistus,		
10. Uranus,		
11. Sydyc	Cronus	Nereus
or Shem,	or Ham,	or Japhet,
12. Cabiri or Dioscuri,	Misor,	Pontus,
13. The sons of the	Thoyth,	Posidon
Dioscuri,		or Neptune,

(K) This person Dr. Cumberland takes to be the Mizraim of the Scripture, and the Menes of the Egyptians, for these

From Misor came Taautus (M), the inventor of writing letters, whom the Egyptians call Thoor, the Alexandrians Toyth, and the Greeks Hermes; but from Sydyc

these reasons: 1. He supposes Misor to be the singular of Mizraim, the first king of Egypt, according to the Hebrews, as Menes is according to the Egyptians. 2. That Eratosthenes, in Syncellus and Scaliger's Eusebius, affirms Menes to be Mestram, as the Greeks write the name of Mizraim. 3. That Thoth was the son of Menes, as well as of Misor, and the second king of Egypt. 4. That Misor and Menes lived at the same time; and, 5. died the same violent death. We cannot find Eratosthenes has affirmed any such thing, as that Menes is Mestram; which is the mere imagination of those authors who have transcribed him.

As to the translation which Philo gives of the name Misor, *Εὐλβορ*, or *well freed*; Bochart derives it from the Syriac *mes-so*; but bishop Cumberland rather thinks the notion of freedom to be consequent to his name, which he supposes to signify a prince, from the root *asar*, to rule or restrain, by addition of the servile *mem*, freedom from any coercive power being the consequent of his dominion and superiority. It is a pity the bishop had not employed his time better than in vamping up such a vile patchwork of idle conjecture, in which one vague supposition is brought in to support another equally absurd.

(L) Sydyc the bishop supposes to be Melchizedek, and

Melchizedek Shem. All the arguments he brings in favour of the first supposition, is, that Grotius affirms Melchizedek to be Sydyc; probably on account of the similitude of the names, Sydyc or Sedec signifying *just*, and Melchizedek, *the just king*. Nor does he bring any proof that Melchizedek is Shem: he only says, that he thinks the objections against that opinion are sufficiently answered by other authors; so that he produces no reason to support those two opinions, on which his system is chiefly grounded.

(M) Taaut or Thoth is thought to be Athothes, the son of Menes, and the second king of Egypt, according to Eratosthenes, upon a presumption that Misor and Menes are the same; and because he was also a king of Egypt, and son of a king (though it does not appear from Sanchoniatho, that Misor was a king), as Athothes was. It is observed also, that as Sanchoniatho's line ends with Misor and Thoth, so Eratosthenes's line of Theban kings begins with Menes and Athothes, as does the first dynasty of the Thinites in Manetho. And the difference between the names Thoth and Athoth is no objection, the bishop producing several instances of proper names in the eastern languages, where the initial A was frequently left out.

Generation
XIII.

came the Dioscuri, or Cabiri (N), called also Corybantes, and Samothraces, who first invented the art of ship-building.

These procreated others, who found out the virtues of herbs, the cures of poisonous bites, and charms.

Uranus, whose parents lived in this age, as succeeding his father Eluin in the kingdom, had by Ge, his sister, four sons: 1. Ilus or Cronus; 2. Betylus; 3. Dagon or Siton; and 4. Atlas, besides much issue by other wives; wherefore Ge, being grieved at it, and jealous, reproached Uranus so that they parted from each other. But Uranus, though he had parted from her, yet, afterwards, by force invading, and lying with her, nevertheless, went away again; after having attempted to kill the children he had by her. Ge also defended or avenged herself by collecting auxiliary powers.

Cronus, arriving at man's age, and using Hermes Trismegistus as his counsellor and assistant, and secretary, opposed his father Uranus, in order to avenge his mother's cause. Cronus had children, Persephone (Proserpina), and Athena (Minerva). The former died a virgin; but, by the counsel of Athena and of Hermes, Cronus made of iron a scymeter and a spear. Then Hermes, speaking to the assistants of Cronus with enchanting words, wrought in them a keen desire to fight against Uranus in behalf of Ge; and thus Cronus, warring against Uranus, drove him out of his kingdom, and succeeded in the imperial power.

In the fight, a well beloved concubine of Uranus, being taken big with child, Cronus gave her in marriage to Dagon, and she brought forth, at his house, what she had in her womb by Uranus, and called him Demaroon.

After these things Cronus built a wall round about his house, and founded Byblus, the first city of Phœnicia. But Cronus, suspecting his own brother Atlas, with the advice of Hermes, threw him into a deep hole of the earth, where he was buried alive.

At that time, the descendants of the Dioscuri, having built some vessels, went to sea, and, being cast on shore near Mount Cassius, there consecrated a temple.

The auxiliaries of Ilus, or Cronus, were called Eloim, which is as much as to say Cronii, for so were they named who were under Cronus. But Cronus, having a son

(N) Of the Dioscuri, or Cabiri, the sons of Sydyc, we shall speak hereafter, when we

called

called Sadid, dispatched him with his own sword, actuated by suspicion. He also cut off the head of his own daughter; so that all the gods were amazed at the cruelty of Cronus.

In process of time Uranus, being in exile, sent his virgin daughter Astarte, with two other of her sisters, Rhea and Dione, to cut off Cronus by deceit; but these sisters being taken, became his wives. Uranus afterwards sent Eimarmene and Hora (*fate and beauty*), with other auxiliaries, to war against him; but Cronus, having gained the affections of these also, kept them with him. Moreover, the god Uranus devised bætylia, and contrived stones that moved, as having life.

Cronus begat on Astarte seven daughters, called Titanides, or Artemides; and on Rhea seven sons, the youngest of whom, as soon as he was born, was consecrated a God. Also by Dione he had daughters; and by Astarte two sons, Pothos and Eros (*desire and love*).

Dagon, having discovered bread-corn and the plough, was called Zeus Arotrius.

To Sydyc, or *the just*, one of the Titanides bore Asclepius. Cronus had also in Peræa three sons: 1. Cronus, 2. Zeus Belus, 3. Apollo.

Contemporary with these were Pontus and Typhon, and Nereus the father of Pontus. From Pontus came Sidon, who, by the exceeding sweetness of her voice, or singing, first celebrated the hymns or odes of praises; and Posidon (or Neptune). But to Demaroon was born Melicartus, otherwise called Hercules (O).

Then Uranus made war against Pontus; and joined with Demaroon when he invaded that prince; but Pontus put him to flight, and Demaroon vowed a sacrifice for his escape.

But, in the thirty-second year of his power and reign, Ilus, or Cronus, having laid an ambuscade for his father Uranus, in a certain mid-land place, and having gotten him into his hands, cut off his privities near fountains and rivers. There Uranus was consecrated, and his

(O) This is the old Phœnician Melicartus, or Hercules, whose temple at Gadira or Gades, had no images in it, and continued to the time of Silius Italicus. Bochart supposes this way of worship,

practised in this temple, was taken from the Jews, not considering that Hercules Phœnicus was long before the Jewish law, and that the patriarchal religion used no images.

spirit or breath was separated, and the blood of his secrets dropped into the fountains and waters of the rivers; and the place is shewed unto this day.

Astarte, called the Greatest, and Demaroon, surnamed Zeus, and Adodus the king of the gods, reigned over the country by Cronus's consent or authority; and Astarte put on her head, as the mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head. But, travelling about the world, she found a star falling from the air or sky, which, taking up, she consecrated in the holy island Tyre. The Phœnicians say, that Astarte is she, who is, among the Greeks, called Aphrodite (or Venus).

Cronus also, traversing the earth, gave to his own daughter, Athena, the kingdom of Attica; and a plague and mortality intervening, he made his only son a burnt offering to his father Uranus. This fact our author relates more particularly in another place, saying, it was established as a custom among the ancients, that, in all extraordinary calamities of the public, the rulers of a city or nation should give up their most favourite child to be slain, as an expiation to appease the avenging dæmons; and the victims in these cases were butchered with much mysterious ceremony. Cronus, therefore, called by the Phœnicians Israel, who reigned there, and was, after his death, consecrated into the planet Cronus (or Saturn), having an only son by Anobret, a nymph of the country, and whom, therefore, he called Jeud, which, in the Phœnician tongue, at this day, signifies *only begotten*, and the country being involved in a dangerous war, he adorned this son with royal attire, and sacrificed him on an altar which he had prepared for that purpose^s. Cronus was also circumcised, and forced his auxiliaries to undergo the same operation; not long after this event he consecrated another son, he had by Rhea, called Muth; so the Phœnicians call Death or Pluto.

After these transactions, Cronus gave the city Byblus to the goddess Baaltis, which is Dione; and Berytus he gave to Posidon, and to the Cabiri, to be inhabited by husbandmen and fishermen, who consecrated the remains of Pontus.

The God Taautus, having formerly imitated or represented Uranus, made images of the countenances of the gods Cronus and Dagon, and formed the sacred charac-

^s Sanchoniatho apud Euseb. de Præp. Ev. lib. i. cap. 10. p. 369. &c.

ters of the other elements. He contrived also for Cronus the emblem of his royal power, four eyes, partly before, and partly behind, two of them winking as in sleep; and upon his shoulders four wings, two as flying, and two as let down to rest. The emblem was, "That Cronus, when he slept, yet was waking; and waking, yet slept." And so for his wings, "That even resting, he flew about; and, flying, yet rested." But the other gods had two wings each of them on their shoulders, to intimate, that they flew about with, or under, Cronus. He also had two wings on his head, one for the governing part of the mind, and one for the sense.

But Cronus, repairing to the south country, gave all Egypt to the god Taausus, that it should be his kingdom. These things, saith he, the Cabiri, the seven sons of Sydyc, and their eighth brother Asclepius, first of all set down in memoirs, as the god Taausus directed.

All these things the son of Thabion, the first hierophant (or director of sacred rites) that ever was among the Phœnicians, allegorised; and, mixing the facts with physical and mundane phænomena, delivered them down to those that celebrated orgia, and to those prophets who presided over the mysteries. These again contrived to improve their fables, and so delivered them down to their successors, and to those that were afterwards introduced among them: one of them was Isis, the inventor of three letters, the brother of Chua, the first Phœnician, as he was afterwards called.

Thus we have presented the reader with the small remains which are left of the Phœnician antiquities, collected by Sanchoniatho; wherein a free and open confession is made of the beginning of idolatry, and their gods ingenuously acknowledged to have been once mortal men; a fact which the Greeks were ashamed to own, and therefore turned all the stories of the gods into allegories and physical discourses. Endeavours have been used to explain this fragment, and reconcile it with Scripture, on the supposition, that the records, from which Sanchoniatho extracted his history, were corrupted in those instances by the Cabiri, the first writers of them; who, in particular, suppressed all mention of the deluge, for the reasons already given.

In our opinion however, the history of Sanchoniatho will in no view admit of the corrections that have been

The General History from the Deluge

made; it may be confuted by Scripture, but it can never be reconciled with it; the plan is quite different from that of Moses, and seems to be grounded upon a very different tradition relating to the first ages; if it be not rather a history framed long after the facts happened, by mixing fable or invention with some vulgar notions or glimmerings of ancient transactions, which still remained in the life of the author, or editor, when the genuine and more perfect tradition of things had been lost.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Removal of Mankind from the Neighbourhood of Mount Ararat to the Plain of Shinaar, and of the Building of Babel.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

AS two or three very remarkable events fall within this period, namely the building of Babel by the posterity of Noah, the confusion of languages, and the dispersion of mankind, it is incumbent upon us to give the reader some account of these important facts, the effects of which are felt to this day, and were doubtless of great benefit to mankind.

The first migration of the sons of Noah to Shinaar.

After the death of Noah, his sons Shem, Ham, and Japhet, thought fit to remove with their families from the plains near Ararat, where we suppose they till then continued, and, "travelling from the East, found a plain in the land of Shinaar, and dwelt there."

The extent and situation of the land of Shinaar.

It is hard to determine what were the limits of the land of Shinaar (P) in the early times. We are informed from Scripture, that the city and tower of Babel were built in a plain within that province, and that Nebuchadnezzar carried the vessels of the temple into the land of Shinaar, into the house of his God, which in all probability was the temple of Belus in Babylon. Besides Babel, there are three other cities mentioned in Scripture, situated in Shinaar, viz. Erec, Accad, and Calneh; but as all the four

(P) The name in Hebrew is *Shinaar*, or *Sennaar*; in Arabic, *Senjar*. Bochart says, it is derived from *naar*, which signifies to scatter, or dissipate; and if so, it could not have been imposed by the Noachi-

dæ, on the plain where they first fixed, as Josephus affirms, without supposing them to have foreseen the dispersion; to which that etymology, if it be right, plainly alludes.

seem to have stood at no great distance from each other, we cannot judge of the extent of the country. Thus far in general may be presumed, that it took in more to the north of Babel than to the south, and that it lay for the most part, though not entirely, between the Euphrates and Tigris; for Babylon, if it was the same with Babel, stood on the east side of Euphrates (Q), before Nebuchadnezzar built the new city on the other side of that river, which thenceforth ran through the middle of the whole.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

We meet with footsteps of the name of Shinaar in those parts, both in ancient and modern authors: Sennaar of Babylon is mentioned by Hestius the Milesian, and the city of Singara in Mesopotamia by several. Some speak of a territory of that name in the same quarters: Ptolemy places both the city and mountain of Singara there: all which seem to be the same city, mountain (R), and territory, which still bear the name of Senjar in the East. The part of Mesopotamia chosen out by the astronomers in the time of the kalifa al Mamun, for measuring the degree of a great circle, was the desert of Senjar; which the nature of the experiment shews to have been large, as well as a level country; and this we take to have been at least a part of the ancient plain of Shinaar.

The city of Senyar stands, or stood, in the northern borders of its territory, in the desert, at the foot of a certain mountain twenty-one miles from Balad, and

(Q) Among other circumstances it may be observed, that the modern travellers represent the Euphrates a mile and a half broad in those parts; whereas Strabo says, the breadth of the branch of that river which passed through Babylon, was but a furlong, or the eighth part of a mile; though the bridge, according to Diodorus, was five furlongs in length, if he does not mistake: but, supposing the river as broad, as the bridge was long, it will be but little more than one third of the present breadth of the Euphrates; which yet lower down, at Hella, becomes more narrow.

nian, writes, that in Mesopotamia there are two mountains of great length, abounding with fruit-trees, the more easterly of which is called Singar, the other Lesson: probably the desert or plain of Singar lay between these two ridges of hills. We cannot conceive upon what ground Heidegger charges Haitho with a mistake, as if he made Singar a mountain of Chaldæa; on the contrary, that author seems to have mistaken Haitho, and placed what he found in the chapter concerning Mesopotamia, as belonging to the foregoing chapter, which treats of Chaldæa.

(R) Haitho, the Arme-

Fr. of Fl. twenty-seven from Musol, which two places are situate
 235. on the Tigris, twenty-one miles asunder. It is said to lie
 Ante Chr. to the southward of Nisibin, almost three stages west of
 1996. the Tigris, or more particularly of Musol; so that Pto-
 lemy is in the wrong, to place Singara on that river. As
 for the difference between the words Shinaar and Singar,
 it is very small, considering, in the Hebrew, the same
 character stands for the *ain* and the *ghain*. We find Sin-
 gar called also Al Samara, which seems to be the contrac-
 tion of Sarra-man-rai, a city on the east of the Tigris,
 three stages above Baghdad, and, for a time, the seat of
 the khalifa^t.

The build-
 ing of Ba-
 bel begun.

The sons of Noah, upon their arrival in this plain, be-
 gan to think of building a city and tower. The learned
 are divided in their opinions about the sense of the pas-
 sage, which gives an account of this enterprise: "And
 they said, Go to, let us build us a city and tower, whose
 top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name,
 lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole
 earth." Many imagine, that the motive which induced
 them to undertake this building, was their apprehension
 of a second deluge; and therefore they resolved to raise a
 structure of sufficient height to fly to, in case of danger.
 Others think there is no room for this suggestion; for,
 in that case, they would have rather built it on an emi-
 nence, than a plain; and the Scripture expressly assigns
 the reason of their setting about it, viz. "to make them
 a name," or leave a memorial of themselves, "lest they
 should be scattered," or, as it is otherwise rendered (per-
 haps to serve the purpose), "before they should be scat-
 tered abroad," which implies, they knew they should be
 dispersed before they began to build, having been warned
 by God, according to some, to separate themselves into
 colonies. But a third sort, to whom the text appears al-
 together unintelligible, as it now stands in the several
 translations, will have it, that the word *shem*, should not
 be rendered *name*, but *sign*; and so the passage will run,
 "Let us make us a sign, lest we be scattered;" that is,
 as Perizonius explains it, the tower was to serve them as
 a beacon, or mark, by the sight of which, or of a signal
 made from the top of it, they might avoid straying in the
 open plains with their flocks (the first men being shep-

^t Vide Plin. Hist. Nat. Ammian. Marcell. Sixt. Ruf. & Pomp.
 Let. Therenot's Voyages, part ii. Hyde de Rel. vet. Perf. p. 64.
 Abu'lzarag Hist. Dyn. p. 11. Geog. Nab. p. 203.

herds), and be brought back to the city, which they had built for a place of abode, being unwilling to disperse themselves.

Whatever the motives of the chiefs were, which seem to be dubiously expressed in the text, the effect of their consultation was, that they set on foot the building of the city and tower of Babel. But this enterprize being displeasing in the eyes of God, as tending to frustrate or delay the execution of his design, which was, that mankind should not always continue together in one place, he obliged them to relinquish their project (S), by confounding their language, so that one could not understand what another said; from whence the city took the name of Babel, which signifies *confusion*; whereupon the dispersion and planting of nations ensued.

This great event happened just before the birth of Peleg, in the year of the flood 101, according to the Hebrew calculation; in the year 401, according to the Samaritan; and, according to the Septuagint, in 531; when the work, according to some, had been carried on twenty-two years; and, according to others, forty.

Many, considering the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of mankind, as a divine judgment, have deemed the building of Babel an evil attempt; and, being concerned for the honour of Shem and his race, will not allow them to have been present at it, supposing that undertaking to be set on foot wholly by the unbelieving part of mankind, in which sense they understand the words, "the children of men." On the contrary, others will have it, that not only Shem, but Noah and Abraham, assisted in the raising of that structure; while some say, Nimrod, who is generally looked on as the chief promoter of that work, retired into Assyria, because he would not give his assent to the proposal.

That the building of Babel was a thing indifferent in itself, and no way sinful, seems evident from the silence of

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996

Their design frustrated.

Babel built.

The time of this enterprize.

Whether sinful.

▪ Genes. xi. 7, 8, 9. Torriellus, Saliarius, Pererius, &c. Syn-cell. Chronogr. p. 80. Eutyph. Annal. p. 53. Morin. Exercit. de Ling. cap. viii. p. 47. Scoranus Hist. Sacr. p. 48, &c. Marham Chron. Canon. Secul. xvii. p. 478.

(S) Some pretend, that the builders heads; and that the tower was thrown down by the city of Babylon was built out of the ruins of the city of Babel.

(4) Abyden. apud Euseb. de Prep. Ev. lib. iii. cap. 14.

Scripture,

Tr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

Scripture, which does not condemn that attempt as bold or presumptuous, or intimate any revelation of a previous command to the contrary, which only could make it criminal. And that the family of Shem were concerned in the work, as well as the rest, appears from their sharing in the punishment; if it be a punishment, that is, the confusion of tongues; for the languages of Elam, or Persia, and of Assyria, and Mesopotamia, were different, as were also those even of the descendants of Eber, the Arabs, and Jews, whatever others may pretend; and if speaking the Hebrew language be a proof, then the Canaanites were not concerned in the building of Babel, any more than Eber and his descendants; for their language was the same with the Hebrew.

But this supposed absence of the Shemites, as also another common opinion, that several nations were planted before the dispersion, are overthrown by the authority of Scripture, which strongly intimates, that all mankind then in being, without exception, were assembled in the plain of Shinaar (T); and it is probable, that, after the building of Babel, Shem and his descendants chose, or accepted of, the adjacent country for their settlement; so that the

(T) There is not a fact in all the Mosaical history, which seems to be more firmly established than this. As soon as Moses hath brought the three sons of Noah out of the ark, he takes care to inform us, "that of them was the whole earth overspread." And after giving us the names of their descendants, at the time of their dispersion, he subjoins, and "by these were the nations divided in the earth, after the flood." Then proceeding to give an account of that memorable transaction, he tells us, that the "whole earth was of one language, and of one speech;" that as "they," namely the whole earth, "journeyed from the East, they found a plain in the land of Shinaar, and dwelt there; and they said, Let us make

brick, and build a city, and a tower. And the Lord came down to see the city, and the tower, which the children of men builded; and said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language." These seem to be convertible terms, and import, that as all mankind, collected there in one body, had but one language; so all those who had but one language, were assembled in one body: which argument is the more cogent, because it is allowed on all hands, that there was but one language in the world, at the time of the building of Babel; which city was so called, "because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth."

most

most we can allow, with Buxtorf and others, is, that they dissuaded the rest from that enterprize.

The reader must needs have a curiosity to see some account of a city and tower which employed all the men in the world, for so many years, in building them. The Scripture informs us that they had made use of burnt bricks instead of stone, and slime instead of mortar. According to an eastern tradition, they were three years employed in making and burning those bricks; each of which was thirteen cubits long, ten broad, and five thick. The slime was a pitchy substance, or bitumen, brought from a city in the neighbourhood of Babylon, called Is², or Hit (U).

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

Description
of Babel.

What

* Dissert. Philologicæ Theol. p. 79. Genes. xi. 3. Ebn Amid. p. 14. Eutych. Annal. p. 53. Josephus Antiq. lib. i. cap. 4. Herodotus Clio. p. 32.

(U) Herodotus observes, that, by the city Is, eight days journey from Babylon, there runs a small river, of the same name, into the Euphrates, whose waters carry along with them many lumps of bitumen, which are conveyed thence to the walls of Babylon. Diodorus says, the quantity of bitumen in those parts is so great, that it suffices the inhabitants not only for their buildings, but for fuel, being dried and burnt like wood. Hit is called Euphrates by Isidore of Charax, who mentions the springs of bitumen near it, and places it on the Euphrates, about two hundred and fifteen miles west of Saleucia, on the Tigris; which situation agrees better with Herodotus than the account of modern authors, who place Hit thirty-one parasangs west of Ambar, once a famous city on the Euphrates, not far north from Felujah, and eight to the north of Kadis, a town no less re-

markable for the battle, wherein the Arabs gained the victory, which decided the fate of Persia.

These springs of bitumen are called Oyun Hit, the fountains of Hit, and are much celebrated by the Arabs and Persians; the latter call it Chesh-meh-kir, the fountain of pitch. This liquid bitumen they call *nafta*; and the Turks, to distinguish it from pitch, give it the name of *bara sakiz*, or black *massich*. A Persian geographer says, that *nafta* issues out of the springs of the earth, as amber-grise issues out of those of the sea. All the modern travellers, except Rauwolf, who went to Persia and the Indies by the way of the Euphrates, before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, mention this fountain of liquid bitumen as a strange thing. Some of them take notice of the river mentioned by Herodotus, and assure us, that the people of the

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1296.

What Babylon was in its flourishing state, and the several changes of fortune which befel it, till at length it was totally destroyed, the reader will find recorded in the course of this history. In the mean time, we would willingly gratify his curiosity with some account of the ruins of this celebrated antiquity, which are so defaced, that the people of the country are not certain of their situation. Some travellers, led by a tradition of the inhabitants, have judged a place about eight or nine miles to the west, or north-west, of Baghdad, to be the tower of Babel (X). Rauwolf supposes he found the ruins

the country have a tradition, that, when the tower of Babel was building, they brought the bitumen from hence; a circumstance confirmed by the Arab and Persian historians.

Hir, Heit, Eit, Ait, or Idit, as it is variously written by travellers, is a great Turkish town, situate upon the right or west side of the Euphrates, and has a castle; to the south-west of which, and three miles from the town, in a valley, are many springs of this black substance, each of which makes a noise like a smith's forge, incessantly puffing and blowing out the matter so loud, that it may be heard a mile off; wherefore the Moors (Arabs) call it Babal Jehennam, that is, *hell-gate*. It swallows up all heavy things; and many camels from time to time fall into the pits, and are irrecoverably lost. It issues from a certain lake, sending forth a filthy smoke, and continually boiling over with the pitch, which spreads itself over a great field that is always full of it. It is free

for every one to take; they use it to caulk or pitch their boats, laying it on two or three inches thick, which keeps out the water; with it also they pitch their houses, made of palm-tree branches. If it was not that the inundations of the Euphrates carry away the pitch, which covers all the sands from the place where it rises to the river, there would have been mountains of it long since. The very ground and stones thereabouts afford bitumen, and the fields abundance of saltpetre (5).

(X) The name of this monument is variously written by travellers, Carcustate Nemeru, Karkuf, Agarcuf. All who mention it call it the tower of Nimrod; and we are told that the common people of the country believe it to be such; and that it is at present called the remains of the Tower of Babel. It is situate, according to some, seven or eight miles from Baghdad; according to others, nine miles towards the west-north-west. It is conspicuous at a vast

(5) Vide Newberry's Travels. Cartwright's Travels. Purchas, Pilg. vol. ii. p. 2412. Voyage de Perse.

distance,

ruins of Babylon upon the Euphrates, near Felujia, about thirty-six miles to the south-west of Baghdad. And Della

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

distance, standing by itself in a wide plain, between the Euphrates and Tigris, with nothing great or high about it; which is the reason that, contrary to what is generally observed in other objects, it appears greater at a distance than when one draws near it. It is fallen to ruin on all sides, and hath thereby made, as it were, a little shapeless mountain, which it resembles more than a tower; only it is rather square than round.

It is built of sun-burnt bricks, each a foot square, and six inches thick; some say three quarters of a yard long, and a quarter thick; others, but ten inches square, and three thick. Authors differ as to the manner in which these bricks are ranged, and the materials made use of for setting and binding them together. They observe, first, that there is laid a bed, consisting of canes or reeds bruised to pieces, mixed with wheat-straw, and spread an inch and a half thick; some call them mats made of canes and palm-tree leaves; others say only straw, the thickness of three inches, which appear as yellow and fresh as if they were but newly laid, and are still very durable. Upon this bed lie seven ranges of bricks; then another bed of reeds, and six rows of bricks; then a third bed, with five rows of bricks, decreasing in that manner till you come

to the top. Some say the ranges of bricks are interchangeably six and seven upon a bed; and others place a bed betwixt every course of bricks; but that is probably a mistake; though between each course of bricks there is laid a little straw; or rather, they are set in bituminous mortar, consisting of pitch and earth, for which an inch may be allowed, which is at present the fashion of building at Baghdad, there being not far off a great lake of pitch; probably that of Nit, before mentioned. There are fifty of these ranges of seven and six bricks, in so much that the whole height may amount to one hundred and thirty-eight feet. Others say it is reduced to one hundred and eight, or one hundred and twenty feet. This heap is in compass a quarter of a mile, or, at most, three hundred paces; not a mile, as one writes; the rain having washed it away on all sides. It has no entrance, being a solid mass; only at the foot of it one sees a maghara, or lion's cave; and towards the middle there is an opening, which passes quite through the building, about a foot and a half square, besides a great window towards the top, into which La Boullaye threw a grapple, in order to ascend it; but the bricks giving way, had like to have killed him with their fall (6).

(6) Vid. La Boullaye le Gouze Voyage, chap. lii. Tavernier Voyage de Perse. Balbi Viaggio della Ind. Orient. cap. v. Teixeira Viage de la India hasta Italia. Fitch's Travels.

Yr. of Fl. Della Valle was directed, by another tradition, to
 1552. look for it about two days journey lower, near an an-
 Ante Chr. cient city called Hella, situate upon the same river. Here
 1596. also must be placed the ruins described by a late traveller
 into these parts. For further particulars the reader may
 consult the travels of Rauwolf, Thevenot, Tavernier,
 Pietro de la Valle, together with Macgregory's Sepul-
 chres of the Ancients. But after all, the ruins which
 these authors describe, do not seem to be the remains of
 the original tower, but rather of some later structures
 raised by the Arabs.

S E C T. V.

*Of the ori-
 gin of
 Speech.*

Of the Confusion of Tongues.

BEING, in this section, to give some account of the
 confusion of tongues, it may be expected we should
 first say something about the origin of speech, one of the
 most distinguishing differences between us and the animal
 creation, the great bond which holds society together,
 and the common conduit whereby the improvements of
 knowledge are conveyed from one man, and one genera-
 tion to another.*

If the authority of Moses be conclusive, it seems not to
 be denied but that speech was the immediate gift of God
 to the first man; not that we suppose God really inspired
 him with any distinct or primitive language, but that he
 made him sensible of the power with which he was en-
 dued of forming articulate sounds, and the use he might
 make of them as signs of his ideas, and then left the
 arbitrary imposition of them to Adam himself; as is
 intimated by God's bringing the beasts and birds to him,

Travellers disagree in their
 sentiments of this tower: one
 says, it has been so well de-
 scribed by Moses, that the
 sight of the remains and ruins
 would make one admire the
 veracity with which the writ-
 ings of that great prophet are
 penned; but another declares
 that, according to Moses's de-
 scription, there is no likeli-

hood that this should be the
 the tower of Babel; and
 therefore, rejecting the vulgar
 opinion of the country, he
 looks upon that of the Arabs
 to be more probable, who say
 it was built by one of their
 princes for a beacon, to assem-
 ble his subjects in time of war;
 and this seems to be the truth
 of the matter.

“to see what he would call them; and whatever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.” So that, excepting the first impulse of the Almighty, informing Adam of his natural power, we are inclined to think that speech was attained by gradual invention of arbitrary sounds, to denote, first, the most obvious things, and after, the less obvious, as they came to be taken notice of. That it is possible Adam might attain the use of speech by this method, we presume none will deny; and, if it be possible, we are sure it must be the most reasonable and probable to all but those who are for multiplying of miracles needlessly.

Yr. of Pl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

We cannot, therefore, approve of the opinion of those who imagine that God himself formed the body of a language, and then infused it into Adam. Besides, the much greater part of the primitive tongue, whatever that was, and the names of many things and operations, must have been imposed several ages after Adam's creation; as mankind became acquainted with them, and arts and conveniencies of life were invented. The birds and beasts indeed, it is natural to suppose, Adam might immediately name, the kinds not being many; but we do not think he went so far as to name every species of them, much less all the reptiles, trees, or plants. The fish, we presume, nobody will imagine were brought to be named; and if they had, by miracle, appeared before Adam, no doubt Moses would have mentioned this circumstance, the fish of the sea being the first part of the creation, the dominion of which was given by God to man².

It has, however, been thought by many, that the first language was of divine formation; and of this sentiment Plato himself seems to have been, who supposed, that the names of things, originally, had some natural connection or congruity, with the things themselves; and that the first names must have been justly imposed, because they were imposed by the gods³. And partly from this notion, in all probability, arose those superstitious pretences of the holiness of one tongue above the rest, as being formed by God.

As we cannot see any necessity for supposing the inspiration of a language, so neither can we imagine that Adam could attain the use of speech so soon as is represented to us by Moses, without divine assistance. We

¹ Genes. ii. 19.
Cratylus. Vid. eund. in Protagora.

² Genes. i. 26. 28.

³ Plato in

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

might suppose, indeed, that mankind might of themselves, by degrees, form a perfect language; for when men wanted signs to express their ideas, and convey them to the understanding of others they could find none more fit for that purpose, or which required less difficulty to invent, or labour to form, than articulate sounds; but to frame a number of them, sufficient even for the few occasions of the first men, must necessarily have taken up a considerable time; for which reason, those who were unacquainted with the Mosaical writings have imagined, that men were at first no better than mute animals, till at length convenience taught them the use of speech. Several of the ancients were of opinion, that men, in the beginning of the world, expressed their thoughts by dumb signs, or gesticulation only, or else by confused sounds of no signification; and afterwards endeavoured at a language by imposing distinct names on different objects occasionally in the course of observation and experience.

*The first
language
consisted of
few words.*

If we consider the primitive state of Adam, and the few things he had occasion to name, it cannot be conceived that his language at first was very extensive; for were we to expunge out of our lexicons all words introduced by the gradual invention of arts, to serve the convenience of life, by accurate distinctions of the several species of creatures, and metaphysical conceptions about the operations of the mind, we should find the remainder contained in a very small compass; so that it must necessarily be several ages before a language could be completed to any degree in comparison to our modern tongues. Scaliger divides speech into three sorts or degrees, as formed for necessity, use, or delight; the first, that imperfect speech, or rather essay towards speech, above mentioned, serving as the means of necessary intercourse between man and man: the second somewhat more refined and polished, by being adapted and made fit for use and convenience, and by applying certain dimensions, bounds, and lineaments, to the first rude sketch; whence arose a certain rule of speaking: the third sort, yet more polite, as having added to the former the ornaments of elegance^b.

*Whether
more
tongues
than one
before the
flood.*

Whether there was more than one language before the flood, is a question about which we are perfectly in the dark; though it is more reasonable to suppose that there was but one, in which it is possible there might be some

^b Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 8. Vid. Lactant. de vero Cultu, lib. x. Scaliger. in Poetic. lib. i. cap. i.

difference in dialect, but none considerable, for the few ages between the creation and the flood, and the long lives of the antediluvians, would effectually prevent any great alteration. However that be, it is probable only one language, and that the primitive tongue, was preserved by Noah, or, at least, was spoken by his descendants, till the confusion of tongues at Babel.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

It may be expected that we should here enter into a formal enquiry concerning the primitive tongue, and endeavour to determine what particular language it was that the first progenitors of mankind spoke; but as this is an enquiry rather of curiosity than use, and we cannot be certain whether that language, whatever it was, be now in being; the most we can do will be to shew the vanity of those who have laid claim to this honour, as an undeniable evidence of the antiquity of their nation (Y).

*Inquiry
concerning
the primi-
tive
tongue.*

c Vid. Grot. in Genes. xi. 1. & Cluver. Germ. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 59, 60.

(Y) Psammetichus, a king of Egypt, wanting to know who were the most ancient people in the world, after several fruitless experiments, at last hit on the following expedient: he took two infants newly born, and gave them to a shepherd to be brought up, commanding him not to suffer any person to speak a word in their hearing, but to nurse them in a solitary cottage, by bringing them goats to suck, till they could take other food. His intention was, to find out what word the children would first utter when they began to articulate; imagining that they would naturally speak the primitive language, if not taught otherwise. At two years end, as the shepherd one day entered his cottage, he had no sooner opened the door, than the children ran to him, and, holding out their

hands, cried *beccos*. Of this exclamation the shepherd, at first took no notice; but afterwards, observing they frequently repeated this word at his coming in, he acquainted the king with it, and, by his order, brought the children into his presence. Psammetichus having himself heard them pronounce the same word, enquired whether any nation made use of it; and finding the Phrygians called *bread* by that name, he and his subjects allowed this to be a proof, that the Phrygians were the more ancient people. Herodotus remarks, that the Greeks affirmed those children were brought up by women whose tongues had been cut out by the king's order for that purpose. The scholiast of Aristophanes tells the same story of another king of Egypt named Sesonchosis (7).

(7) Vide Herodot. Euterp. Aristoph. in Nub.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

*Several
languages
claim this
honour.*

Besides those kindred languages we commonly call the Oriental tongues, the Armenian, the Celtic, the Coptic, the Greek, the Teutonic, and the Chinese, have aspired to the preference, in this respect. The Armenian, Celtic, and Coptic, have little evidence to produce, besides the antiquity of their nations; though the former insist, that as the ark rested in their country, and Noah and his children must have continued there for some time, before the lower and marshy country of Chaldæa could be fit to receive them, it is therefore reasonable to suppose, they left their language on the spot. The Greek some writers have fancied to be the most ancient, because of its great extent and copiousness. The Teutonic, or that dialect of it which is spoken in Lower Germany and Brabant, has found a strenuous patron, who has endeavoured to derive even the Hebrew itself from that tongue. And the pretensions of the Chinese have been supported, not only from the great antiquity of that nation, their early acquaintance with arts and sciences, and their having preserved themselves, so many ages, from any considerable mixture or intercourse with other nations; but also from the nature and singularity of the tongue itself, which consists of few words, all monosyllables; is most simple in its construction, having no variety of declensions, conjugations, or grammatical rules; and so modest, that it is said, they have no character to express those parts which we industriously conceal: all which peculiarities are conceived to be strong marks of its being the first language of mankind; besides the presumption of Noah's being the founder of the Chinese nation.

As to the oriental languages, though they have each of them their partisans, yet the generality of eastern authors allow the preference to the Syriac, or that dialect of it which was spoken in Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, and Assyria; in which countries mankind made their first settlements after the flood, and where, it is presumed, the language of Noah and his sons remained.

The patrons of the Syriac tongue have, as another evidence of its right to the precedency, endeavoured to derive the names of persons and places, mentioned by Moses, from that language, and generally with better success than some writers will allow; but this argument,

¹ Eutyck. Annal. p. 50. Goropius Becanus, in Orig. Antverp. Webb's Essay towards the Primitive Language. Semedo Rel. de la Cina, p. i. ch. 11.

though

though commonly looked upon as conclusive, yet proves nothing of itself, as will be hereafter observed. However we must acknowledge, that if any of these tongues, in particular, may claim the honour of being original, or mother of the rest, it seems to be the Syriac, which was probably, spoken by all the patriarchs, from Noah to Abraham; that being, after the confusion, the tongue of the country where they were born and lived; though, it must be confessed, it will not thence follow, that it was in use there before the confusion.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

The Jews assert the antiquity of their tongue with the greatest warmth. They pretend that it was immediately framed by God, who spake it in his own person; for which reason it is called *the holy tongue*; that it is the only language understood by the angels, and wherein we can pray, and be heard, with effect. Several Christian writers, abating these superstitious fancies of the Jews, have acknowledged and maintained, that the Hebrew tongue is the most ancient in the world; the very same which was spoken by Adam and Noah, and preserved in the family of Eber; who were not concerned in the building of Babel, nor, consequently shared in the punishment inflicted on those that were. But as we have already shewn this to be a groundless imagination, we shall proceed to consider their principal argument, and, indeed, the only circumstance which deserves any consideration, drawn from the etymologies of the names in Moses; some of which that inspired writer himself derives from the Hebrew, and the rest are generally supposed to have been taken from the same source.

The pretensions of the Hebrew tongue considered.

It cannot be denied, that several proper names of persons and places, before the confusion of tongues, may be very regularly derived from the Hebrew; and there are some very pertinent reasons given, and allusions made, by the sacred historian, to evince their propriety, and the relation they have to the person or place designed by them; and this is the most that can be allowed. For though all the names in general, mentioned by Moses before the division, may, possibly, be formed from some Hebrew root or other; yet much the greater part of them seem to be insignificant, at least to have no congruity with the subject: nor can it be expected they should, unless we either imagine all such names, as seem to relate to a future part of a person's life, were given by the spirit of prophecy; or else allow them to be imposed after the events, which occasioned them, happened; and so
to

Yr. of Fl. to be rather surnames, than proper names; a concession
 352. which manifestly weakens the argument drawn from
 Ante Chr. them.
 1996.

This being premised, it will be easy to shew, that this demonstrative argument, as it is called, will not bear examination. For, 1st. It is not certain, that the names used by Moses were the very original names themselves, and not translated, by him, from the primitive tongue into Hebrew, or, at least, somewhat altered, to accommodate what he wrote to the understandings of the Jews. And, how inconsistent soever some may think this method with historical veracity, it has been frequently practised by profane, as well as sacred historians; and Moses himself has given a plain instance of his approbation of such changes, in altering his own name, which was of Egyptian original, to adapt it to a Hebrew etymology (Z). 2d. Supposing those given by Moses were the true original names, it would not be strange at all, if some of them might, by accident, aptly admit of a Hebrew derivation; such casual conformities sometimes happening in words which are certainly known to be of different origins. 3d. Several of those names are more pertinently derived from some other oriental tongues, than from the Hebrew (A); and not a few of the etymologies which Moses himself gives us, are deduced without any regard,

(Z) The original name is *Mouise* or (as it is in the Coptic version) *Mouïses*, with the Greek termination; and composed of two Coptic, or old Egyptian words, *moü*, *water*, and *se*, to *preserve*. But Moses, finding the Hebrew verb *masba*, to *draw out*, bore some resemblance, in sound, to his name, and, in signification, to the occasion of it, writes it *mosheh*; and introduces Pharaoh's daughter giving this reason for her imposing it, because *masbitibu*, *I drew him out of the waters*.

(A) Thus *abel*, or *hebel*, which, in Hebrew, signifies *vanity*, or a *vapour*, seems a name not very apposite to

Adam's second son; and therefore Moses has given no reason for its imposition. But if it be derived from the Syriac *Thab il*, which answers to the Latin name *Deus dedit*, it is very proper; and, accordingly, in the margin of a manuscript copy of Abu'llaragius, we find the name of 'Abel interpreted in Arabic by that of *bebat allah*, *the gift of God*.

The name of Babel itself, which the Hebrew text tells us was so called because God did there *balal*, i. e. *confound* the language of all the earth, may naturally be derived from the Syriac, in which tongue *baibel* is to *confound*; and *bob-lo*, or *bobel*, *confusion*.

at least, to the present rules of analogy (B). 4th. A few lucky paronomasæ, or allusions, are no proof, in this case, because they may happen by accident; and, in fact, some of those mentioned by Moses may be expressed in other tongues, as well as the Hebrew (C).

This argument has been farther enforced, from the significancy of the names of several animals in the Hebrew tongue, which are thought to have been imposed by Adam, because of some peculiar qualities in the animal to which they were given, correspondent to their respective roots; but since the same significancy may be as justly asserted of most other languages, as the Hebrew, it will conclude nothing. Besides, we are much deceived, if we imagine, that the verbs, were really the original roots of the Hebrew tongue; on the contrary, the greatest part of them were themselves; at first, derived from nouns, though they be now, for grammatical conve-

Yr. of Fl.

352.

Ante Chr.

1996.

(B) We shall instance in the names of Noah and Abraham. The former was so called, because, said his father, *yena bammenu, he shall comfort us*, &c. But if his name were derived from the root, *niham, to comfort*, it should have been Nohem, or Menahem, not Noah, which can regularly come from no other verb than *nuah, to rest*; and the Septuagint have, therefore, instead of *he shall comfort us*, rendered it *δαναινον, he shall cause to rest*, &c. which has induced some learned men to think the ancient and true reading was *yanibenu*. And Philo Judæus and St. Jerom translate the name Noah, *rest*.

The name of Abraham was changed from *Abram*, which signifies *high father*, by inserting only the letter *b*, because he was to be made *ab hamon, the father of a multitude of nations*; according to which etymon, he should rather have been

called *Abhamon*, or *Abham*. But the names of these two persons, especially the latter, being too famous, and well known, in the East, to admit any considerable change, Moses was therefore obliged to retain them, and give the best etymology he could from the Hebrew tongue. We might offer a more plausible one of the name Abraham, from the Arabic, wherein *abu roham* signifies *the father of a multitude*, did we not consider, that it is one of those casual resemblances we have already mentioned, and most certainly false.

(C) As Adam, which name is an appellative common to all the species, was so called from *adamah, the earth*; so the Latins called man *homo*; which the best etymologists derive from *humus, the ground*. Yet we cannot think any body ever dreamt, from hence, that the Latin was the primitive tongue,

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

*Whether
all other
tongues
may be de-
rived from
the He-
brew.*

nience, considered as the roots (D). On the whole, it must be acknowledged, that no conclusive argument, for the antiquity of any language, can be drawn from etymologies, which ought, on all occasions, to be urged with great caution; being, for the most part, uncertain and precarious.

Some learned men, however, have endeavoured to derive all languages in general from the Hebrew, which they imagine to be the parent of all others*. That they should succeed very well in finding a great conformity between that and the other oriental tongues, is no wonder, since they are manifestly sprung from one common original; though it be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the mother from the daughters. That they have also given tolerable satisfaction in deducing, from the same tongue, several words, not only in the Greek and Latin, but in some other European languages, is not matter of much surprize, considering the great intercourse several nations of our continent had with the Phœnicians, whose mother tongue was the Hebrew; but when these writers venture out of their depth, and pretend to deduce the more remote languages from the same fountain, they only shew their ignorance, and make themselves ridiculous to all who have but a moderate skill in those tongues. As to the peculiar excellencies found in the Hebrew tongue, by some of its patrons, and which they imagine to be an additional proof of the justness of its pretensions, we may say something hereafter, when we come to give an account of this language.

If the Hebrew tongue, therefore, cannot make good its claim, we may, without taking the pains to refute what has been said in favour of the other pretenders, conclude, that the primitive language was entirely lost at Babel; at least, that no one can now tell where it was preserved, which is much the same thing.

* Vid. Bochart Hierozoic. & Heideg. Hist. Patr. tom. i. Exerc. 16. sect. 16. & 18.

(D) Many examples might be given of the verb's being manifestly derived from, and posterior to, the noun, in all the Oriental tongues; so, in English, *dog*, *duck*, &c. were certainly first imposed as names, and afterwards used as verbs, to express actions proper to those creatures.

The speaking one common language (though it might be of advantage to mankind in other respects, yet) being the great obstacle to that division of them into distinct nations, which God had, for most wise purposes, resolved on, he thought fit to break this bond which held them so strictly together, and confound their language, that they should not understand one another's speech; the natural consequence of which confusion was, that they were scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth. This event is mentioned by profane historians, who write, that mankind used one and the same language till the overthrow of the tower of Babylon; at which time, a multiplicity of tongues was introduced by the gods; whereupon wars ensued, and those whose speech happened to be intelligible to each other, joined company, and seized such countries as they chanced to light upon.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

*The confu-
sion of
tongues.*

As to the degree of this Babylonish confusion, and the manner wherein it was effected, there is great diversity of sentiments. Several learned men, prepossessed with an opinion, that all the different idioms, now in the world, did at first arise from one original language, to which they may be reduced; and that the variety which we find among them is no more than must naturally have happened in so long a course of time, supposing a bare separation of the builders of Babel, have been induced to believe, that there were no new languages formed at the confusion, but that the most that was done, was only to set those builders at variance, by creating a misunderstanding among them. This purpose might have been effected without any immediate influence on their language; but the supposition seems contrary to the words and obvious intent of the sacred historian: others have imagined it was brought about by a temporary confusion of their speech, or, rather, of their apprehensions, causing them, while they continued together, though they spake the same language, yet to understand the words differently. A third opinion is, that a variety of inflexions was introduced, and, perhaps, some new words, which disturbed and perverted the former manner of expression; a circumstance which might occasion different dialects, yet could not create new languages^f. But none of these ex-

*How effect-
ed.*

^f Vide Heideg. ubi sup. Exerc. 21. sect. 21. Cleric. Comment. in loc. Vid. Pere Simon. Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. liv. i. chap. 14. Judæi apud J. C. Scaliger Exercit. in Cardan. 259. sect. 1. If. Casaub. Diatribe de Ling. Heb. Vide M. Casaub. de quatuor Ling. p. 17. & sub initio.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

plications seem fully to answer the apparent design of Moses, which was, not only to inform us how mankind were at first dispersed, and broken into so many different nations; but to account for the diversity of their languages, a task very difficult, if not impossible, without having recourse to some extraordinary interposition of the divine power. For though time, intercourse with foreign nations, commerce, the invention and improvement of arts and sciences, and the difference of climates, cause very considerable alterations in languages; yet we cannot conceive a language can be thus so much disfigured, that all the general marks and characteristics should disappear. It is not easy to apprehend how all the words of a language should be entirely changed for others; nor is there any one instance to be given of any such total change; but it is next to impossible to conceive, that so great a diversity, as we find in the frame and constitution of languages, wherein the grand and essential differences between them consist, rather than in the words which composed them, could ever have been occasioned by the causes assigned above. The present diversity of tongues in the world is prodigious; and considering the time that has elapsed from the building of Babel, and the alterations made in some known languages in the course of one, two, and three thousand years (which alterations we constantly find greater or less, in proportion to the intercourse the nation has had with foreigners), and considering that there are many tongues, which, when compared with others, have not the least affinity; so that a man must be the greatest visionary in the world, to imagine them the offspring of the same parent; it seems to us, that the variety of idioms, now spoken, can be no way possibly accounted for, without either approving the Preadamite system, or allowing a formation of new languages at Babel.

Another argument against the formation of new languages at Babel, which has been thought of some weight, is, that if such a division of tongues be understood, no good reason can be given why those colonies which spoke languages that were near akin, were not removed to the greatest distances; and those whose languages were entirely different, placed next one another. To this question it may easily be answered, that there is no necessity of supposing every family had a distinct language, or that the several dialects of the mother-tongue were formed at the confusion. The dispersion might at first be effected without such an absolute separation of families derived from the

the same stock; mankind was not then so numerous, but that it would be sufficient to cut off the communication between the three great branches of their prime families, by the introduction of new tongues, which, alone was the work of God; for dialects, we allow, might, and necessarily would be formed by time².

Yr. of Fl.
35²
Ante Chr.
1996.

Upon the whole, we think we may reasonably conclude, that, upon the confusion of Babel, there were new languages framed; which languages have been the roots and originals from which the several dialects that are, or have been, or will be spoken, as long as this earth shall last, have arisen, and to which they may, with ease, be reduced.

In what manner these new languages were formed, is a question hard to be determined. It seems by the Mosai- cal account, which is so solemn, and represents God as coming down in person to view the work of these builders, that it was his own immediate act; and some have thence concluded, that he effected it by inducing an oblivion of their former tongue, and instantaneously infusing others into their minds, according to their several nations. The Jews imagine this aim was accomplished by the ministry of angels, seventy of whom descended with God, and were each of them set over a nation, to which they taught a peculiar language; but Israel fell to the lot of his own inheritance, "the Lord's portion being his people:" and therefore, they say, they retained the primitive tongue. Others have supposed, that God did no more than cause them to forget their first language, leaving them to form new tongues as they could; but this expedient must have taken up some time, and could not answer the immediate occasions of mankind. As it would be to little purpose to enquire farther into this matter, the best thing we can do is to conclude, that it was effected instantly in a way and manner of which we can give no account.

It would be of as little use to collect the several opi- nions, in relation to the number of languages formed at Babel; we may as well allow the number of seventy, just mentioned, as any other. We only know from Moses, that the Canaanitish, or Hebrew, the Syriac, and Egyp- tian languages were formed so soon as the time of Jacob. It is most probable, that the languages of the chief fa-

*The num-
ber of lan-
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sion.*

² Vid. Calvin. in Genes. ix. 1, 2. Dr. Wotton, Dis. on Conf. of Lang. p. 36 Dr. Brett's Essay on Conf. of Lang. Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 8. Stiernhielm. Reland. apud Wotton, ubi supra p. 61. See also Stilling. Orig. Sacr. lib. iii. cap. 5. sect. 3.

Yr. of Fl.
350.
Ante Chr.
1996.

families were fundamentally different from each other ; and that the sublanguages, or dialects, within each branch, for the sake of immediate intercourse, had a mutual affinity, some more, some less, according as they settled near or farther from each other. This variation was sufficient to bring about the designs of God to divide mankind into distinct societies, kingdoms, and commonwealths^h. It were to be wished, that commentators had shewn, that such a dispersion could not have been effected by means more natural and easy : when people are too much crowded to subsist conveniently together, common sense and reason will teach them, and necessity compel them to separate without the intervention of a miracle, which, if it had not been recorded by an inspired historian, we should have doubted as an expedient neither necessary nor adequate.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Dispersion of Mankind, and the planting of Nations in the two first general Migrations.

*Of the dispersion.
Not different from the division in the days of Peleg.*

THE primitive fathers distinguish between the division of the earth, and the dispersion of mankind, and make them two different transactions. They suppose that Noah, to whom the earth was well known before the flood, as proprietor of the whole world, divided it among his three sons before any of their posterity removed to Shinaar ; from whence they were afterwards dispersed, to take possession of their respective shares. This Noachical division, as groundless as it is, was so firmly believed, that one author condemns the contrary opinion as heretical. Salianus, according to this distinction of the fathers, makes the dispersion happen about the middle of Peleg's life, though he places the division in his first year.

Other writers have supposed a double dispersion, one at the birth of Peleg, and the other of the builders of Babel ; and an historian of some antiquity, seems to have imagined, that mankind encreased so very fast, that they had peopled several countries and islands, and built several towns, before they laid the foundation of Babel ; absurdly bringing them together again at that place, on

^h Vid. Genes. xxxi. 47. xlii. 23. See Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, p. 312.

purpose to be dispersed a second time, according to the Noachical partition. But the more received opinion, and the most agreeable to Scripture, is, that the division of the earth, in the days of Peleg, and the dispersion of mankind at Babel, were one and the same transaction.

Yr. of F
352.
Ante Ch.
1996.

There is a great disagreement among authors, in settling the precise time of this event. Some, in order to reconcile the sacred records with profane history, or led by some fancies of their own, hold a dispersion or plantation of countries even before the birth of Peleg. Sir John Marsham is of this number; he, to reconcile the Hebrew and Egyptian chronologies, will have Menes to have been the same with Ham, who, in the earliest times after the deluge, travelled, as he supposes, into Egypt, settled there with his children, and was the first king of that country. Others bring the dispersion of Babel towards the end of Peleg's life. The Jews place it in his last year; wherein they are followed by St. Jerom, and several of the Christian chronologers. Others fix it at various periods towards the middle of his age: Petau, about his fifty-second year; Cumberland, about his seventy-ninth year; Salianus and Kircher in the year of the flood 275; but the learned Usher, whom we choose to follow, refers it to the time of Peleg's birth; that is, to the year of the flood 101, according to the Hebrew account. For, if by "the days of Peleg" are to be understood the whole life of the man, or the middle, or the latter end of it, then Peleg will have nothing peculiar to deserve the name; because, in that sense, the division happened in the days of all his progenitors, and even of Noah himself; therefore it must have been peculiar to Peleg alone, of all the family of Eber or Shem, to be born just at the very time of the division or dispersion of Babel; from whence, with very good reason, he had that name given him by his father.

The time
the disper-
sion fixed.

On the other hand, we shall find, without abandoning the Hebrew chronology, a sufficient number of people at the birth of Peleg for the planting of nations. For neither does the Scripture suppose, as Perizonius well observe, multitudes in being at that time; nor did the nature of the transaction require it; the first plantations being made with only a few, and those small families, which removed no farther than the countries in the neighbourhood of Shinaar¹.

Having

¹ Marsham. Canon. Chron. Secul. 1. p. 23. R. David Ganz. ad Ann. 1996. Seder Olam Rabba in ipso initio. Shalshel. Hakkab. Vol. I. K p. 7.

Yr. of Fl.

332
Ante Chr.
1996.*Of the
number of
mankind at
the disper-
sion.*

Having settled the time of the dispersion of Babel, let us next inquire into the number of mankind then in the world. Some authors, imagining that a greater part of the earth was planted in this first dispersion, than we are obliged, either by Scripture, or reason, to believe, have endeavoured to swell their calculations as much as ever they can; and several writers seem to have believed the whole earth was to be peopled at once; whilst others would reduce the number of mankind to a smaller sum than the occasion seems to have required; but a medium is to be observed between those extremes.

In this enquiry no computation can be made from the number of persons mentioned in Scripture, as concerned in this first dispersion, which are but fifty-three, excluding Noah and his three sons; and if we have recourse to the number of generations, we shall meet with less satisfaction still from that quarter, for they were but three at most; Eber, the father of Peleg (who could not be a leader in the dispersion, because it happened at his birth), being but the third from Shem: there are, likewise, only three generations mentioned in the line of Ham, and but two of that of Japhet; so that if we were to confine our calculation to that standard, it would fall short of the reckoning; but as there were certainly more generations procreated between the flood and the dispersion, the time that intervened ought therefore to be considered, as well as the longevity of those who lived in the first ages after the flood.

The chronologers (who have drawn this enquiry into their own province) suit their calculations to their different hypotheses. Some, relying too much on the prophane historians, have taken such a method as might account for the early beginning of monarchies, and the great armies set on foot by Ctesias and his followers, in the time of Ninus, whom many suppose to be Nimrod, or at least his son. Usher is of opinion^k, that, in the hundred and second year after the flood, mankind might have increased to the number of three hundred eighty-eight thousand six hundred and five males, and as many females. Such an uncommon increase he ascribes to an extraordinary fecundity implied in that repeated command or bless-

p. 7. Cornel. a Lapide, Tornielus, Abu'Isarag. p. 11. Orig. Gent. Ant. p. 150. Turris Babel, cap. viii. p. 10. Ush. Chron. Sacr. p. i. cap. v. Perizon Orig. Babylon. cap. xiv. p. 314.

^k Ush. Chron. Sacr. p. i. cap. 5. p. 27.

ing, "Increase and multiply, and fill the earth." A much smaller number would have been sufficient.

As to the order or method wherein the first plantations of the earth were made, some have imagined there was little or none, but that each colony settled where they did by mere chance¹, every one seizing on such countries as he casually arrived at^m. Yet if we attentively consider the account given of this transaction by the sacred historian, we shall find nothing more foreign to his intention than a precipitate and confused dispersion; for, first, we are told, with regard to the sons of Japhet, the eldest branch of Noah's posterity, that, "By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations;" in like manner Moses concludes the account he gives us of the sons of Ham, the youngest branch of Noah's posterity, with these words: "These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, in their nations:" and that of the descendants of Shem ends thus: "These are the sons of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations." From which texts may well be inferred, that this great division of the earth we are speaking of, was performed in an orderly manner, and not a confused and irregular dispersion, wherein every one went whither he listed, and seated himself where he liked best.

We see a twofold order in these first plantations: first, they were ranged "according to their nations," and then every nation was ranked "after their families;" so that every nation dwelt, and had their lot by themselves; and in every nation the families also dwelt, and had their lots by themselves; for the true import of the before cited texts seems to be, that the land, or peculiar lot of each family did lie within the general lot of each nation.

Some of those who give an account of the first settlements of the children of Noah, founding their conjectures chiefly on the similitude of names, a guide too deceitful to be trusted, have ransacked the whole world for names of people, countries, rivers, mountains, and cities, which had but the least affinity with those of the planters they were at a loss to fix; others have taken the precaution to lay down some rules for the more sure proceeding

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996

Of the order of the first plantations.

Of the first plantation of the earth.

¹ Heidegg. Hist. Patr. tom. i. exerc. xxii. sect. 11. ^m Hel-
tæus Miles apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 15.

Yr. of Fl.
332.
Ante Chr.
1996.

in this enquiry: 1. To suffer ourselves to be directed chiefly by Scripture, not neglecting, however, the light which may be had from prophane authors. 2. To seek for the original plantations within a reasonable compass of the earth, and in an orderly disposition; looking for the families where we find the nation, and for the nations where we find the families: and these rules, we think, may be admitted; but another, viz. that those nations, whose families are named by Moses, are chiefly to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Judea, we conceive liable to many exceptions; for, it was plainly the design of that historian to give us an account of the original of all nations in the world, as far as he had knowledge of them, and not of such only as had to deal with the Jews, or were their neighboursⁿ.

After all, this is one of those enquiries about which we ought not to be over solicitous; for the originals of very few nations can be traced so high as the dispersion of Babel, much the greater part being subject to the utmost uncertainty. Since the first migrations of mankind, countries have often changed their names, and people their countries, without being observed by historians (E). We may form conjectures, and please ourselves with the plausibility of our schemes; but who can be sure, that the principles on which they are built have any foundation? Most of the arguments, in enquiries of this nature, result from the identity or similitude of the names of people and countries; but, for ought we know, the nations we take to be very ancient, are modern in respect of the times next after the flood; and the names we suppose to have been retained by cities from antiquity, are of late original as well as themselves: perhaps, also, many of the names of people and countries, mentioned in Scripture, were peculiar to the Jews, since we find them nowhere else. And it must be observed, that this nation, by having lost the remembrance of the greatest part of their antiquities, are become as bad guides in matters of

ⁿ See Mede's Works, and Wells's Geography of the Old Testament.

(E) Quotidie aliquid in hoc nova gentium nomina, extincto magno orbe mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, (8).

(8) Senec. de Consol. ad Albin.

this nature, as the Greeks, who began too late to keep records for us to expect any great assistance from them.

Shem may be supposed, for the few years he lived after the dispersion of mankind, to have dwelt in Shinaar: his descendents seem to have settled from Media westward to the sea-coast of Aram, or Syria. The number of chiefs of his line, concerned in the dispersion, were seven; Elam, Ashur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram, the sons of Shem; Salah, the son of Arphaxad, and Eber, the son of Salah.

1. Elam settled in the country of Elam, lying to the south-east of Shinaar; in the time of Daniel, Susiana, or Khuzestân, seems to have been part of it; and, before the captivity, it does not appear that the Jews called Persia by any other name. Elymæ and Elymaïs are often mentioned by the ancients: Ptolemy, though he makes Elymaïs a province of Media, yet places the Elymaei (for which the maps corruptly read Eldimeai) in Susiana, near the sea coast. Stephanus takes it to be a part of Assyria; but Pliny and Josephus, more properly, of Persia, whose inhabitants, this latter tells us, sprang from the Elamites: and this seems to have been the most easterly boundary of the posterity of Shem; for, adjoining, to the east, was Media, supposed to be possessed by Madai, the third son of Japhet.

2. As Ashur was the second son of Shem, so we find this country, lying next to Elam's, on the west, or north-west, called, likewise, after him Ashur, and by the Greeks Assyria, at present Curdestân, or the country of the Kurds. Pezron supposes he was driven out of Shinaar by Nimrod, Ham's grandson; a conjecture which, indeed, seems not improbable, though it may be objected, that, if he had not settled there originally, he would not have found room in that part, which must have been possessed by some other family. However that be, it was Ashur, and not Nimrod, who went out of Shinaar into Assyria, and built Nineveh, and other cities, as Perizonius has clearly proved that the text ought to be understood, and circumstances require.

Arphaxad is placed by some in Arrapachitis, a province of Assyria, towards the north part of that country; but others settle him with his family in Chaldæa, where, indeed, we find his descendents till the time of Abraham. Some, who make but one and the same person of Arphaxad and Cainan, who is inserted between him and

Yr. of Fl.

352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

The countries planted by the descendents of Shem.

Elam.

Ashur.

Arphaxad.

Yr. of Fl. Salah in the Septuagint version, suppose him to be the founder of the monarchy of China.

**351.
Ante Chr.
1996.**

Salah.

Where Salah, the son of Arphaxad, settled, is very uncertain: some suppose it to have been in Susiana, or Khuzestân in Persia, because they find a town there formerly called Sala; but Morocco, Spain, Phrygia, Armenia, and Hyrcania, may claim this patriarch for their planter upon the same ground, as each of these countries had a town of the same name; and in Colchis we find a nation called Salæ, which seems to have the best pretensions to this origin, since he ought to be considered rather as the founder of a nation than of a town. But as affinity of names weighs very little with us, except when supported by some other proof, we shall not remove him out of Chaldæa, where we suppose room enough for all his descendants, in the right line, till Abraham; for which reason we settle Eber also in the same country.

Eber.

Lud.

4. We can see no reason why Lud, Shem's fourth son, should straggle so far from his friends into Lydia, where Josephus fixes him: besides, there is a strong objection against this opinion, the Lydians having been first called Mæones, as all the ancients agree, and Lydians from Lydus, the son of Atys, except we suppose the Greeks were deceived, and that the name of Mæones ceasing, they resumed their old name of Lydians. But even in that case we ought, perhaps, to consider Lydia as possessed by the Ludim, or posterity of Lud, on a second or third remove, and to look for his first settlement nearer his brothers; but here the very similitude of names, which is generally, upon these occasions, ready at hand; to help out at a dead lift, seems to fail us.

Aram.

5. Mesopotamia and Syria, comprehending the countries westward of Assyria as far the Mediterranean sea, seem wholly (if we except Phœnicia and Palæstine) to have fallen to the share of Aram, Shem's fifth and youngest son, whose name is given both to the whole and the several regions thereof in Scripture.

Within, or bordering on this country of Aram, in all probability, the four sons of Aram settled. It is generally agreed, that Uz, the eldest, built Damascus, and gave his name to the country about that city, which seems to be different from the land of Uz, where Job dwelt, lying towards Edom. 2. Bochart supposes Hul to have settled in Cholobetene, a part of the greater Armenia, where he finds several places whose names begin with Chol, or Col.

Uz.

Hul.

Gether.

3. Gether, according to Josephus, was prince of the Bactrians;

Bactrians; but Bactria lay out of Shem's lot, as well as too far for the first plantation; and if we allow him a seat about the river Centrites, between Armenia and the Carduchi, it is not that we think with Bochart there is the least affinity in the two names. 4. Mash, or Meshech, Aram's fourth son, is supposed to have fixed in Armenia, about the mountain Mafius, the same with that commonly held to be Ararat, and called by the Armenians Masis. The people who dwelt near this mountain are, by Stephanus, named Mafiei. Bochart refutes the notion of Josephus, who derives the Masenæans, near the mouth of the Tigris, from them, not considering that they took their name from their situation between the rivers. However, the Armenians themselves do not lay claim to any of Shem's line as their progenitor; but say they are descended from Togarmah, of Japhet's posterity.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

Mash.

Ham probably removed from Shinaar. Supposing him to be the Cronus of Sanchoniatho, he reigned in Phœnicia. According to others, who make him the same with Menes, he must have settled in Egypt, which, indeed, in Scripture, is often called the land of Ham: and some, from the similitude of Ammon, and other words of the like sound, would infer, that he, at least, dwelt there for some time; but nothing can be concluded from such weak evidence.

The nations
descended
from Ham.

1. Cush, his eldest son, according to Josephus, and the ancients, was the father of the Ethiopians, who, he says, were, in his time, called Cushæans, not only by themselves, but by all the inhabitants of Asia. But it is not likely that, if Mizraim and Canaan settled in the lands betwixt him and Shinaar, his son Nimrod would be found erecting a monarchy so early in that country. It is more probable, that he seated himself in the south-eastern part of Babylonia, and in the adjoining part of Susiana, still called Khuzestân, of the land of Chuz; from whence his posterity, in the succeeding generations, might have passed into other countries. That a part of Arabia, near the Red Sea, was named Cush, appears from Scripture. Cushan and Midian are joined together as the same or neighbouring people, dwelling in tents; and, in other places, the Arabs are made to border on the Cushites, who, therefore, cannot be the Ethiopians: in a word, by Cush, in Scripture, is always to be understood Arabia. As for those texts which are alleged to prove that Cush is sometimes taken for Ethiopia, they may also be expounded of Arabia. Cush, according to the Arab and

Cush.

Yr. of Fl. Persian traditions, which name him Cutha, was king of
 352. the territory of Babel, and resided in Erāk, where there
 Ante Chr. were two cities of his name; whence Dr. Hyde is of
 1996. opinion, that Cush reigned in Babylonia, and that his
 descendants removed into Arabia; though it is hard to
 fix the quarters of any of them; which uncertainty has
 given occasion to those who suppose Cush to be Ethiopia,
 to spread them all along the coast of Africa to the end of
 Mauritania.

Those who place them in Arabia, are divided about
 their situations. To follow therefore the rules we have
 laid down, we will suppose, 1. That Seba seated himself
 somewhere in the south of Chaldæa, or the Arabian
 Erāk; because, 2. His second brother Havilah's country
 lay thereabouts, watered by the Pison, as we have for-
 merly observed. 3. Sabtah's seat, perhaps, lay more to
 the south, where we find a city called Saphtha, by Pto-
 lemy, not far from the Persian gulph, and another named
 Sabatha, lower down in Arabia Felix, which comes
 much nearer Sabtah. 4. Raamah, or Rhegma, may find
 a place more southward still, about a city called Rhegama,
 by Ptolemy, on the same gulph. Some moderns mention
 a city not far from it, called Daden; which Dr. Wells
 does not doubt was the residence of his son Dedan; though
 others will have Raamah, and both his sons, Sheba
 as well as Dedan, to people the parts adjacent to
 the Red Sea. They conclude Dedan to have been near
 Edom, because Ezekiel joins them together; as Raamah
 must have been near Sheba, being mentioned as joint-
 traders to Tyre, in spices, by the same prophet; and else-
 where Sheba and Seba are joined as neighbours, though
 distinguished as different kingdoms. They seem to have
 possessed a larger part of Arabia; for Pliny observes, that
 the Sabæan nations inhabited from sea to sea, that is,
 from the Arabian to the Persian gulph. Shuckford
 supposes Sheba lived on the borders of the land of Midian,
 and gave name to the country, whose queen, in after-
 ages, went to visit Solomon. But the Arabs say, the
 country of Sheba lies a great way more to the south, in
 Yaman, or, as we call it, Arabia Felix, near the Indian
 Sea; the chief city of which was formerly Saba, now
 called Mareb, and founded, according to their tradition,
 by a descendent of Joktan or Kahtan. And it must be
 confessed, this seems to be the country of Sheba mention-
 ed in Scripture; for the frankincense grows thereabouts.

5. Sabtechah has puzzled all the geographers to assign his
 quarters:

quarters : Bochart, not finding a place in Arabia, which bore any resemblance to the name, passes over to Carmania in Persia, and settles him in the city of Samydace, observing, that the *m* and *b* are often changed the one for the other by the Arabs and their neighbours. On the other hand, Dr. Wells imagines, that the Saracens are the descendents of Sabtecha, which nation being styled, at first, by the Greeks, Sabtaceni, that name was afterwards softened into Saraceni ; and the rather, he thinks, because alluding to the Arabic verb, *saraka*, to steal, it served for a nick-name ; though, indeed, the word Saraceni is no other than Sharkîin, which in Arabic signifies *easterlings* ; as the African Arabs, west of Egypt, are called McGrebins, or *westerlings*. Afraid to meddle in a point of so much uncertainty, we think it the safest way to pass this person by, and proceed, 6. To his brother Nimrod, who, it is agreed, kept possession of Shinaar, and erected a kingdom there, making Babel the seat of his empire.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

Nimrod.

2. Mizraim stands in the place of the second son of Ham ; for there is a great dispute, whether this is the name of a single person, or of a people, as having a dual termination, though the verb in the text, where he is said to beget Ludim, is in the singular number, a circumstance that favours the former opinion. However that be, it is plain, that the names of Ludim, and all the rest of his descendents, are plurals, by what we read of the Caphtorim, namely, " that they came forth out of Caphtor ; nor do we see any absurdity in that opinion, which supposes them branches of a large body of people denoted by the name Mizraim, who divided among them the country called after their name by the Hebrews, and other eastern people ⁹.

Mizraim.

As to the nations descended from Mizraim ; 1. The Ludim are judged to be the people above Egypt, called by the Greeks Ethiopians, and at present Abyssins. Bochart endeavours to prove it by no less than ten arguments. We rarely find them called otherwise in Scripture than Lud, either from the name of their founder, or their country. In one passage of Scripture, Lud are called " a mixt people ;" in others, they are said to be

Ludim.

⁹ Vide Cumberland on Sanchon. p. 111. Marsham. Chron. Canon. p. 18. Hyde. De Relig. vet. Pers. p. 40. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. iv. Shuckford's Connect. vol. i. Pocock. Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 57. Geo. Sacr. lib. iv.

- Yr. of Fl.** very "skilful in drawing the bow," which the Ethiopians were famous for; and, in two of the above mentioned passages, Lud is joined with Cush and Phut, as are the Lubim elsewhere with the Egyptians; from whence it may be inferred, they were all neighbours. 2. The Ananim are thought by Bochart to be the Ammonians, or inhabitants of that part of Lybia, where stood the temple of Jupiter Ammon, descended, according to Herodotus, partly from the Egyptians, and partly from the Ethiopians.
- 352.**
Anto Chr. 1996.
Ananim. 3. The Lehabim are supposed to be the same with the Lubim, who, with the Sukkiims and Cushites, came out of Mizraim, or Egypt, with Shishak, to invade Judæa. These therefore may not improbably be judged to be the Libyans of Cyrenaica, or Proper Lybia, near Egypt.
- Naphthim-
tuz.** 4. The Naphthuhim are thought to have settled in Mar-marica, adjoining to Cyrenaica. It is observed, that the Egyptians called all the skirts of a country, and promontories washed by the sea, Nephthys; and Bochart places the Naphthuhim rather on the coast of the Mediterranean, than on that of the Red Sea, because the Troglodytes and Ichthyophagi, inhabiting the latter, are, in the Scripture, called Ziyim and Sukkiim. Some place the Naphthuhim about Noph, or Memphis, in Egypt.
- Pathrusim.** 5. Pathrusim are evidently the inhabitants of Pathros, which some erroneously take for Pelusium, others, more justly, for Thebais, or the Upper Egypt, which is distinguished from the Lower Egypt in profane history, as well as sacred. Ezekiel mentions it by itself; and Isaiah distinguishes it from Egypt; but, from Jeremiah, the country of Pathros appears either to be a part of that kingdom, or adjoining to it, being mentioned with Migdol, Taphanhes, and Noph, which are known to be cities or districts of Egypt.
- Casluhim.** 6. The Casluhim are supposed to have settled somewhere towards the entrance of Egypt, about Mount Casius, in that part of the Lower Egypt called Casiotis by Ptolemy and others; which places, it is thought, retain some likeness of the name; but, without relying on that argument, they appear to have been planted near the Caphtorim, because the Philistim, it seems, were descended from both these people, and consequently in Egypt. Bochart, misled by following the Jewish notion about Caphtor, fancies them to be the inhabitants of Colchis, at present called Mingrelia. As for the Philistim, who, in the Mosaic account of the dispersion, are derived from the Casluhim, we shall consider their original settlement in Egypt, before they removed into Canaan.
- Philistim.**

naan, when we come to their particular history. 7. Caphtorim, the last of the offspring of Mizraim, are, by all the fathers, said to be the Cappadocians, and Caphtor, Cappadocia, as the Septuagint have also rendered it. In this interpretation, doubtless, they follow the Jews, who explain those names the same way, as do the three Chaldee paraphrasts. But by Cappadocia, in these writings, is not to be understood Cappadocia in Asia Minor, as Bochart, and perhaps the rest, judged, but some place in Egypt, generally supposed by the rabbins to be Demyat^r, or Damietta, commonly confounded with Pelusium. One would be inclined to think the Caphtorim derived from Coptus, a noted city of the same country (which by many is supposed to have taken its name from thence), if it was not that Caphtor, appears to have been an island, and more probably situate either in the lake of Tennis, or Tannis, which extends from Damietta to Tina, the true Pelusium, or in the Arabic gulph, rather than Crete, as will be observed hereafter.

Yr. of Fl.
33^a
Ante Chr.
199^b.

Caphtorim.

3. Authors are not agreed about the country where Phut, the third son of Ham, planted himself. Bochart endeavours to prove, that Mizraim and he divided Africa between them. What is most to the purpose is taken from St. Jerom, who affirms Phut to be Libya, and that, in his time, there was a river in Mauritania, with the adjacent region, named from him Phut. But to this observation it may be objected, that Ezekiel mentions Phut with Cush and Persia, as auxiliaries to the northern enemies of the Jews, and in the army of Gog; and we find Cush, Lud, and Phut, among the nations, who, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, were to over-run Egypt, as Nebuchadnezzar afterwards did; a circumstance which seems to imply that Phut's quarters lay somewhere between Cush and Babylon. However, in points so uncertain, we will not presume to determine^r.

Phut.

4. We are not so much to seek for the parts planted by Canaan, and his posterity; viz. Sidon, Heth, the Jebuzites, Amorites, Girgashites, Hivites, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and Hamathites: of these we shall speak more particularly when we come to treat of Phœnicia and the land of Canaan, where they undoubtedly settled.

Canaan.

^r Rabbi Saadias, & Maimonides apud Lightfoot, Oper. tom. ii. p. 398. ^r Jerem. xlviii. 4. Phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 33. Hieronym. in Tradit. Hebr.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

*The coun-
tries plant-
ed by the
descendents
of Japhet.*

The Scripture leaves us as much in the dark, as to the country where Japhet settled, as it does with regard to the particular residence of his brothers. All we can collect upon this occasion is, that he retired from Shinaar with his descendents, and settled among them to the north of the countries planted by the children of Shem. Some imagine him, from the affinity of names, to be the Japhetus of the Greeks; but there is no likelihood of his having ever been known to them, or that their traditions reach so high as this son of Noah, by many ages.

Gomer.

1. Gomer the eldest son of Japhet, according to Josephus, was the father of the Gomerites, called by the Greeks, Galatians, who were the Gauls of Asia Minor, inhabiting part of Phrygia. Of this opinion is Bochart; and if it be right, those who derive the Cimmerians or Cimbri from Gomer, have some grounds for this derivation, the Cimmerians seeming to be the same people with the Gauls or Celts, under a different name: and it is observable, that the Welsh, who are descended from the Gauls, still call themselves Kumero, or Cimro, and Cumeri. Be that as it will, the Chaldee paraphrasts must be mistaken in placing Gomer in Africa, since it is plain from Ezekiel, that his country lay northward of Judæa; and that it was to the west or north-west of Madai, or Media, may be gathered from that prophet's making the house of Togarmah (one of Gomer's sons, and consequently, according to our rules, settled in his father's lot or borders) trading to Tyre in Syria; which could not well be, had they been situated beyond Media, through which it is not likely they would have been suffered to pass. We may therefore let Gomer rest where the learned Bochart settles him, in Phrygia.

Ashkenaz.

The plantations of Gomer's sons may, not without some ground, be presumed to be thereabouts. 1. Ashkenaz, as it seems, should be seated near Armenia, in the eastern part of Asia Minor; for the Scripture, among the nations which were to be called by the Medes under Cyrus, to destroy Babylon, mentions Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz: but if regard be had to the footsteps found of the name, the country which he planted, seems to have been in the north-west of that continent; for in Bithynia there was the Ascanian Lake, and a river called Ascanius, with a bay of the same name; and there was also anciently, a city named Ascania, in Lesser Phrygia, or Troas, with isles on the coast, called the Ascanian islands; and it is observed, that, besides Ascanius the son of

Æneas,

Aeneas, Homer mentions a king of that time, who was at the siege of Troy. And to prove, that the Ashkenaz, mentioned by Jeremiah, were the people of these parts, it is shewn out of Xenophon, that Hytaspes, having conquered Phrygia that lies on the Hellespont, brought thence many of the horse, and other soldiers, which Cyrus carried with him to the Siege of Babylon. In a word, the Pontus Euxinus, or Axinus, as it was first called by the Greeks, is supposed to be a corruption for the sea of Ashkenaz. 2. Because Riphath probably settled near his brother Ashkenaz, we may admit the testimony of Josephus, not always to be depended on, who says, the Paphlagonians were originally called Riphathæans, from Riphath. Bochart finds the river Rhebas, Rhebæus, or Rhebanus, near Paphlagonia; Stephanus mentions not only the river, but also a region of the same name, whose inhabitants were called Rhebæi; and Pliny places here a people called Riphæi, which comes nearer the name of Riphath. 3. Togarmah, the last son of Gomer, was probably seated to the east of Riphath; some think to the north of Armenia, among the Iberians, others in Cappadocia and Galatia; which opinions are not improbable, since these countries lie contiguous to those of the rest of Gomer's family, and are situate conformable to that expression of the prophet, "Gomer and all his bands, the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands;" which seems to be spoken of their situation with respect to Judæa. Turcomannia, where many have placed this colony, seems too remote, because they are said to have traded to the fairs of Tyre; and their carrying thither horses, horsemen, and mules, confirms their settling in or about Cappadocia; for that country produced excellent horses and mules, which last are supposed to have come first from thence; it was famous also for good horsemen, as is attested by several of the ancient profane historians. Besides, in the borders of Pontus and Cappadocia, we find a people called Trocmi, Trogmi, or Trogmeni, as Stephanus calls them. In the council of Chalcedon they are called Trocmades, or Trogmades; which names have an affinity with Togarmah, or, as the Greeks usually write it, Thorgama.

But, after all, the Armenians pretend to be descended from Togarmah (whom they make the son of Tiras, the son of Gomer) by his son Haikh; from whom they and their country have anciently borne the name of Haikh. They also say, that the name of Armenia, made use of

Yr. of FL
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

Riphath.

Togarmah.

by

Yr. of Fl. 358.
Ante Chr. 1996.

by other nations, is derived from Aram, the seventh in descent from Haikh, who much enlarged the bounds of his kingdom on all sides: the Armenians had also a numerous breed of excellent horses, which they paid to Cyrus instead of tribute; and many horses, as a learned author assures us, from the testimony of credible natives, are still bred there, for the use of the kings of Persia. Upon these considerations, we must leave Armenia to the descendents of Togarmah, or Thûrgûmai*.

Magog. 2. We come now to Magog, the second son of Japhet; with regard to whose settlement, the learned have many different and confused opinions: Josephus, Jerom, and most of the fathers, held them to be the Scythians about Caucasus, which name Bochart supposes was made by the Greeks out of Gog-hasan, signifying Gog's fort in Chaldee, of which he imagines the language of the Colchi and Armenians to have been a dialect; but perhaps it is rather a wrong pronunciation of Cuh Kaf, which in Persian signifies the *mountain of Kaf*, as the Arabs also call it. That his plantation adjoined to those of Meshech and Tubal, appears from Ezekiel's making Gog, king of Magog, to reign over the other two. And perhaps we should come still nearer to a discovery of his quarters, if those words, "the chief prince," or, (as it is in our marginal translation) "the prince of the chief of Meshech and Tubal," be rendered according to the Septuagint, "the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal," because in the isthmus, or neck of land between the Euxine and Caspian seas, there formerly dwelt two sorts of people; one called Rhossi, on the river Cyrus, as Joseph Ben Gorion has it, or rather on the Ros, Ras, or Aras, called by the Greeks, Araxes; the other called Moschici, inhabiting a long chain of mountains, stretching, according to Ptolemy, along the north-west part of Armenia, and separating it from Colchis and Iberia. From which two nations migrating, or driven over Caucasus, it is supposed the Russians and Muscovites are descended.

Bochart also thinks the name of Magog is preserved in a country of these parts called Gogarene, according to Strabo and Stephanus; for Gog and Magog seem to be the same name, the *M* not being a radical letter. But we cannot strain the matter so far, as to suppose the name of

* Bochart. Phaleg. lib. iii. Ptol. Strab. lib. xii. Cicero De Divin. lib. ii. &c. Moses Chorenens. Hist. Armen. lib. i. cap. 4. Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. iii. Schroeder, Dissertat. De Ling. Armen. p. 30.

Georgia, a well-known country in this quarter, derived thence; much less, that the Palus Mæotis, and Comagene in Syria, take their names from Magog, through such a distorted course of changes, as to repeat would put one out of conceit with etymologies.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

The Arabs, who have borrowed the best part of their religion from the Jews, are acquainted with Gog and Magog, whom they call Yajuj and Majuj, and make them not inhabitants of the mountain of Kaf, or Caucasus, but remove them at a great distance, to the farther end of Tartary, towards the north or north-east.

We are inclined to think the parts above mentioned, between the Euxine and Caspian seas, are most likely to be those in which Magog settled; however, we can by no means omit this occasion of taking notice of an error, into which many of the modern writers have fallen, who place Magog in Syria. Bochart's great judgment would not suffer him wholly to come into it; however, he supposes Magog himself gave his name to a town there. Dr. Wells more cautiously suggests, that the name was long after taken from the Scythians, when they made an incursion into Syria, and took the city, as Bethsan in Judæa was also called after them Scythopolis. But Mr. Shuckford fixes Magog himself there, with Gomer, Tubal, Togarmah, and Meshech, about him. What gave rise to this opinion is, a passage in Pliny, where he observes, that Bambyce, otherwise Hierapolis, is by the Syrians called Magog^t: but this proves to be a palpable mistake of the transcriber, who has written Magog instead of Mabog, as has been observed by Dr. Hyde, who wonders no body had corrected that error in Pliny^u. Assemani has taken notice of it since that time^x; yet it still remains uncorrected in Hardouin's last pompous edition of that author.

3. It is generally agreed, that Madia planted Media, and the Medes are always called by this name in Scripture. To this opinion the learned Mede, who makes Macedonia the settlement of Madai, objects, 1. That the Madai, or Medes, are not mentioned in Scripture till the latter ages; but it may be answered, that the Jews always retained the name, and it is plain they made use of it as soon as they had occasion. 2. That this situation removes Madai too far from the rest of his brethren, and

Madai.

^t Hist. Natur. lib. v. cap. 23.
p. 44.

^u In notis ad Pericfol. Itiner.
^x Bibl. Orient. vol. ii.

Yr. of Fl.
352
Ante Chr.
1996.

takes him out of their general lot, which was the isles of the Gentiles, to put him into that of Shem. But, according to our hypothesis, their plantations hitherto have been contiguous; for the western Media was bounded on the north by the river Ros, or Aras, to which, as we have observed above, the dominion of Magog extended; and perhaps those words, "By these were the islands of the Gentiles divided," relate only to Javan and his sons, and not to Gomer and his sons, or to a future plantation; the passages in Scripture, where these last are mentioned, requiring a sense which places them on the continent. 3. Several authorities are produced by this writer, to shew there was a people in Macedonia called Medi, or Mædi, and a tract called the Medic region on the borders of Pæonia; but even supposing them some later colony of Madai, which is the most that can be allowed, we cannot see how it tends to prove, that Macedonia is compounded of Medai and Cetim, or Kittim, any more than that Æmathia, the ancient name of Macedonia, comes from Madai, upon the bare authority of a forced etymology.

Javan.

4. Javan may probably be supposed to have settled first near his brothers, in the south-west part of the Lesser Asia, about Ionia, which contains the radical letters of his name.

His four children may find places correspondent with their names in the same parts. 1. The Æoles, who inhabited Æolia, to the north of Ionia, are by Josephus made to descend from Elisha, Javan's eldest son; but there is a greater appearance of his name in Hellas, the ancient name of Greece; the isles of which seem to be those called the isles of Elisha by Ezekiel, and most probably supplied Tyre with the purple and blue, wherewith, as Bochart proves at large, the coast of Peloponnesus and the adjacent islands abounded. Peloponnesus, which may be well comprehended among the isles, as being almost one, contained moreover a city and province by the name of Elis; and in Attica there was the city Eleusis, and the river Elissus, or Ilissus. 2. Tarshish, according to Josephus, gave name not only to Tarsus, but to all Cilicia, of which it was the capital. It seems also to have been the Tarshish to which Jonas thought "to flee from the presence of the Lord;" as well as that so often mentioned by the prophets, on account of its trading with Tyre. 3. To the west of Tarshish, it is supposed, Kittim first planted. Homer mentions a people in those parts

Elisha.

Tarshish.

Kittim.

parts called Cetii, (from the river Cetius), which is the word by which the Septuagint have rendered Kittim. In Ptolemy we find two provinces in the western parts of Cilicia; one maritime, called Cetis, the other towards the mountains, called Citis. Josephus will have the island of Cyprus to be the seat of the Kittim, and the town called Citium, which belongs to it, to have taken its name from them; but in the Apocrypha, Macedonia is plainly denoted by the land of Chetium, Alexander being mentioned as coming from thence; and Perfes, king of Macedonia, is called king of the Citims; nor do we see any thing amiss in supposing that country to be the original plantation of the Kittim, at least in the intention of Moses, since it comes under the general denomination of the isles which were to be the portion of Japhet, at least of the posterity of Javan; and their brother Elifha has been already placed in that neighbourhood. 4. It is not so easy to find a place for Dodanim, the youngest of the sons, or rather of the descendants, of Javan; except we admit the change of the *D* into *R*, (which letters, in the Hebrew, are scarcely to be distinguished), and call him Rodanim, as the Septuagint have done, in order to settle the island of Rhodes upon him; which, perhaps, is not a worse shift than to extract the name of Doris and the Dorians, in Peloponnesus, from Dodanim.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

Dodanim.

As to 5. Tubal, and 6. Meshech, we have already shewn, under the article of Magog, that their lots lay contiguous to his, as may be gathered from the two places of Ezekiel there mentioned; and that is enough, without distorting names of countries, in order to provide them settlements, in spite of all the rules of etymology. And, 7. That we may shorten this account, which the uncertainty of our evidence has made tedious, we shall, in the last place, allow Tiras, according to Josephus, and the general opinion, to have led his colony into Thrace.

*Tubal and
Meshech.*

Tiras.

Thus we have given an account of the nations concerned in the first dispersion of mankind; by which it does not appear that they migrated eastward beyond Media; northward beyond the mountains of Caucasus; southward beyond Ethiopia, or Habashia; or westward beyond a part of Libya and Greece, including Macedonia; though it is most probable, the more distant parts were not planted immediately by these first colonies, but by their posterity afterwards.

It is not our design here to enter into a long detail of future migrations, in order to shew by what degrees, and

*No tracing
the original
of most na-
tions.*

Yr. of Fl. 352. in what manner, the several parts of the world came to
 Ante Chr. 1996. be inhabited, as some, with more labour than success,
 have attempted to do; but we shall reserve what may be
 gathered from ancient writers in relation thereto, till we
 enquire into the original of each particular country.

*Countries
 possessed by
 the descend-
 ents of Jok-
 tan in a se-
 cond migra-
 tion.*

However, we are obliged to say something with re-
 ference to the descendents of Joktan; who, if they were
 not concerned in the first dispersion, seem to have begun
 their migration in Peleg's life time: with regard to which
 patriarch we shall observe, that it is not probable the Pe-
 lasgians of Greece and Italy derive their original from
 him, as some imagine"; but it rather appears from Scrip-
 ture, that both he and his posterity remained in Chaldea,
 within the lot of their great ancestor Arphaxad, till
 Terah, the father of Abraham, left Ur of the Chaldees to
 remove into the land of Canaan.

The habitation of Joktan's sons was, according to
 Moses, "from Mesha, as thou goest into Sephar, a mount
 of the East *." Authors are at a loss about the situation of
 these places, and therefore have run into strange mistakes;
 some suppose Mesha to be Mount Masius, or Ararat, in
 Armenia, (but it seems rather to be a city); and look for
 Mount Sephar beyond Media, towards India. Jerom,
 after Josephus, would have both Mesha and Sephar to be
 in the East Indies. In short, the ancients have generally
 peopled all the eastern parts of Asia beyond Media with
 these sons of Joktan; a system so inconsistent, that Bo-
 chart might well wonder so many of the moderns have
 been led by them; and yet some have done worse, and
 peopled America immediately by Joktan, from whom
 Arias Montanus imagined the province of Jucatan took
 its name; and the same author judges Mount Sephar to
 be the Andes, mountains of Peru.

In all probability the places in question are to be
 looked for in Arabia; but we cannot agree in opinion
 with Bochart, that Mesha is Muza (supposed to be Mo-
 kha, a noted port in the Arabian gulf), and Sephar the
 city Sapphar^z, any more than with the Arab paraphrasts,
 that they are Mecca and Medinah *.

The settlement of Almodad and Sh eleph, the tworst
 sons of Joktan, is quite unknown; but the name of the
 third, Hazarmaveth, or, as it is better written in the

*Hazarma-
 veth.*

* Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p. 268.
 † Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 15. & 30.

* Genes. x. 30.
 * Ptol. tab. 6. Aſiæ.

Vulgate, Hafarmoth, is found in Hadhramaut, a province of Yaman, or Arabia Felix; both having the same radicals, and signifying, *the court or country of death*. Borchart discovers the name of Jerah, in the island Hieracon, (or of *hawks*), in the Arabian gulf, and a town so called within land, on the river Lar, near the Omanitæ. And, 5. That of Hadoram, in the Drimuti of Pliny, towards the Persian gulf. 6. Uzal is the name given to Sanaa, the capital of Yaman, by the Jews who dwelt there; and it appears from Pliny to be the same city. Its port was Ocela, or Ocilis, as Ptolemy calls it, which also bears some resemblance to the name. 7. Diklah, signifying, in the Chaldæan or Syriac, a *palm-tree*, or a country stored with palms, may have choice of seats in Arabia. 8. It is with reluctance that we must cross the sea with Obal, from Arabia to the Avalitic port, in the Avalitic or Abalitic bay, on the coast of Africa, just without the streights of Bab-al-Mandal, for want of a place in Arabia bearing some likeness to his name to settle him in. It is true, there is a town called Obollah, towards Bafrah, which might serve his turn, if that part had not been already disposed of by us to the family of Ham. Some may think the uncertainty of its antiquity might be another objection against Obollah; but that would perhaps be calling all we have said of the migrations in question. 9. We might be obliged to look for a seat on the same coast for Abimael, if Theophrastus did not luckily furnish us with the name of a place in the aromatic quarters of Arabia, called Mali. It is true, other authors seem to write Minæi and Manitæ, but not Mali; however, the authority of Theophrastus must go against them all, since it makes for our purpose. This is a rule which has the sanction of most authors who have written on this subject. 10. Sheba will not have the same difficulty with the rest of his brethren to find a place in Arabia. Pliny says, the Sabæan nations extended themselves from one sea to the other; that is, from the Arabian to the Persian gulph. Indeed there wants no proof of a people of this name possessing a large share of the south parts of Arabia, most authors mentioning them as very numerous, and their country as excellent; but they seem to differ in the name of their chief city; for some call it Saba, others Mariaba, or Maraba. However, that difference causes no difficulty in the matter, since we learn from the Arab authors, that they are both names of the same place; and that it was the ancient regal seat, afterwards trans-

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

Jerah.

Hadoram.

Uzal.

Diklah.

Obal.

Abimael.

Sheba.

Yr. of Fl.
352.
Ante Chr.
1996.

Ophir.

lated to Sanaa. They also tell us that Balkis, who visited Solomon, reigned there; and Christ seems to allude to this country, when he calls her the "queen of the South;" for Yaman with the Jews, as well as Yaman with the Arabs, signifies the *South*; and Saba, or Mareb, is in that part of Arabia called Yaman. 11. We are at a loss again about providing a settlement for Ophir: Arabia furnishes no place which resembles the name, except Copar, on the Arabian gulph, near the northern limits of the Cinædocolpitæ, and Ogyris, an island in the same sea. Bochart endeavours to squeeze Ophir in among the Cassanitæ, or Gassandæ, probably the tribe of Ghassân, consulting the similitude of sense in words, when that of sound fails; and he chooses rather to be put to his shifts, than to run into the common absurdity of planting Ophir in India, where the place which bears his name, (so famous in Scripture for gold), is supposed to be situate. We shall speak more particularly with reference to this land, when we come to the reign of Solomon; and shall at present only observe, that the gold of this place seeming in one passage of Scripture to be called the gold of Parvaim, has occasioned two conjectures: the first, that Ophir is the island of Taprobana; the second, that it is Peru in America. The reader may easily see the latter name comes nearest that of Ophir; but to shew what an ignus fatuus the similitude of names is, Peru, as Sir Walter Raleigh assures us, is not the true name of the country, but was given to it by the Spaniards, on their mistaking the answer of the natives to a question they did not understand. 12. Havilah is, by Bochart, supposed to have settled in the land of Khaulân, towards Yaman, mentioned by Al Edrisi; but as there seem to be two places, (as well as two persons), in Scripture called by that name, one near the Persian gulph, possessed by Havilah, the son of Cush, already taken notice of, and another in the borders of the Amalekites, towards the Land of Promise; the reader, if he pleases, may fix this twelfth son of Joktan in this last country, and place his brother Jobab, who is the thirteenth and last, with him for company; unless he rather chooses to quarter him upon the Jobarites, near the Sachalites, in the south-east part of Arabia, upon a presumption that they should be written Jobabites.

Havilah.

Y Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 28. Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 27. 2 Chron. iii. 6. Bochart. Geog. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. 27. Arias Montanus Antiq. Judaic. Phaleg. v. lib. i. cap. 9. Geogr. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. 28. Geogr. Nubiens. p. 49. Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. 29.

S E C T. VII.

Of the Origin of civil Government, and the Establishment of the first Kingdoms.

WE have formerly observed that the first form of government was certainly patriarchal. For though the father had no natural right to govern his children when out of their minority; and though that honour, respect, and support, which they indispensably owe to their parents all their life-time, and in all estates, give the father no power of making laws, and enacting penalties on his children, nor any dominion over their properties or actions; yet it is obvious to conceive how easy it was, in the first ages of the world, and still is, in places where the thinness of the people give families leave to separate, and plant themselves in yet vacant habitations, for the father to become the prince of the family. He had been a ruler from the beginning of the infancy of his children; and since, without some government, it would be hard for them to live together, it was likeliest it should, by the express, or tacit consent of the children, when they were grown up, be in the father; where it seemed, without any change, barely to continue: indeed, nothing more was requisite, than the permitting the father to exercise alone, in his family, that executive power of the law of nature which every freeman naturally hath, and, by that permission, resigning up to him a monarchical power. Thus it was almost natural for the children to make way for the father's authority. They had been accustomed, in their childhood, to follow his directions, and to refer their little differences to him; and when they were men, who fitter to rule them? Their inconsiderable property, and moderate desires, seldom occasioned great controversies; and when they did, where could they have a fitter umpire than the person by whose care they had been sustained and brought up? The government they were under continued still to be more their protection than restraint; and they could no where find a greater security to their peace, liberties, and fortunes, than in the rule of a father.

First government patriarchal.

Thus fathers of families, by an insensible change, might become politic monarchs; and, as they chanced to live long, and leave able and worthy heirs for several successions, or otherwise, lay the foundations of hereditary

Changed into monarchical.

or elective kingdoms, under various constitutions and manners, according as chance, contrivance, or occasions happened to coincide².

*Policy of
the Noa-
chida.*

Noah, therefore, being the common parent of the new world, while he lived, we may imagine, all his descendents considered themselves as in a state of dependence on him; and as he was the supreme governor of the whole race of mankind then in being, so his sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet were, in all probability, chief governors of their respective branches in particular; as their sons again were heads or rulers of their respective families, under their fathers. Each son of Shem, for instance, as head of his own family, not only decided all differences among them, but probably gave laws to them, though his authority extended no farther; for in disputes between their families, their powers being all equal, they were obliged to have recourse to the decision of their common father Shem, whose authority also was limited to his proper descendents; so that in any difference between him and his brothers, Ham and Japhet, the appeal must have been to the judgment of their father Noah, as the only common superior.

At Noah's death the unity of government was dissolved, and mankind became divided into three grand parties, which no longer acknowledged one common head, but had each its own independent ruler in one of his three sons. Upon their deaths the bonds of union were again loosed, and mankind became a second time divided in their political state; so that by degrees they became ranged under a great number of independent chiefs, which seems to have been the state of the world for some time after the dispersion.

*Establish-
ment of
kingdoms.*

But as families increased, and gradually extended their plantations, forming villages and towns, lest their different interests and inclinations might trouble the public tranquility, it became necessary to trust the government of each society in the hands of one, or, at least, a small number of persons, who might re-unite all the chiefs under one and the same authority, and execute such laws and regulations as were thought conducive to the well being of the community. The idea they still retained of the patriarchal government, and the happy experience they had of it, naturally directed them to the choice of a single person, rather than many, and of such

² Locke of Government, treatise ii. chap. 6, &c.

a person

a person as was most conspicuous for paternal care and tenderness. Ambition and intrigue had, we may suppose, little or no share in this election, which was rather decided in favour of the most worthy, by his known probity and moderation ^a.

In this first beginning of political societies, almost every town had its own king, who, more attentive to preserve his dominions, than to extend them, restrained his ambition within the bounds of his native country, till disputes with neighbours, which were sometimes inevitable, jealousy of a more powerful prince, an enterprizing genius, and martial inclination, the desire in some of aggrandizing themselves, and shewing their abilities, occasioned those wars, which ended in the absolute subjection of the vanquished; whose possessions fell to the share of the conqueror, and, by enlarging his dominions, both enabled and encouraged him to push on his fortune by new enterprizes; and thus several cities and territories, united under one monarch, formed kingdoms of greater or smaller extent, as the prince happened to have ambition and success.

These first conquerors used their victory in different manners, according to their various tempers and interests. Some, looking on themselves as absolute masters of the conquered, and thinking it was enough to grant them life, stripped them of every thing else, and reduced them to the state of slavery, condemning them to the meanest offices, and the most laborious employments; which oppression introduced the distinction between freemen and slaves, ever since kept up in the world.

Others introduced the custom of entirely transplanting the vanquished people, with their families, into new countries, where they were to settle, and cultivate the lands assigned them.

Others yet more moderate, contented themselves with obliging the conquered to purchase their liberty by a ransom, and allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges, on payment of an annual tribute, sometimes even leaving their kings on the throne, and only obliging them to acknowledge the superiority of their conqueror, by certain marks of homage and submission.

The wisest, and most politic, gained the affections of the vanquished, by admitting them to an equality with their old subjects, and granting them the same liberties

^a Justin. lib. i. cap. 1.

and privileges; thus they united their interests, and made them one people.

Nimrod the first usurper on the rights of others.

If the Phœnician history may be credited, and their Cronus allowed to be Ham, the desire of rule began to make havoc in the world even during the life of Noah, who was driven out of his settlements, and, at last, slain, by his rebellious son. But the first act of violence and usurpation we find recorded in Scripture, was that of Nimrod, who dispossessed Ashur, the son of Shem, at first settled in Shinaar, and obliged him to remove into Assyria. The acquisitions he made, on this occasion, must be allowed to be unjust, though he might have a legal right to govern those who, probably, chose him for their chief, on account of his personal merit. However, it is to be presumed, that this revolution, which we suppose to have happened about thirty years after the dispersion, extended only to some few of the new planted nations. In the rest, especially those who lay outermost, we cannot but persuade ourselves, that a simplicity of manners continued several ages; and that wars did not arise in the world, till the colonies, which were at first separated, by the increase of their numbers, began to press upon one another, and grow uneasy, for want of room; which inconvenience must have affected those most, who were settled nearest the center; and accordingly, the first warlike motions we have any credible account of, were made by the kings of Shinaar and Elam.

Of the original of arts and sciences;

Though Noah and his sons had, doubtless, some knowledge of the inventions of the antedeluvians, and, probably, acquainted their descendants with such of them as were most obvious and useful in common life; yet it is not to be imagined, that any of the more curious arts, or speculative sciences, were improved in any degree, supposing them to have been known, or invented, till some considerable time after the dispersion. On the contrary, one consequence of that event seems to have been, that several inventions, known to their ancestors, were lost, and mankind gradually degenerated into ignorance and barbarity, till ease and plenty had given them leisure again to polish their manners, and apply themselves to those arts, which are seldom brought to perfection under other circumstances. For, on their settling in any country, they found it employment sufficient, to cultivate the land (which yet, for want of separate property and security in their possessions, in those early times, they improved no farther, than barely to supply present necessities),

ties), and to provide themselves habitations and necessities, for their mutual comfort and subsistence. Besides, they were often obliged to remove from one place to another, where they could more conveniently reside. It was a great while before they came to embody themselves together in towns and cities, and from thence to spread into provinces, and to settle the bounds and extent of their territories.

Commerce was, in all probability, carried on with greater ease before the flood, when there was but one and the same language in the world; yet it was not so necessary then, as it is become since; not only because men's wants have been increased by the ill effects of the deluge on the earth, and its productions, but because they dwelt more together, and might supply their occasions by bartering with their nearest neighbours, without being obliged to extend their dealings much farther. That they had no ships to carry on a traffic to remote parts, seems evident; for if navigation had been then found out, some others might have saved themselves from the flood, as well as Noah and his family. But after that destruction, and the dispersion of mankind, as it became more difficult to trade with nations who spake different languages, so their necessities were increased by this division; the colonies who planted new countries, not only perceiving their own wants, by the conveniencies they had left behind them; but finding something useful in their settlements, which were before unknown to them, or their founders. These considerations engaged them to fetch what they wanted from the parts where they had formerly dwelt, and, in exchange, to carry what they had discovered, thither; a practice which seems to have given the first rise to foreign trade, the gradual advances whereof we may occasionally mention hereafter. The invention of shipping was certainly the greatest step to its improvement, since it made the sea, before an insuperable obstacle to commerce, the most easy and convenient method of carrying it on^b.

^b Vide Thucyd. lib. i. sub initio. Stillingsl. Orig. Sacr. book. 1. chap. 1. sect. 16. Simplic. de Cælo, lib. ii. Huet Hist. du Commerce & de la Navig. des Anciens, chap. 2 & 3.

C H A P. III.

The History of Egypt to the Time of Alexander the Great.

S E C T. I.

A Description of Egypt.

Its name.

EGYPT, called by its ancient inhabitants Chemia, and by the Copts, at present, Chemi, was so named, as is supposed, from Ham, the son of Noah; being, more than once, styled, in the book of Psalms, the land of Ham. But the name by which it is generally denoted in Scripture, is, the land of Mizraim; from whence the Arabians, and other Oriental nations, still call it Mesr, which the Greeks write Mesre and Mestrea. We have already observed, that Mizraim is a word of a dual termination; and is therefore, by some, thought to have been used in that number, on account of the twofold division of Egypt, and thence given to its first planter, the son of Ham: the singular *mafor*, signifies a *fortress*; and according to some, is also used in Scripture, as a proper name of that country; though others, and our version in particular, translate the word as an appellative. Bochart is of opinion that Egypt received this name from the natural strength of its situation.

This country is best known to us by its Greek name Egypt, the original of which is variously accounted for by authors. Some say, it was so called from one of its kings, named Egyptus; not reflecting that this name was anciently given, not only to the country, but, likewise, to its famous river, the Nile. Others say, it signifies no more than *the land of the Copts*; the word *aia* being Greek for a country, and *Ecoptos* easily softened into *Egyptus*. Yet this derivation seems as ill grounded as the former; the city of Coptus, whence the remains of the ancient Egyptians are still called Copts, being situate far up in the Higher Egypt, was, in all likelihood, utterly unknown to the Greeks till long after the name was in use among them. The most probable opinion, therefore, is, that region was so called from the blackness of its soil,

and the dark colour both of its river and inhabitants, attested by all relations; for such a blackish colour is called, by the Greeks, *egyptios*, from *gyps* and *ægyps*, a vulture, a bird of that hue; and, by the Latins, *subvulturius*. For the same reason, other names, of the same import, have been given to this country by the Greeks; such as *Æria*, and *Melambolus*. The river itself was also called *Melo*, or *Melas*; by the Hebrews, *Shihor*; and by the Ethiopians, *Siris*; all which names signify *black*. And Plutarch seems to intimate, that the inhabitants called their country *Chemia*, because its soil was very black, like the sight of the eye.

Egypt is situate between the forty-eighth and fifty-third degrees of longitude, and the twenty-fourth and thirty-third degrees of north latitude; its length, from north to south, about six hundred miles; and the breadth of its coast on the Mediterranean, from east to west, near three hundred miles; but above the division of the Nile it grows much narrower, so that, in some places, the two chains of mountains which rise on each side of that river, leave a plain between them of less than a day's journey to cross. It is bounded, on the south, by the kingdom of Sennar, which is tributary to the king of Ethiopia, and the cataracts of the Nile; on the north, by the Mediterranean sea; on the east, by the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, and the isthmus of Suez; on the west, by a region of Libya called *Marmarica*.

*Situation
and extent*

The old geographers differ, as to the ancient bounds of this country. Some have thought, that the Delta only, or that part incompassed by the arms of the Nile, was properly to be called Egypt; others make it reach westward to the greater Catabathmus, or valley which divides it from Cyrenaica; but this would give it too great an extent, and include *Marmarica* and *Ammonis*, which are certainly no part of Egypt. The true limits on that side, therefore, seem rather to be taken from *Plinthine*, a town beyond the lake *Mareotis*; and to extend eastward as far as the lake *Serbonis*, or more exactly, to *Ostracine*, on the Mediterranean sea, and *Heroopolis* at the head of the Arabian gulf. The southern bounds were, *Syene*, a city situate almost under the tropic of Cancer, and *Elephantine* and *Phylæ*, two others which lie something farther south.

As the ancients differ, likewise, in settling the limits of Asia and Africa, some, who make the Nile the boundary of those two parts of the world, place so much of

of Egypt as lies east of that river, in Asia; but others place it entirely in that part, by removing the limits of Asia so far as Alexandria, or the Catabathmus. But we think the common opinion the most natural, which divides Asia from Africa by the Arabian gulf, and the isthmus of Suez. However, we hope the former authorities will excuse our including the Egyptians among the Asiatic nations, whose histories we give in this book; which we have done merely for convenience.

Its division.

Ancient Egypt is divided, by some, into two parts, the Upper, and the Lower Egypt; by others, into three; the Upper Egypt, properly so called, or Thebais; the Middle Egypt, or Heptanomis; and the Lower Egypt, the best part of which was the Delta.

Thebais.

Thebais, so named by the Greeks from its principal city Thebes, is, in the Scripture, called Pathros; and, at present, Al Saïd. It is the most southern part of Egypt next to Ethiopia, and is near as extensive as all the rest, including the country on both sides the Nile down to the Heptanomis; its last city, according to the ancients, being Lycopolis on the western, and Antæopolis on the eastern side of the river; these dimensions agree pretty exactly with the present extent of Al Saïd, the most northern city of which is Manfalût.

Cities of note in this part of Egypt.

There were formerly, in this part of Egypt, several cities, of great note; viz. on the western side of the Nile, Lycopolis, or *the city of the wolves*; for extraordinary worship was formerly paid here to wolves, because they drove back the Ethiopians, says Diodorus Siculus, when they invaded Egypt, and pursued them to Elephantine, on the borders of Ethiopia. This city is supposed to have stood where the present town of Monfalût stands. Hypsele, still a pretty large town, known by the name Aboutig, and a bishop's see: it stands about a mile to the west of the Nile. Aphroditopolis, or the city of Venus, to whom great worship was paid here. This city is omitted by Ptolemy, but mentioned by other geographers. Ptolemais, formerly a city of great note, by Strabo thought equal to Memphis. Abydus, once the second city in the Thebaid, famous for the magnificent palace of Memnon, but in Strabo's time only a village. That author men-

c Vide Cellar. Geogr. Ant. lib. iv. cap. 1. Strabo, lib. xi. Dionys. Perieg. ver. 18. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 1. Hirtius de Bello Alex. cap. 14. Sallust. de Bello Jugurth. cap. 17. Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 8.

tions a fountain here, to which there was an extraordinary descent by steps, and a grove, sacred to Apollo. Abydus stood at some distance from the river, perhaps in the place where the present village El-Berbi is situate, about three miles to the west of the river, as a modern traveller conjectures. Little Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter, perhaps the present town of Hou. Tentyra, of which city the inhabitants were famous for their enmity to the crocodile, which, by all means, they endeavoured to destroy, and even waged war with the worshippers of that animal, especially with the people of Ombos^d.

The ruins of Tentyra are still to be seen at Amara, about a mile from the river Hermenthis, now Erment. It stood in the midst of a large plain, and seems to have been between three and four miles in compass. Here are still to be seen the ruins of two ancient buildings. Latopolis, so called from the fish *latus*, formerly worshipped in this place. About three miles to the north-north-west of the present town of Esne, are to be seen the ruins of an ancient temple, which Pococke supposes to have been the temple of Pallas and the fish *latus* at Latopolis, where they were both worshipped. Within this temple are three stories of hieroglyphics of men about three feet high, and at one end the lowest figures are as big as the life, one of them with the head of the ibis. The ceiling is curiously adorned with all sorts of animals, and painted in very beautiful colours. All the hieroglyphics are very well cut, but some of them defaced. Great Apollinopolis, whereof the inhabitants rivalled the Tentyrites in their enmity and hatred to the crocodile. It is thought to have been situate where the town of Etfou now stands, and where are still the ruins of a magnificent temple, in the front of which are cut colossal figures in two stories, some standing, and some sitting. Elephantine, in an island of that name, about a mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad to the south, ending in a point at the north. On this island are the ruins of a small temple, before which is a statue sitting with the hands across on the breast, about eight feet high, with a lituus in each hand. In the middle of the island are the remains of one side of a great gate of red granite, finely adorned with hieroglyphics.

^d Strabo, p. 559. Pococke's *Descrip. of the East*, p. 83 and 85. Juven. Sat. xv. vers. 33.

On the east side of the river are the following cities ! Autæopolis, so called from Antæus, whom Hercules overcame. It is supposed to have stood in the place where the present city of Sciout was built, which is situated in the middle of a pleasant country, near a large lake, filled from the Nile by a canal, over which there is a bridge of three high Gothic arches. Passalus, perhaps the present Gava-Kiebre, where is still to be seen a very beautiful portico of a temple, with eighteen pillars, in three rows. Panopolis, the birth-place of the poet Nonnus. It borrowed its name from Pan, who is said to have attended Osiris in his expedition against the Ethiopians, and therefore was worshipped (says Diodorus) by the Egyptians in every temple. Panopolis and Chermis were, according to that writer, one and the same city; but Herodotus seems to distinguish them. The present town of Akraim, standing about a mile from the river, is supposed to be the ancient Panopolis. Chenoboschia, concerning which we find nothing, in the ancients, worthy of notice. Cæne, or Neapolis, mentioned both by Herodotus and Ptolemy, perhaps the present Kena, a small town, on a rising ground, about a mile from the river Coptos, now Kept. Here Isis, if Plutarch is to be credited, receiving the news of the death of Osiris, cut off one of her locks in token of grief; and hence the place was named Coptos, which word, in the Egyptian language, signifies *want*, or *privation*. This city was inhabited both by the Egyptians and Arabians, and stood at some distance from the river, as the present village of Kept does, but had a port on it; for Pliny calls it the emporium of commodities brought from India and Arabia. The difficult navigation of the Red Sea to the north, threw the trade into this channel. Pliny mentions Juliopolis as two miles from Alexandria, adding, that from Juliopolis to Coptos, the voyage, of three hundred and three miles, was performed in twelve days, when the northerly winds blew; and the journey from Coptos to Berenice, on the Red Sea, likewise, in twelve days. Ptolemy Philadelphus caused a good road to be made from Coptos to Berenice, with wells and cisterns to preserve the rain-water; whence the stations, where travellers stopped, were called Hydria and Hydreumata, that is, *watering places*. Strabo is somewhat confused in this place; for, after describing the city of Coptos, and its trade, he adds: "Hence an isthmus stretches out to the Red Sea near the city of Berenice." He seems to mistake the city of Berenice for that of Albus Portus,

Portus, placed by Ptolemy on the Red Sea, and parallel with Coptos; for, he adds, "Not far from Berenice is the town called Myos Hormus." But, between this town and Berenice, Arrian reckons one thousand eight hundred stadia. The Christians were formerly very numerous in the city of Coptos, whence the name of Copts was given, in derision, by the Mohammedans, to all the Christians in Egypt. The only remains of this great city are some square pillars, with broken entablatures, all of red granite, a small temple almost quite destroyed, a large bason, the ruins of two bridges over the canal, by which the water was conveyed from the river into the bason. Here are found great numbers of medals and small statues of earthen ware, some pieces of rock crystal, and sometimes precious stones. Apollinopolis, or the little city of Apollo, called by Antoninus, in his Itinerary, the village of Apollo. There are here the ruins of a temple, with a Greek inscription, by Cleopatra and Ptolemy, in honour of Apollo, who was worshipped by the inhabitants. The great city of Thebes, deservedly reckoned one of the finest cities in the world. It was also called Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter, and was built, according to some, by Osiris, according to others, by Busiris. Its length, in Strabo's time, was eighty furlongs, or ten miles; but this was nothing in comparison of its ancient extent, before it was ruined by Cambyfes, which, we are told, was no less than four hundred and twenty stadia, or fifty-two miles and an half. The wealth of this city was so great, that, after it had been plundered by the Persians, what was found, on burning the remains of the pillage amounted to above three hundred talents of gold, and twenty-three hundred of silver. The hundred gates of Thebes are mentioned by Homer, and, after him, by many others; but some think that this was not the number of the gates of the city, but of the temples; and that, from them, the city had the epithet of Hecatompylos, expressing a definite for an indefinite number. Pomponius Mela, and others, by the hundred gates, understand so many palaces of princes, each of whom could, upon any pressing occasion, arm, and send out, twenty thousand fighting men, and two hundred chariots. A modern traveller could observe no signs or remains of walls round Thebes; and if it had none, we must conclude that, by two hundred gates, were meant the gates of the temples, or rather the palaces of great men. In Strabo's time the city stood chiefly on the east side

*The city of
Thebes.*

side of the river: at Thebes there were, anciently, four remarkable temples: one of them is said, by Diodorus Siculus, to have been a mile and a half in circumference, and forty-five cubits in height, with walls twenty-four feet thick *.

*Sepulchres
of the kings
of Thebes.*

At a place called Biban-el-Meluke, that is *the gate*, or *court of the kings*, are to be seen the sepulchres of the kings of Thebes, never exceeded, in the opinion of Diodorus Siculus, by any thing of this kind. He tells us, that forty-seven of them were mentioned in the Egyptian histories; that seventeen only remained to the time of Ptolemy the son of Lagus; and that, in his own time, most of them were destroyed (F).

To the south of Thebes, and on the same side of the river, stand the following cities mentioned by the ancient geographers, Chnumis, or Cnuphis, so called from a god of that name, worshipped by the inhabitants; Elethya, or the city of Lucina, famous for a temple sacred to that goddess, now entirely destroyed; Onebos, now Comombo, that is, the Hill of Ombo, where great ruins are still to be seen of an ancient temple. The inhabitants of this city were famous for the worship of the crocodile, as we have observed above; they fed them in their ponds (says Ælian), where they became so tame, as to obey when they were called. Syene, the ruins of which are still to be seen at a small distance from Assouan. It was situated exactly under the tropic of Cancer; and is placed by Pliny in a peninsula; whence we may conclude, that it stood on a hill to the west of the present fort, which hill has water on three sides. At a small distance from this place are the remains of several ancient buildings and the granite quarries; all the country to the east, the islands, and bed of the Nile, producing red granite: the quarries were not worked below ground, but the stone was hewed out of the sides of low hills. Pococke observed some columns marked out in the quarries, and shaped on two sides: he is of opinion that they worked the stone round with a narrow tool, and, when it was almost separated, they forced it out of its bed with large wedges, of which there are great signs in the quarries. At Syene there was a Roman garrison, consisting of three

(F) For further particulars, see Pococke's Travels:

* Diod. Sicul. Pomp. Mela. Plini. Pococke's Description of the East. Herodotus, Ptolemy. Strabo.

cohorts, as appears from Strabo, and the Notitia. About twelve miles south of Syene stood the city of Phylæ, in an island of the same name, not above a quarter of a mile long, and half a quarter broad. Pliny places Phylæ on the west side of the river, over against Syene; but, that he was mistaken, is plain from Ptolemy, from the Itinerary, and from Strabo, which last visited those places, and tells us, that he went from Syene to Phylæ by land, to avoid the cataract; that is, the lesser cataract. The island of Phylæ was deemed sacred, from an opinion that Osiris was buried there; and the ruins of a magnificent temple are still to be seen. It appears from the Notitia that the Romans had a garrison at Phylæ, which was the most southern city of all Egypt. Between this place and Syene is the lesser cataract, and the greater at a small distance from Pselca, a town in Ethiopia. Cicero was imposed upon from a false report when he wrote, that the people who lived near the lesser cataract were all deaf, a defect which, he says, was occasioned by the noise the river made in falling from very high mountains, for the fall is no where above seven or eight feet. At this cataract ends the navigation of the Egyptians to the south, and of the Ethiopians to the north.

We shall now give a succinct account of the cities on the Red Sea, within the bounds of Egypt. This sea is divided to the north into two gulphs; that to the east was called the *Ælantic Gulph*, from the city of *Ælana*, at the north end of it, and that to the west the *Heroopolitic*, from the city of *Heroopolis*. The *Ælantic Gulph* belongs to Arabia, and the *Heroopolitic* to Egypt. On the latter stood the cities of *Heroopolis* and *Arfinoe*. *Heroopolis*, or the *City of Heroes*, as it is called by Strabo and Pliny¹, stood at the north end of the gulph, perhaps where the castle of *Adjercute* now stands; and *Arfinoe*, so called from a queen of that name, in the time of the Ptolemies, where *Suez* is now; there being in that neighbourhood plain signs of an ancient city. Strabo seems to suppose *Arfinoe* and *Cleopatra* to have been different cities; but, in the same page, speaking again of *Arfinoe*, he says, that "by some it is called *Cleopatra*." Some think that the text has been altered, others, that *Cleopatra* embellished the city of *Arfinoe* by the addition of several buildings, which formed, as it were, a new city, called, after her name, *Cleopatra*; whence the whole was by some named *Arfinoë*, by others *Cleopatra*.

*Cities on
the Red
Sea.*

¹ Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 553. Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 29.

On the Red Sea itself stood Myos, Albus Portus, and Berenice, mentioned by Ptolemy, Pliny, and Strabo. The last city, so named from the mother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was the great emporium of goods from Arabia and India. It is placed by Ptolemy near the tropic of Cancer; and that he was not mistaken in the latitude is manifest from Pliny, from Arrian, and from the Itinerary. Berenice is the last town in Egypt, properly so called, on the Red Sea. Of the inland towns, between that Sea and the Nile, we shall speak hereafter.

Heptanomis.

Heptanomis, or the Middle Egypt, was so called from the seven *nomes*, or *prefectures*, into which it was divided, though Strabo says it contained sixteen, which difference may have been occasioned by the adding of new *nomes* to those it originally comprised, as were in particular those of Oasis, of which name there were two cities, not properly in Egypt, but on the borders of Libya. The Heptanomis comprehended all the country on each side of the Nile, from Thebais to the point of the Delta, where that river divides into those branches by which it enters the sea. Some of the ancients make this tract a part of the Thebais; and some of the eastern geographers also give the said extent to Al Saïd.

Cities in the Heptanomis.

This part of Egypt was also, in old times, full of large and noble cities. On the west side of the river were, Memphis, supposed to have been built by Menes, the first king of Egypt, and, for many ages, the metropolis of the whole kingdom. It is placed, by Pliny and Strabo, fifteen miles south of the Delta; but there are now no more remains of so great a city than as if such a place had never existed; the best part of the ruins having been, in all likelihood, carried to Alexandria, and other cities, built in after ages, and the rest buried by the overflowing of the Nile. At Memphis there were many magnificent temples, and one, among the rest, consecrated to Apis, who was worshipped in the form and appearance of an ox, kept and fed here for that purpose. This was a great and populous city even in Strabo's time, who calls it the second after Alexandria. Of the pyramids, which stood not far from this city, we shall speak hereafter. Acanthus, where was a great temple, dedicated to Osiris, and a grove of Thebaic acantha, from which the city had probably its name. Heracleopolis, or the city of Hercules, in an island called, by Strabo, the Great Island, where the ichneumon was worshipped. In the lower

part of this island, to the north, stood the city of Nilotopolis, at an equal distance from both banks of the river, whence Ptolemy calls it a mediterranean, or inland town. Arsinoe, first called the city of Crocodiles, for the inhabitants worshipped that animal, and bred up some tame beasts of that species in the neighbouring lakes. The ruins of this city are still to be seen at a place called Faiume. It must have stood at some distance from the river, since Ptolemy calls it a mediterranean metropolis. Oxyrynchus, so called from a fish of that name, worshipped all over Egypt, but chiefly in this place. Hermopolis, or the city of Mercury, reckoned by Ammianus among the famous cities of Egypt^b. On the east side of the river stood the following cities of note: Aphroditopolis, or the city of Venus, where particular worship was paid to a white cow. Ancuropolis, or the city of Anchors, mentioned by Ptolemy, and so called from a neighbouring quarry, out of which stone anchors were cut. Cynopolis, or the city of Dogs, for Dogs were worshipped there, and sacred food allotted them. Antinoopolis, now Ensinel, built by the emperor Adrian, in honour of his favourite Antinous, who, having attended him into Egypt, was here drowned. Some think that Adrian did not build a new city, but only embellished the old city of Befa, and gave it a new name^c. Befa is mentioned by Ammianus as an Egyptian god. An Egyptian writer, quoted by Photius, joining the old and new name of this place, calls it Besantinoopolis: Some ruins are still to be seen, in the place where Antinoopolis is supposed to have stood^d.

The lower Egypt, reaching from Heptanomis to the Mediterranean Sea, contained not only that part which is encompassed by the arms of the Nile, and, from its triangular figure, named Delta, but also Mareotis and Alexandria, with its dependencies, to the west; and Casiotis and Augustamnica, with some other territories towards Arabia, to the east.

*Cities of
Lower
Egypt.*

In the Mareotic nome, called Mareotis, from the lake Marea, we find the following places mentioned by the ancients: Plinthine, Monocomium, Cobii, Almyra, Hierax, Taposiris, Phomotis, Marea; but nothing relating to them worthy of notice. The lake Marea, or Mareotis, was, according to Strabo, above an hundred and fifty stadia in breadth, and under three hundred in

^b Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxii. c. 40.
Hadrian. cap. 14.

^c Casaubon. in Spart.

^d Pococke, p. 79.

*Alexan-
dria.*

length. It was formerly navigable, but is now dry, except after great rains. The country adjoining to this lake was once famous for excellent wine, as appears from the two great Latin poets, Virgil and Horace. Between the lake and the Canopic branch of the Nile stood the famous city of Alexandria, and several others of no small note. The city of Alexandria took its name from Alexander the Great, who, coming to Rhacotis, after having consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, and being pleased with the situation of the place, ordered a new city to be built. After the death of Alexander the Ptolemies chose this city for the place of their residence; by which means it became the metropolis of all Egypt. It was built, say the ancients, in the form of a Macedonian chlamys, or cloak, and took up about fifteen miles. The royal palace, which was a fifth part of the city, stood by the sea, in a most pleasant situation; and, besides the habitation of the princes, contained the museum, and the burying-place of the kings. Here was deposited the body of its founder in a coffin of gold, but this case was afterwards taken away, and one of glass put in its room. Augustus, when he was in Egypt, viewed the body of that great hero, scattered flowers over it with the greatest veneration, and honoured it with a golden crown. On the shore, where the ancient palace stood, are still to be seen the remains of stately buildings, with several pieces of porphyry, and other fine marbles. That part of the city, which stood at some distance from the shore, was called Necropolis, from the sepulchres and burying-places, and inhabited only by the meaner sort of people. In the street, which is said by Strabo to have extended from the gate of Necropolis to that of Canopus, that is the whole length of the city, stood the gymnasium, with porticos, above half a quarter of a mile in extent; and, no doubt, several other magnificent buildings. Near the city was the island of Pharos, which, in the time of the kings, was joined to it by a bridge, so as to be reckoned part of the city. This island, extending from east to west, in a bay, about three leagues wide, formed the two ports of Alexandria; the port Eunostus to the west, and the Great Port, as it was called, to the east: the latter is now called the New, and the other the Old Port. Homer supposed this island as far distant from the continent as a ship, with a fair wind, could sail in a day: but he was certainly misinformed; the distance between the island and the shore not exceeding nine hundred paces. What others

*The island
of Pharos.*

Others call a bridge Strabo calls a mole, joined to the town by a bridge. The sea has gained on the west side of the island; where are seen, under water, the remains of cisterns cut in the rocks. The famous light-house, named Pharos, from the island, stood on a rock, at the east end of it, which was surrounded, on all sides, with water, so as to form a small separate island; the pillars, which are seen there in a calm sea, may be the remains of that great structure. The island Antirrhodes is also mentioned by the ancients, as lying at a small distance from the shore; but it has been entirely destroyed by the sea. The city of Alexandria was reckoned next to Rome for the grandeur, magnificence, and number of its buildings; and yet very few remains of them are to be seen, the materials having been carried away to other places, and many of them employed in the buildings of the present city. About three miles and three quarters from Alexandria was the city of Nicopolis, which took its name from the victory Augustus there gained over Antony; and was, on that account, greatly embellished by the conqueror^b. Near Nicopolis was Eleusis mentioned by Strabo, as a village in the district of Alexandria. Canopus is placed by Strabo on the sea-side, one hundred and twenty stadia from Alexandria. This city is said to have been built by the Spartans, on their return from the Trojan war; and to have taken its name from Canopus, the pilot of Menelaus, who died and was buried in this place. Canopus was famous, or rather infamous, for the lewd and dissolute diversions, in which the Alexandrians here indulged themselves; whence Seneca, in one of his epistles: "no one," says he, "thinking of a retreat, would chuse Canopus; though a man may be good and honest even at Canopus." On the narrow tract between the sea and the canal that runs from Alexandria to Canopus, were Zephyrium, the Lesser Taposiris, and Thonis, the last supposed to have been so called from a king of that name, who received Menelaus and Helena. To the south of Canopus, and on the west side of the Canopic branch of the Nile, the following places are mentioned by the ancients; Shadia, the Lesser Hermopolis, Gynæcopolis, Anthylla at a small distance from the river, Momemphis, Andropolis, and the city of Latona.

Some have imagined the Delta, or the greater part of it, to have been an accession of land to Egypt; and that

^b Vide Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 547. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. iv. Flin. lib. v. cap. 2. Tacit. Ann. lib. xi. cap. 60.

the plains between the mountains beyond Memphis were formerly a bay of the sea ; which was at length filled up by the soil brought down from the Nile¹. But, this opinion seems very groundless, considering the little alteration which has been in this part of Egypt for above two thousand years past, and the time allowed for this effect by Herodotus, which is no less than twenty thousand years ; a much longer space than the world has lasted. Some Arabs divide the Delta into two parts, Al Rif, and Al Bahriya : the former, being the western part, is supposed by Bochart to be the Rahab of the Scriptures ; and was so called because of its form, resembling a pear ; which the Egyptians call Rib, or Ribik^k. Al Bahriya is the eastern part of the Delta, in the opinion of many ; though a late traveller more truly places Al Bahriya, or, as he writes it, Beheiré, beyond the western branch of the Nile¹.

As the Delta is comprised within the branches of that river, we must premise a succinct account of those branches, and of the river itself ; without which the reader would be at a loss, as to the situation of the places we are to describe.

Of the river Nile.

The sources, or springs, of this river, were so absolutely unknown to the ancients, that they thought it even impossible to discover them : they are now well known to be in Ethiopia, though modern travellers differ in their accounts of them ; as will be seen when we come to describe them in a more proper place. The Nile enters Egypt almost under the tropic of Cancer, pouring itself down seven successive cataracts, or falls. The people of those parts used formerly to entertain strangers with a surprising spectacle, which some modern travellers say is still continued ; two of them get into a small boat, one to guide it, and the other to keep it clear of water ; after having borne the violence of the agitated waves for some time, they dextrously steer through the narrow channels, thereby avoiding the rocks ; and, allowing themselves to be carried down by the falling river, rush headlong, to the great terror of the spectators, who think them utterly lost and swallowed up, till they appear again on the water, far from the place from which they fell, as if they had been shot out of an engine. The Nile, having passed through the Upper and Middle Egypt, a little below the ancient Memphis, divided itself into two large arms ;

¹ Diod. Sicul. lib. i. p. 30. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 5. ^k Bochart Geogr. Sacr. lib. iv. cap. 24. ¹ Essai d'une Arte d'Egypte par Sicard. which,

which, afterwards forming seven chanel, emptied themselves into the sea by as many mouths. These seven mouths of the Nile, much spoken of by the ancient writers, were, to begin from the west, the Canopic or Heracleotic, the Bolbitic, the Sebennytic, the Phatnic or Pathmetic, the Mendesian, the Tanitic or Saitic, and the Pelusian; deriving their names from so many cities, standing on their several branches. Besides these, there were the two Pseudostomata, or *false mouths*, as they called them, of Pineptimi and Diolcos, which were too small to carry larger vessels. But the greater part of these mouths have been since stopped up, and others formed; so that there are now reckoned above thirty chanel, which carry the waters of the Nile into the sea, especially at its overflowing, the greater part of them becoming dry when the waters retire¹; the two chief, and indeed only considerable arms of that river, at present, being that of Rosetta, or Ralhîd, to the west, and that of Damietta, or Dimyât, to the east.

In the Delta, lying between the Canopic branch to the west, and the Pelusian to the east, were the following cities; Metelis, on the Canopic branch, called Bechis in the time of Stephanus; Naucratis, said to have been built by the Milesians²; it stood somewhat south of the place where the great chanel divides itself into the Canopic and Bolbitic branches. Ten miles to the east of this branch was Sais, formerly the metropolis of Lower Egypt, Here was a famous temple of Minerva, and before it was a room, cut out of one stone, on the outside, twenty-one cubits long, fourteen broad, and eight high; within, it was above eighteen long, twelve broad, and five high; two thousand men were employed three years in bringing it down by water from Elephantine. This wonderful room was supposed to have been cut out of one of the islands near Elephantine, in which are many quarries. Near Sais was the asylum of Osiris, where he was supposed to have been buried; Isis having deposited several coffins in different places, that Typhon might not find out his body. To the north of Sais stood Cabasa; and, a little more to the north, Butus, famous for the oracle of Latona, and temples of that goddess, of Apollo, and of Diana¹. These are the most remarkable places between the Heracleotic and the Sebennytic chanel. Be-

Cities in the Delta.

¹ Lucas's Voyage, tom. ix. p. 313. ² Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 551.
¹ Herod. lib. xi. cap. 155.

tween the latter and the first false mouth, called Pineptimi, were Pachnamunis, Hermopolis, Sebennytus, Tava, Thermuthis. From the city of Sebennytus, the Sebenytic chanel took its name. To the east, between the chanel Pineptimi and the Phatnic, were Zois, Onuphis, Cynopolis, Athrybis; and, nearer the latter chanel, Thmuis, Aphroditopolis, Leontopolis, Bufiris. Zois stood in an island of the same name, and Athribis on the river Athribis, which forms the false mouth, called Diolcos. Thmuis, in the Egyptian language, signified *a goat*; which animal was worshipped in the city of that name. At Leontopolis, particular worship was paid to the Lion; and at Cynopolis, to the Dog. The tyrant Bufiris, supposed to have been killed by Hercules, is thought to have reigned in the city of that name; but Strabo assures us, that no such prince ever reigned in Egypt. The city of Mendes, which gave name to the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, stood on that branch, and the city of Tarichea at some distance from it, by the sea-side. Between the Mendesian and the Tanitic branches, and at a small distance from the former, stood Panaphysis and Diospolis; and on the Tanitic branch, Tanis, supposed to be the Zoan of Scripture, and the place where the Pharaohs resided. Between the Tanitic and the Pelusian, which is the most eastern branch of the Nile, was the city of Sethrium. These are the chief cities in the Delta, of which we find any mention made by the ancients.

On the east side of the Delta, where Egypt was bounded by Arabia Petræa and Palestine, stood several cities of great note. Of these, the most remarkable were, Bubastus, standing on the most eastern branch of the Nile; which, from this city, is called, by the ancients, the Bubastic river. Here was a magnificent temple, dedicated to Diana; who, in the Egyptian language, was called Bubastis; and hence the name of the city. Pococke thinks this city stood near the present village of Benalhassar, where great ruins of an ancient city are still to be seen. South of Bubastus, and on the same river, stood the city of Onias, so called from the Jewish priest of that name; who obtained leave of Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, to build a temple here, in opposition to that of Jerusalem. On the same river stood the city of Babylon, said, by Diodorus Siculus, to have been built by some captives from Babylon on the Euphrates; who, having made their escape, fled to an hill, and thence, with frequent excursions, plundered the neighbouring country; but,

but, having in the end obtained their pardon, and the hill being given them to inhabit, they built a city on it, which, from their native city, they called Babylon. Strabo likewise supposes this city to have been founded by some Babylonians, who obtained leave of the kings of Egypt to settle here. Josephus says, it was built in the time of Cambyfes king of Persia, on the spot where the ancient city of Latopolis stood. Ptolemy mentions a canal between this city and the Red Sea, which he calls the canal of Trajan, who either made or repaired it. The situation of Old Cairo seems to agree with that of Babylon, as described by the ancients. One of the three Roman legions that guarded Egypt was stationed at Babylon. The city of Phacusa, or Phaccusa, as Strabo styles it, stood likewise on the Bubastic river, somewhat north of Bubastus. At this place began the canal, called, *The canal of the kings.* The Canal of the Kings, from the Pelusian branch to the Red Sea. This great work was begun by Sesostris king of Egypt, carried on by his successors, and finished by Ptolemy Philadelphus. The work had been long left unfinished, out of an opinion, that the Red Sea was higher than the land of Egypt; and consequently, that if a canal was opened, it might drown the country, or, at least, spoil the waters of the Nile. This canal was one hundred cubits in breadth, and of a sufficient depth to bear the largest vessels. On the same river, north of Phacusa, were Heracleopolis Parva, or Heracleopolis the Lesser, so called to distinguish it from another of the same name, of which we have spoken above; and the city of Pelusium, about twenty stadia from the sea, in a marshy soil, and thence called Pelusium, the Greek word *pelos*, signifying *mud*. Ammianus Marcellinus supposes this city to have taken its name from Peleus, the father of Achilles; who, according to his account, built it by the order of the gods. It is called by Hirtius the key of Egypt, because whoever was master of this place, had a free and open passage into Egypt. The lentiles of Pelusium are commended by Virgil and Martial. Between Pelusium and Rhinocolura, the first city of Palestine, the following places are mentioned, as standing on the sea, by Ptolemy, Strabo, and other geographers; Agger-Chabræ, Gerra or Gerrum, Pentaschænos, Ostracine. Between the two latter places stood Mount Casius, famous for the sepulchre of Pompey, who was buried there, and a magnificent temple of Jupiter Casius. Ptolemy places a town here, of the same name with the mountain; but no mention is made

made of a town by any other writer. East of Mount Casius, and at a small distance from it, was the lake Sirbonis, very narrow, but of a surprising depth, and two hundred stadia in extent; but of this lake no vestiges are now to be found. To the east of the Bubastic river, and near the borders of Arabia Petræa, stood Phagroriopolis; and to the south, about three miles from the river, Heliopolis, or the City of the Sun, worshipped there in a magnificent temple; as was likewise a bull, under the name of Menevis. This city was supposed by the ancients to have been built by Actis, the son of Rhoda and the Sun; and is commonly thought to be the On of the Scripture. Thus far of the cities of Egypt mentioned by profane historians; of those spoken of in Scripture, we shall have occasion to take notice hereafter.

*Its division
into nomes.*

Besides this larger division, Egypt was also distributed into several governments, or prefectures, called by the Egyptians Tabir, and by the Greeks Nomes; whence that passage of Scripture which our version renders, "I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians, and they shall fight kingdom against kingdom," the Septuagint have rightly translated, "nome against nome." The number of these is uncertain, being, according to the pleasure of the prince, sometimes greater, and sometimes less; for which reason ancient authors differ in their accounts of them; but they were about thirty-six, and generally named from the chief city of each nome. This division is attributed to Sesostris.

Climate.

The climate of Egypt must needs be very warm, from its near situation to the tropic. Though the air is generally dry, yet there fall greater dews after the swelling of the Nile, which continue for several months. In the lower Egypt it often rains in the winter, notwithstanding what some of the ancients say to the contrary; and even snow has been observed to fall at Alexandria, contrary to the express assertion of Seneca. In the upper Egypt indeed, towards the catadupes, or cataracts of Nile, it rains very seldom. The first summer, (for they reckon two in Egypt), which is in March, April, and May, is the most unwholesome and sickly season, because of the unequal weather, excessive heats, and parching winds, which reign at that time, and cause several distempers; but in return, in their second summer, in June, July, and August, and in their autumn and winter, the air is much cooler, the weather more constant, and Egypt one of the most pleasant and delightful countries in the world:

world : though the cold is seldom felt there, except only for about seven days, which the Arabs call *berd al ajûz*, *the old woman's cold*, from the seventh to the fourteenth of February, yet those who can afford it wear furs, because of the uncertainty of the season.

The fertility of Egypt, and the excellence of its productions and fruits, are greatly celebrated by ancient writers, and by Moses himself, who must needs have been well acquainted with this country. It abounds in grain of all sorts, but particularly rice ; infomuch that, as it was formerly the granary of Rome, it is now the country which chiefly supplies Constantinople.

Fertility.

The most plentiful parts of Egypt are the Delta, and that province which is called Al Feyyûm, supposed to be the ancient Heracleotic nome ; the capital of which, bearing the same name, is thought to have been either Heracleopolis, Nilopolis, or Arsinoe, and is said by the natives to have been built by Joseph, to whom they own themselves obliged for the improvements of this territory ; which being much the lowest part of Egypt, was before nothing but a standing pool, till that patriarch, by making drains, and particularly the great canal which reaches from the Nile to the Lake Mœris, discharged the water, and clearing it of the rushes, and marshy weeds, rendered it fit for tillage. It is now the most fertile and best cultivated land in the whole kingdom, containing above three hundred and sixty villages, and yields linen, grapes, and other fruits in abundance ; and it fails not bearing, even in those years, when the Nile's not rising to its usual height, occasions a scarcity in the other parts of Egypt.

The annual inundation of the Nile, on which the fertility of Egypt depends, is one of the greatest wonders of that country. The ancient writers tell us that it begins to rise in Egypt about the summer solstice, and continues rising till after the autumnal equinox, for about the space of one hundred days ; and then it gradually decreases for as many days, till it retires within its banks, and overflows no more till the next year. If the river did not rise to the height of sixteen cubits, or fifteen at least, the country would not be covered with water, and a dearth ensued : this account agrees tolerably well with the observation of modern travellers. Though the river begins to swell in May, yet no public notice is taken, of it till the 28th, or 29th of June, by which time it is usually risen to the height of six or eight pikes, (a Turkish measure of about twenty-six inches) ;

*Its annual overflow-
ing.*

inches); and then the public criers proclaim it through the capital and other cities; and continue in the same manner to publish how much the river encreases every day, till it rises to sixteen pikes; and then they cut down the dam of the Khalij, or great canal, at Bulâk, which passes through the midst of Al Kâhira, and let in the water on their lands, by an artifice which we shall mention by-and-by. If the river wants but an inch of this height, they will not cut the dam, because, in such case, no tribute is due to the prince for the lands which should be watered by them, the produce being then scarce sufficient to maintain the tillers. And therefore, at present, if the basha, or governor of Egypt, cuts his dam before the river rises to that determinate height, he is answerable for the consequence, and must pay the Turkish emperor his tribute, whether the year be plentiful or no. If the water encreases to the height of twenty-three or twenty-four pikes, it is judged most favourable; but if it exceeds that measure, it does a great deal of mischief, not only by overthrowing houses, and drowning cattle, but also by ingendering a great number of insects which destroy the fruits of the earth.

The Khalij above mentioned is always opened with great solemnity, in the presence of the basha, accompanied by all his great officers, and attended by an innumerable multitude of people, this being one of the great festivals in Egypt. In former times the Egyptians used annually, at this ceremony, to sacrifice a girl, or, as others say, a boy and a girl, to the Nile, as a tribute paid to that river for all the benefits they received from it. And this inhuman custom continued till the Turks made themselves masters of Egypt (G), when their first governor, resolved to abolish it, by his prudent remonstrances prevailed on the Egyptians to lay it aside: but the river unfortunately did not rise that year to the accustomed height. The year following it was still worse; so that the people, apprehending a famine, began to murmur: whereupon the governor led all the inhabitants of the city, Turks, Jews, and

(G) It seems very strange that such a practice should be suffered, not only during the time Egypt was subject to the Christian emperors of Constantinople, but while the Arabs were masters of it. Amosis, one of the ancient Egyptian

kings, is said to have abolished the human sacrifices offered to Juno, as will be observed hereafter; and it might be reasonably supposed, he also put a stop to those offered to the Nile.

Christians,

Christians, to a mountain on the east of Al Kâhira; and after a pathetic exhortation, obliged all that were present to offer up their prayers to God for obtaining his mercy; in which exercise they passed all the rest of that day and the following night. Next morning, before day, some women came, with great joy, to acquaint the governor, that the Nile had risen in the night no less than twelve pikes; then nothing was heard but the praises of God, and acclamations of the people. Coming down from the mountain, they erected an altar at the mouth of the canal ten feet high, whereon they threw a great quantity of flowers, and a branch of olive; which last, as they say, took root there, as a more agreeable offering to God than the former innocent victim. They continue still to erect such an altar every year; and when they break down the dam, and the water enters the Khalij, it carries down the altar and flowers with it. In the year when this event happened, the Nile rose two pikes higher than usual, and this extraordinary rise was attended with extraordinary plenty; since which time, a final stop being put to the above mentioned inhuman practice, whenever the waters fail of their accustomed height, they have recourse to prayers on the same mountain.

That they may the better judge of the daily encrease of the water, and the consequent plenty or scarcity of the ensuing year, the gradual rise of the river is very exactly measured, either by wells sunk, or pillars erected and divided for that purpose. There was one of the former on the bank of the Nile in the Upper Egypt, near Syene; and one of the latter was set up in Memphis. A very ancient column, which served for the same use, is also yet to be seen in the castle of Old Kâhira, said to be erected in the time of the emperor Heraclius. The present nilometer (H), or mikyâs, as the Arabs call it, is in the same castle; *Of the nilometers.*

(H) This nilometer is different from that built in an island of the Nile, between Jizâh and Al Fofsât, by Asâmah Ebn Yazîd, collector of the tribute in Egypt, in the reign of the khalifah Soleyman Ebn Abd'almalek. This island, on account of its pleasant situation, and the several sorts of fruit-trees with which it is planted, is greatly celebrated by the Oriental writers, and called Al Rawdat, or *the garden*. Some years after the above mentioned nilometer had been built, the khalifah Al Mâmûn ordered it to be pulled down, on account of a defect discovered in it, and a new one to be built in its room; which was at last finished in a magnificent

castle; it is a large square reservoir, round which runs a handsome gallery, sustained by twelve marble pillars, which form arches, with a balustrade for the convenience of those who look into the water. In the midst of this basin, through which passes a canal drawn from the Nile, is an octagonal pillar of white marble, divided into twenty-two equal parts; the first is again divided into twenty-four inches, but the second is not; however, the others are all marked to the top of the column. They are very careful, during the time of the inundation, to observe the height of the water by the measure, and every day proclaim it in the city. This work is so exactly finished, and nicely levelled, that the water in the reservoir is neither higher nor lower than that in the river.

*Of the
sphinxes.*

As these nilometers were invented to shew the height to which the waters rose, the sphinxes were destined to shew at what time of the years the waters began to rise. They were a symbolic representation or figure, with the head of a woman, and the body of a lion, signifying that the Nile began to swell in the months of July and August, when the sun passes through the signs of Leo and Virgo. Several of these sphinxes are still to be seen; one in particular near the pyramids, much spoken of by the ancients, of a prodigious size, and cut into the rock itself; the head and neck only appear at present, the rest of the body being hid in the sand. It is, according to Thevenot, twenty-six feet high, and fifteen feet from the ear to the chin; but Pliny assures us, the head was no less than one hundred and two feet about, and sixty-two feet above the belly; that the body was one hundred and forty-three feet long, and was thought to be the sepulchre of king Amasis. There is another also at the end of the lake Al Matariya, which lies on its side, the head being separated from the body.

*Manner of
conveying
the water
on their
lands.*

As the river could not of itself overflow the lands every where in the necessary proportion, the inhabitants have been obliged, with infinite labour, to cut a vast number of canals and trenches, from one end of Egypt to the other, to convey the water to every part; so that each town and village has its canal, which is opened at the

ficent manner by Al Motawak- of this fort, built or repaired
kel (5). The eastern histories by the khalifahs, while
mention several other structures masters of Egypt.

(5) Vid. Goli's not. ad Alfrag. p. 156.

proper time, and the water successively conducted to the most distant places. These canals, or trenches, are not permitted to be opened till the river has rose to a certain height, nor yet all at once; because in such case some lands would have too much water, and others too little; but they begin to open them first in the Upper Egypt, and then gradually lower, according to a public regulation of the measures made for that purpose. By this means the water is so carefully husbanded, that if it rises to twenty-four pikes, it supplies the whole country, which is so large, and the canals so numerous, that it is thought scarce a tenth part of the waters of the Nile enter the sea for the first three months of its overflowing. However, as some places lie too high to be watered by the canals, they are obliged to raise the water by engines. Formerly they made use of Archimedes's screw, thence named the Egyptian pump; but they now generally use wheels, which carry a rope or chain of earthen pots, holding about seven or eight quarts a-piece, and draw the water from the canals. There are besides a vast number of wells in Egypt, from which the water is drawn in the same manner to water the gardens and fruit-trees; so that it is no exaggeration to say, that there are in Egypt about two hundred thousand oxen daily employed in this labour, without reckoning the men who draw water in wicker baskets, so close and well made, that not a drop runs through. As the land lies perfectly even, they cut their gardens into little square beds, which are all surrounded with trenches higher than the level of the gardens; so that when they want to water one of these beds, they open one of the trenches, which immediately furnishes as much water as is necessary; after which they stop it up again, and thus they manage the rest; by which means they have the finest and most fertile gardens in the world. Pomegranates, oranges, lemons, and several other sorts of trees, afford a shade and coolness which, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, make it delightful walking. When a tree is wanting in any place, they only cut down a branch, which they plant by the side of a little trench, and in two or three years it grows to be a tree big enough to transplant.

The Nile, differing in this from other rivers, which generally carry off the heart of the land they overflow, by the mud or slime it brings down with it, fattens the earth, and makes it exceeding fruitful, without any other measure. The Egyptians have not the laborious task of plowing,

The fecundity occasioned by the Nile.

plowing, digging, or breaking the clods; but when the river is retired, they have no more to do than to mingle a little sand with the earth, to abate its strength; after which they sow with little pains, and almost without charge. Anciently, we are told, they used to put in their hogs to tread the seed into the ground, expecting the harvest without any further care; and when that season came, they let in the hogs again to shake the grain out of the ear, and had no other trouble than to gather and lay up their corn. They sow ordinarily in October and November, as the waters fall; within two months the ground is covered with all sorts of grain and pulse; and their harvest is in March and April. The same piece of ground produces the same year three or four different sorts of fruits, and of every thing that gardens afford: first they sow lettuce and cucumbers, then corn, and, after harvest, melons, and those sorts of pulse which are peculiar to Egypt.

What is most extraordinary is, that this surprising fecundity, caused by the inundation of the Nile, reaches not only to the earth, but also to mankind and animals. It is found, by constant experience, that the new waters make the women fruitful, whether they bathe in them, or only drink them; they usually conceive in July and August, and are delivered in April and May. As to the cattle, the cows almost always bring two calves at a time; the sheep year twice a year, having two lambs the first time, and but one the second; and a goat is often seen followed by four kids, which she has brought in six months. The pastures of Egypt are most excellent, the grass generally growing to the height of the cattle; on this they feed in winter, during which season great numbers are driven thither from about the Euphrates; in summer, the grounds being either burnt up by the sun, or overflowed by the Nile, they are taken up and fed with hay, beans, and barley.

Two different appearances of Egypt in two seasons.

There is not a more pleasant sight in the world than Egypt in two seasons of the year; for, if you ascend some mountains, or one of the great pyramids of Al Kâhira, about the months of July and August, you see a wide sea, out of which there arise a vast number of villages, turrets, and spires, appearing like the isles in the *Ægean* sea, with some causeways for communication, intermixed with groves, and a great number of fruit-trees, whose tops only are seen; all which affords a most enchanting prospect. This view is terminated by mountains

tains and woods, which, at a distance, form the most agreeable perspective in the world. On the other hand, in the winter, that is, about January and February, all the country is like a fine meadow, enamelled with all kinds of flowers. You see on every side herds and flocks of cattle scattered over the plain, with an infinite number of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then embalmed by a prodigious quantity of flowers, blossoming on the orange, lemon, and other trees; and is so pure, that a man cannot breathe one more wholesome or agreeable; so that nature, which is then, as it were, dead in so many other climates, seems to revive only for the sake of so delightful an abode. If there be any places left not quite dry, they are covered with water-fowl, which afford great diversion to the sportsmen.

The cities, towns, and villages in Egypt, to secure them from the inundation of the Nile, are all built either on some rising ground formed by nature, or on mounds raised by infinite labour; the communication between one town and another, while the country is under water, being carried on either by the causeways above mentioned, or boats. When the river is retired within its banks, the canals serve for the same purpose, and, at the same time, furnish the inhabitants and cattle with water, which the maidens are continually to be seen fetching thence, according to the ancient custom so often taken notice of in Scripture^k.

As the ancients were ignorant of the true cause of the inundation of the Nile, which seemed the more unaccountable to them, because, contrary to other rivers, it overflowed in summer, and was lowest in winter, they made several subtle conjectures to explain this phenomenon^l. But it has been long since well known to be occasioned by the great rains which fall in Ethiopia, about the springs of the Nile, and swell that river into a sea, which first lays Ethiopia almost entirely under water, as it afterwards does Egypt. Agatharchidus of Cnidos, and some others, guessed this to be the cause, though they were not certain of it; but it was afterwards confirmed by eye-witnesses, Ptolemy Philadelphus, a very inquisitive prince, having sent some persons on purpose to examine into the matter. It has been thought, that this piece of natural history was not unknown to Homer himself; and that he

*The cause
of the inun-
dation of
the Nile.*

^k Vide Lucas's Voyage, tom. ii. p. 318, &c.

^l Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 20—27. Diod. Sic. lib. I. p. 33, &c.

alludes to it when he says, that the Nile came down from heaven. These rains constantly fall in Ethiopia, during the months of April and May; at which time it constantly rains with the same regularity in India, causing the Indus and the Ganges to overflow their banks, as the Nile does^k.

Divine Providence has been justly admired, for sending the rains in Ethiopia so punctually to supply Egypt, where it rains so seldom; and thereby rendering a most dry and sandy soil one of the most fruitful in the universe. Nor is it to be omitted, that, in the beginning of June, and the four following months, the Etesian winds (which some formerly imagined to be the great cause of the inundation^l) constantly blow from the north-east, and keep back the water from flowing down and emptying itself into the sea too fast^m. As the fertility of the land of Canaan was owing to a very different method of Providence, that is, "to the former and latter rains," which regularly fell at two appointed seasons of the year, while the children of Israel continued in their duty, Moses thought proper to acquaint them before-hand with so material a difference between the Promised Land, and that they had lately left: "The land whither thou goest in to possess it," says that law-giver, "is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year, even unto the end of the yearⁿ."

Of the animals of Egypt.

Let us now take a view of the animal and vegetable productions of Egypt. The crocodile, and hippopotamus, a river horse, are, it is to be presumed, too well known to the reader, to need a particular description here; they are both inhabitants of the Nile. The crocodiles are often killed by the natives. One way of taking them is, by a piece of flesh stuck on an iron hook, and let down into the river by a rope, the other end of which if fastened to a stake; when the crocodile has seized the bait, he is drawn to land, and killed. Herodotus describes this manner with very little variation. Another more dangerous way is sometimes practised, by striking them as they sleep, under the belly, with a stake armed

^k Bernier, *Voyage de Cachemire*, p. 343, &c.

^l Herodot.

^m Le Bruyn *Voyage*, tom. ii.

ⁿ Deut. xi. 10, 11, 12.

with

with a bearded point of iron, and also fastened to a rope: A more extraordinary method still was made use of to catch one of these creatures that had done much mischief: the person, who undertook it for a reward, bound his son, a young lad, to a stake, in a place where the crocodile used to come, and laid himself flat on his belly, with two short clubs in his hand, one of which was wound round at the end with a very large ball of coarse thread dipped in pitch; and so waited for the crocodile, which, coming out of the river, and smelling the boy, made directly towards him; but, as he opened his mouth to seize him, the father thrust the staff with the pitched ball into his jaws, which sticking in his teeth and entangling him as he bit it, the man broke his back, and killed him with the other. The inhabitants of Tentyris are reported to have been very bold and dextrous in hunting these creatures; they ventured even to leap on their backs in the water, and thrusting a stick across their mouths, as they opened them to bite, they fixed it with a cord wound about the head, and managed them with it as with a bridle; so that those creatures were terrified, even by their voice and smell^o. The same method is still practised by the negroes in the West Indies, upon the alligator. The flesh of the crocodile is white and fat, and affords a delicious dish when young; the Arabs of the Upper Egypt are very fond of it^p, and formerly the inhabitants of Elephantis used it also at their tables^q.

The hippopotami are common in the Upper Egypt, especially near the cataracts; but are scarce to be met with in any part of the Lower Egypt. These creatures never go in herds, and it is rare to see two of them together. They are so distrustful, and fly with that swiftness from their pursuers, that they are very seldom taken.

Besides wild and tame oxen, camels, asses, goats, and sheep, of which there is great plenty in Egypt, there are vast numbers of antelopes, and a large kind of ape, with a head somewhat like a dog, whence it was called cynocephalus: the Egyptians often used the figure of this creature as an hieroglyphic. The chameleon is also common in the hedges near Al Kâhira.

The animal called the little, or land crocodile, is about the size of a lizard, and has a round tail covered with scales. It is found near the Nile, and the Red Sea, and usually feeds on the most odorous flowers; the flesh is

^o Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 25.

^q Herodotus.

^p Sicard.

of use in physic, great numbers of them being, for that reason, carried to Venice, and other places.

The Egyptian rat, called by the ancients ichneumon, is of the size of a cat, with very rough hair, spotted with white, yellow, and ash colour; its nose resembling that of an hog, with which it digs up the earth: it has short black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, serpents, snails, chameleons, rats, &c. and is of great service in Egypt, by its natural instinct hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increase of that destructive creature. Naturalists also say, that it is so greedy after the crocodile's liver, that, rolling itself in mud, it slips down his throat, while he sleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again. It is easily tamed, but must not be kept where cats are, with which it is at perpetual enmity^r.

Of birds there are also great numbers in Egypt, particularly ostriches, eagles, hawks, and a prodigious number of water-fowl, as pelicans, flamingoes, or phœnicopteri, wild-geese, herons, ducks, and various other sorts. Those which are peculiar to the Nile are, the ibis, the goose with golden feathers, the rice-hen or hen of Dimyât, and the saksak; which last is the trochilus of the ancients^s, observed by them to be the only creature with which the crocodile is in friendship, because this bird picks and clears his mouth of the leaches which infest it. The ibis deserves particular notice, not only because it is so peculiar to Egypt, that it pines away and dies, if carried elsewhere; but for the great use it is of in that country, by destroying the flying serpents, which the south winds bring from the deserts of Libya; in the proper season of the year, the ibis in vast numbers, by a peculiar instinct, go and wait on the frontiers for those serpents, and devour them as they fly, before they enter Egypt. There are two kinds of the ibis; one is of a deep black, about the size of an heron; this is the ibis which kills the serpents, and is seldom found, except only in the Lower Egypt; the other is white, but has the head, neck, and ends of the wings and tail, as black as the former; they are very common; and great numbers of them are often seen. The bill and legs of this bird resemble those of a stork; its usual food (besides the serpents above mentioned) are snails, locusts, and other insects^t.

^r Diodorus Siculus, p. 31, 78. Lucas's Voyage, tom. ii. p. 245.
^s Sicard. Mem. des Miff. tom. vi. p. 249. ^t Herodot. ubi supra. Lucas, ubi supra, p. 246.

Besides the lakes which are in other parts of Egypt, those in the Delta near the sea, of which there are three between Alexandria and Tinah, the ancient Pelusium, afford great numbers of fish, though not of above seven or eight sorts; two of which the natives salt, and send in large quantities to Syria, Cyprus, and Constantinople. The revenue which one of these lakes alone, called Manzalah, brings into the Turkish emperor's treasury, amounts to no less than forty thousand crowns a year. Those who live near these lakes have great plenty of fresh fish, and very cheap, as the Israelites formerly had; but the heat of the climate will not suffer them to be carried far; for which reason the inhabitants of all Kähira are obliged to content themselves with the fish which the Nile affords. The bed of that river, being very full of mud and slime, communicates a muddy taste to all the fish that are fed in it, except four sorts, which are excellent. These are the kesher or lates, the lates of the ancients, which is often so large as to weigh two and three hundred pounds; the cashouc, formerly called oxyrynchus, from the sharpness of its nose; the bonni, which weighs sometimes twenty or thirty pounds, and is the lepidotus so much esteemed by the old Egyptians; and the karmüd, known in ancient writers by the name of phagrus: this last is black, grows to the same size as the bonni, and is very voracious. What makes these fish the more serviceable to the inhabitants of Al Kähira, is, that they are to be found in the Nile at all seasons of the year, and are very easily takenⁿ.

Though woods are very rare in Egypt, yet there are some forests of palm-trees towards the deserts of Libya; and near Dandera, there is one of doms, or wild date-trees^o, whose fruit is excessive hard, but much admired by those of the country. Palm-trees are the most common of all others in this country; besides which there are several sorts of fruit-trees, and also some cedars, though not so large, or so frequently to be seen, as in Syria; and a great thorny tree called al hilaji, out of which, perhaps, the ancient Egyptians made those boats mentioned by Herodotus^p. However, Egypt is not a country proper for trees, which thrive not there without great care and cultivation. As to plants, their kinds are

Of the vegetables of Egypt.

ⁿ Sic. p. 245, &c. Lucas, ubi supra, p. 242, ubi supra, p. 157.

^o Lib. ii.

^p Sicard.

The History of Egypt

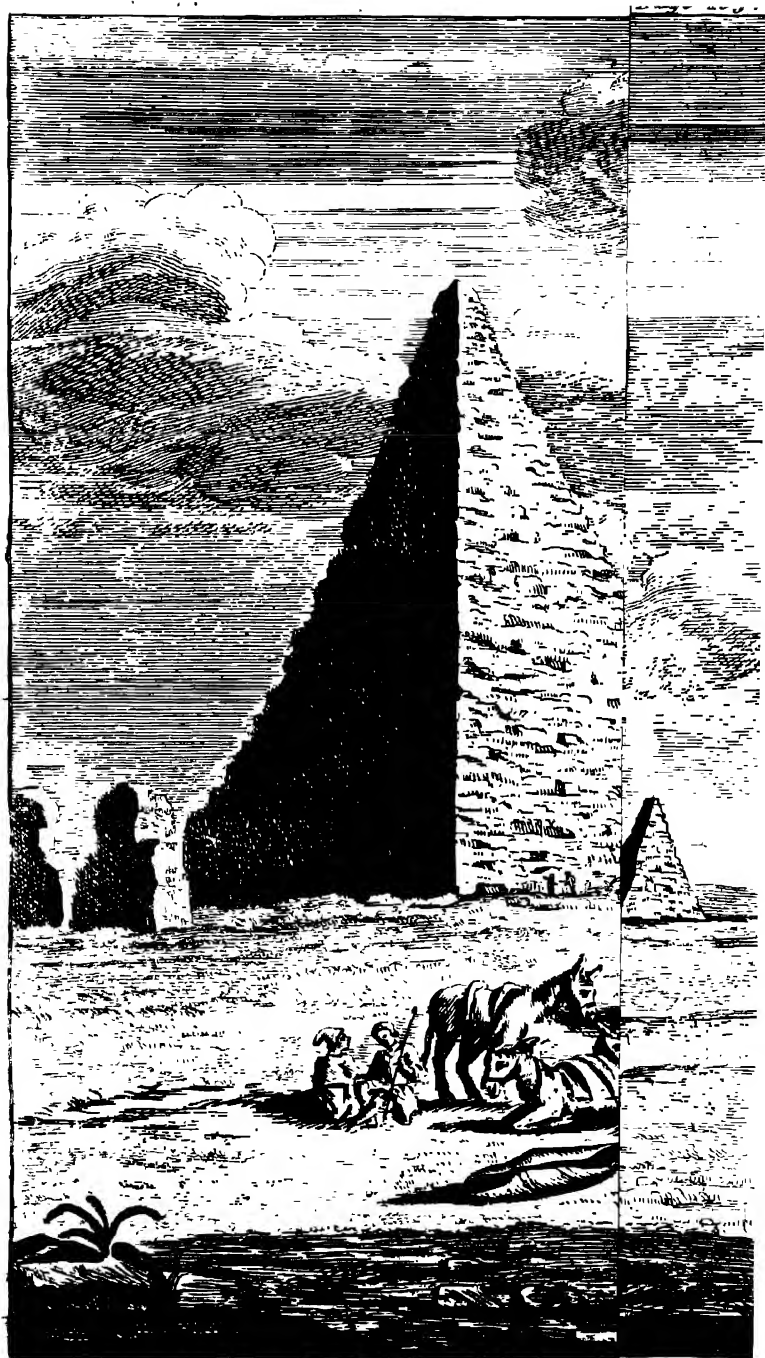
so various, that we shall mention only a few, and chiefly those which may give some light into ancient history.

The first we shall take notice of is, the reed papyrus, or byblus, called by the natives at present al berdi. It grows on the banks of the Nile, and shoots out a stalk of nine or ten feet high; the trunk is composed of a great number of long strait fibres, which produce small flowers; the leaves are like the blade of a sword, and they make use of them to keep wounds open; the ashes of the stalk cure those that are not inveterate. This is the plant whereof the ancients made their writing-paper, which thence took its name. The way of making it was, by taking out the pith of the stalk, which they worked into a white paste or glue, and of that made the paper, almost in the same manner as we do with our linen rags: but others say it was made of the inner rind of the plant. Before agriculture was improved in Egypt, this reed was of great service; for they did not only use it as food, but made cloaths, boats, and domestic utensils of it; and also crowns for their gods, and shoes for their priests. But more useful inventions have set all this aside, and the plant is now entirely neglected.

The flax of Egypt, especially one sort of it, was so exceeding fine, and they dressed and spun it so curiously, that the threads could scarce be seen. It grew in so great plenty, that they had not only enough to clothe their priests (who wore nothing else) and people of condition, and to make shrowds for their dead, but to drive a very great trade with it into foreign parts. The fine linen of Egypt was in great request over all the East: that super-fine sort called byssus, was often dyed purple, and was so dear, that none but the rich could afford to wear it.

The lotus, which grows plentifully in the Lower Egypt, especially near Rashid or Rosetta, is called by the inhabitants al bashnin, and is a species of nenuphar, nymphaea, or water-lily. Its leaves float on the water, and cover the surface of it, producing many flowers, which were formerly woven into the crowns of conquerors. The ancient Egyptians have made bread of the middle or pulp of this plant, dried, which resembled that of a poppy; and likewise fed on the root, which is round, and as big as an apple. This lotus is different from the fruit of the same name whereon the Lotophagi lived. The Arabs at this day make a drink of the Egyptian lotus, which is very good for inward heat, and eat the stalk and heads of them raw, which are very moist and cooling.

The



The henna, called *alcanna* by the botanists, is a shrub which shoots forth a great many branches. Its leaves are like that of an olive-tree, but shorter, broader, and of a more pleasant green. The flowers, which are set like those of the elder, have an agreeable smell, and are thrown by the inhabitants into their baths. The women dye their nails with a reddish colour, extracted from this plant, by way of ornament.

Other plants, the fruits or roots of which afford food to the inhabitants, are in so great abundance, and so excellent in their kinds, that they are almost sufficient to maintain them without the use of corn; and formerly the labouring people scarce lived on any thing else. It is not, therefore, so surprising, that the Israelites in the wilderness regretted the "cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick," which they used to eat so freely in Egypt.

The buildings and other works of the ancient Egyptians, which have raised the admiration of all succeeding ages, deserve a more particular view.

The first inquiry generally made by those who would be acquainted with this country, is concerning the pyramids, those stupendous structures, which were deservedly reckoned by the ancients among the wonders of the world.

There are many of them in several parts of Egypt, and particularly in the Upper Egypt, as we have already observed; but those which have been chiefly taken notice of, and described by travellers, stand on the west side of the Nile, not far from Jizah, which succeeded the ancient Memphis. The number of these pyramids is about twenty, of which three, standing pretty near together, are most remarkable, and have been often described: the other lie far scattered in the Libyan desert. Though some of them are very considerable, particularly one, which stands south-and-by-west from them, at about twenty miles distance, and has been undeservedly neglected, both by ancient and modern writers.

It is the common opinion, that the word *pyramid* is derived from the Greek *pyr* or *pur*, *fire*; and that these structures were so called from their shape, ascending from a broad base, and ending in a point like a flame; others, whose opinion Vossius seems to approve, say they took the name from *pyros*, which, in the same language, signifies *wheat*, because they were the granaries of the ancient Egyptian kings; but a late writer, versed in the

Of the artificial rarities of Egypt.

The pyramids.

Whence so named.

Coptic tongue, has given us another etymology from that language, wherein *poura* signifies a *king*, and *misi* a *race*, or *generation*: the reason why the pyramids had this name, was, as he tells us, because they were erected to preserve the memory of those princes and their families; and that those who were descended from them had therefore recourse to those pillars, to prove their pedigree †.

By whom
built.

Who were the builders of these pyramids has been matter of much dispute. Josephus, followed by some modern writers, supposed they were erected by the Israelites during their heavy pressure under the tyranny of the Pharaohs. The Scriptures, however, seem to be against this opinion; for they expressly make the slavish employment of that people to have been the making of bricks; whereas all these pyramids are of stone. Others pretend they were built by the patriarch Joseph, for granaries to lay up the corn of the seven plentiful years; and, to support this imagination, allege the above mentioned derivation from *pyros*, *wheat*; but this opinion is much more groundless than the former; for, besides that their figure is the least capacious of any regular mathematical body, and therefore improper for such a purpose, the straightness and fewness of the rooms within (the rest being a solid fabric of stone) utterly overthrow such a conjecture.

Herodotus says, the first or greatest of the three most remarkable pyramids, was built by Cheops, whom Diodorus names Chemmis. The second both those historians agree to have been erected by Cephren, brother and successor to the former prince. And the third was the work of Mycerinus, the son of Cheops. This last, some of the Greeks pretend, was built by Rhodopis, or Rhodope, a courtesan, whom Sappho called Doricha, mistress to her brother Charaxus. But this is very improbable, if we consider either her condition, or the vastness of the expence; though some, to amend the story, say several governors of provinces, who were in love with her, built it for her by contribution; besides, Herodotus has shewn, that she lived long after these pyramids were in being. Yet, after all, Diodorus confesses, that there is little agreement as to these pyramids, either among the natives or historians; some saying, that the largest was built by Armeus, the second by Amasis, and the third by Inaron; and this uncertainty Pliny mentions as a just reward of the vanity of the undertakers.

† Wilkins, Dissert. de Ling. Copt. p. 103.

to the Time of Alexander.

The Arab writers assign other founders of these three pyramids different from those mentioned by the Greeks. To omit the fancy of those who thought they were built by Jân Ebn Jân, universal monarch of the world before Adam, and the above mentioned opinion, which attributes them to Joseph; some say they were erected by Nimrod; some by queen Dalûka; and others, by the Egyptians before the flood. The Copts report, that the east pyramid is the sepulchre of king Saurid, the western of his brother Hûjib, and the coloured pyramid of Fazfarinûm the son of Hûjib. The Sabians pretend, that one of them is the sepulchre of Seth, the second of Hermes (or Enoch), and the third of Sabi, from whom this sect say it is denominated: it is also said, that the Sabians go in pilgrimage thither, and sacrifice at them a cock, and a black calf, and burn incense. But the general opinion is, that they were built by Saurid before the flood; and the Copts mention an inscription engraven on them to this effect: "I, Saurid, the king, built the pyramids in such and such a time, and finished them in six years: he that comes after me, and says he is equal to me, let him destroy them in six hundred years; and yet it is known, that it is easier to pull down than to build; and when I had finished, I covered them with fatten; and let him cover them with mats."

As the ancients have omitted speaking of several pyramids still remaining in the Libyan desert, so have they, on the other hand, mentioned the names and founders of some others, not much inferior to these three in magnitude, which have been long since ruined and defaced by time. Herodotus says, there was one of forty fathoms, or two hundred and forty feet, which stood at the end of the labyrinth, with large figures of animals in sculpture, and a subterraneous passage to it. This seems to be that pyramid, wherein Strabo tells us Imandes, or, as Diodorus names him, Osymanduas, was buried, and therefore, probably, built by him; though he differs from Herodotus as to the dimensions, making each side of it to be four hundred feet, and the height as much. Pliny, who agrees with Herodotus in this last particular, mentions several pyramids built near the Labyrinth; but, if his expression be not mistaken, describes them to be sex-angular. Moeris, who lived after Osymanduas, but long before Cheops, also built two pyramids, one for himself, and the other for his wife, in the midst of a lake which he dug, and which we shall take notice of by-and-by.

These

These pyramids were each a furlong in height, and stood one half above the water, and the other half under the water; and on the top of each there was placed a marble statue or colossus sitting on a throne. It is said, that Cheops, having exhausted his treasures in building the first and largest pyramid, prostituted his own daughter, commanding her to get as much money as she could; and that she, at the same time she obeyed her father, contrived to leave a monument of herself also; and asked every one that came to her, to give her a stone towards the structure she designed; by which means she built a pyramid, which stood in the midst of the three, within view of the great pyramid, and extended to the length of a plethron and a half (or about one hundred and fifty feet) on every side of the basis. This story has some resemblance to that of Rödopis above mentioned, and might, perhaps, have given occasion to it. After all these, Asychis, the successor of Mycerinus, built a pyramid of brick, with this inscription cut in stone: "Compare me not with the pyramids of stone; for I as far excel them, as Jupiter does the other gods: for, striking the bottom of the lake with long poles, and gathering the mud which stuck to them, thereof they made bricks, and formed me in that manner." Diodorus mentions three other pyramids, each side of which contained two hundred feet: and says, that Chemmis, Cephren, and Mycerinus, were reputed to have erected them for their wives. These are not now to be seen, unless they should be some of those in the desert, which well answer the measure assigned by Diodorus: but if those princes built them for their queens, it may be wondered, why they placed them so remote from their own sepulchres, or at such large and unequal distances from one another.

*The time
when the
pyramids
were built.*

Since it is uncertain who were the founders of the pyramids that are now standing, it would be in vain to endeavour to determine the time when they were built. The ages of the several princes to whom they have been attributed, will best appear, when we discourse of the Egyptian chronology; in the mean time we shall observe, that the least antiquity which can be allowed these structures, must be near three thousand years; since Herodotus, who lived above two thousand two hundred years ago, found so little satisfaction in his enquiries after them; and Diodorus, who lived before the birth of our Saviour, supposes the great pyramid to have been built at least one thousand years before his time.

Not

*The end for
which they
were erected.
ed.*

Not to mention a second time the improbability of the conjecture of those, who imagine such buildings were designed for granaries, it is the constant opinion of most authors who have written on this subject, that they were intended for sepulchres and monuments of the dead. Diodorus expressly tells us, that Chemmis and Cephren designed those built by them for their sepulchres, though it happened that neither of them were buried in them; and Strabo judges all those near Memphis to have been royal sepulchres: to which opinion the writings of the Arabs are consonant. And if none of these authorities were extant, the tomb which stands at this day in the first pyramid puts it out of all doubt.

Why the Egyptian kings should have been at so vast an expence in building these pyramids, is an enquiry of an higher nature. Aristotle makes them the work of tyranny; and Pliny conjectures that they built them partly out of ostentation, and partly out of state policy, to divert the people, by this employment, from mutinies and rebellions. But the true reason depends on higher considerations, and sprung from the theology of the Egyptians; who believed, that as long as the body lasted, so long the soul continued with it; which was also the opinion of the Stoics. And hence it was, that this nation took that excessive care to preserve the corpse from corruption.

The reason why they frequently made use of the pyramidal figure for these monuments, (for they were not always of that shape), to omit several philosophical fancies of little solidity, seems to have been, because it is the most permanent form of structure; for, by reason of the gradual contracting and lessening of it at the top, it is neither over pressed with its own weight, nor is subject to the soaking in of rain as other buildings are; or else they might thereby intend to represent some of their gods; pyramids and obelisks, which are but a lesser sort of pyramids, being, both by them and other heathens, anciently made use of, and worshipped as images of several deities.

This practice of the Egyptians, of erecting pyramids, or columns of that shape, for sepulchres, was also sometimes, though not frequently, imitated by other nations. That of Porfena, king of Etruria, built by him near Clusium in Italy, was accounted almost miraculous; though it was more to be admired for the number and contrivance of the pyramids, which were fourteen, than for any excessive magnitude. The tomb of C. Cæsius,
hard

hard by the wall of Rome, near the gate of St. Paul, is built after the model of those of Egypt.

The description.

The dimensions and descriptions of the three greatest of the pyramids of Memphis have been given by several writers, both ancient historians, and modern travellers. They differ pretty much from one another as to the dimensions. Greaves, who measured them with great care, and wanted not ability to do it with the greatest accuracy, seems to have been the most exact; for which reason we shall chiefly adhere to his observations.

Dimensions of the first pyramid.

The first and fairest of these three pyramids is situated on a rocky hill, in the sandy desert of Libya, about a quarter of a mile from the plains of Egypt, above which the rock rises 100 feet, or better, with a gentle and easy ascent. Upon this advantageous rise, and solid foundation, is the pyramid erected; the height of the situation adding to the beauty of the work, and the solidity of the rock affording it a stable support. The north side, near the basis, being measured by a radius of 10 feet in length, taking two several sections, was found to be 693 English feet. The other sides were examined by a line, for want of an even level, and a convenient distance to place the instruments. The altitude, if measured by its perpendicular, is 481 feet; but if it be taken as the pyramid ascends inclining, then it is equal, in respect of the lines subtending the several angles, to the latitude of the basis. Whereby it appears, that though several of the ancients have excessively magnified the height of these pyramids, yet the largest falls short of the height of St. Paul's church in London; which, from the ground to the top of the lantern only, is no less than 470 feet. If we imagine on the sides of the basis, which is perfectly square, four equilateral triangles mutually inclining till they meet in a point, (for so the top seems to those who stand below), then we shall have a just idea of the true dimensions and figure of this pyramid, the area of whose basis contains 480,749 square feet, or something more than eleven English acres of ground; a proportion so monstrous, that did not the ancients attest as much, and some of them more, it might appear incredible.

The outside of the pyramid.

The ascent to the top of the pyramid is contrived by degrees, or steps, the lowermost of which is near four feet in height, and three in breadth; and running about the pyramid in a level, made a narrow walk, when the stones were entire, on every side. The second degree is like the first, benching in near three feet. In the same manner

is the third row placed on the second, and the rest in order, like so many stairs, rising one above another to the top, which ends not in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, but in a little flat, or square, consisting of nine stones, besides two, which are wanting at the corners. This pyramid, the stones being worn by the weather, cannot be conveniently ascended, except on the south side, or at the north-east angle. The steps are made of maffy and polished stones, said to have been hewn out of the Arabian mountains, which bound the Upper Egypt on the east, and are so vast, that the depth and breadth of every step is one single stone. Herodotus makes the least stone to be 30 feet; and this may be granted in some, but not in all, unless his words be understood of cubical feet; which dimension, or a greater, in the exterior ones, may, without difficulty, be admitted. It is also to be observed, that the steps are not all of equal depth, for some are near four feet, and others want of three, diminishing the higher one ascends, and the breadth of them is proportionable to their depth; so that a right line, extended from the basis to the top, will equally touch the outward angle of every degree. The number of these steps is not mentioned by any of the ancients; and modern travellers differ very much in their computation; but those who are most to be depended upon found them to be 207.

As to the inside of this pyramid, the ancients are altogether silent; except only that Herodotus says there were subterraneous vaults built within the hill on which it stands; and that the founder of it conveyed the water of the Nile thither by a trench, and formed a little island in the midst of the water, designing to place his sepulchre on that ground. Strabo also mentions an oblique entrance into this pyramid, to be seen on removing a stone which covered it; and Pliny takes notice of a well of 80 cubits in depth, into which he supposes the water of the Nile was brought by some secret aqueduct. What the Arabs relate of the inner parts of these buildings, is no better than a romance; for which reason we shall proceed to those accounts that may be better depended on.

The entrance into the pyramid is by a square narrow passage, which opens in the midst of the north side on the sixteenth step, or ascending 38 feet (I), on an artificial

(I) In the following description him and one another therein; but we did not think those variations considerable enough to be particularly set down.

bank

The inside of it.

bank of earth. The stone that covers it is about 12 feet long, and above 8 wide. This entry goes declining with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in breadth exactly $3\frac{1}{4}$ English feet, and in length 92 and a half. The structure of it has been the labour of an exquisite hand, as appears by the smoothness and evenness of the work, and close knitting of the joints; a property long since observed by Diodorus to have run through the whole fabric of this pyramid. At the end of this passage there is another like the former, but a little rising; at the meeting of these two passages, the one descending, and the other ascending, the lowermost stone of the roof perpendicular to it forms a sharp ridge, between which and the sand there is sometimes not a foot space to pass through; so that a man must slide on his belly close to the ground, and yet grate his back against the above mentioned stone, unless he be very slender. However, this difficulty is occasioned chiefly by the sand, which the wind drives into this place; for if the passage be cleared, it is of the same dimensions there as at the entrance. There being no window, or other opening in this pyramid to admit the light, those who would view the inside must carry lights with them.

Having passed this streight, on the right hand there is a hole of about 89 feet in length, the height and breadth various, and not worthy consideration: whether this part be decayed by time, or has been dug away for curiosity, or hopes of discovering some hidden treasure, is uncertain. On the left hand, adjoining to the narrow entrance, climbing up a steep and massy stone, 8. or 9 feet in height, you enter on the lower end of the first gallery; the pavement of which rises with a gentle acclivity, consisting of smooth polished marble, and, where not covered with dust and filth, appearing of a white and alabaster colour; the sides and roof of unpolished stone, not so hard and compact as that of the pavement: the breadth of this gallery is almost 5 feet, the height about as much, and the length 110 feet. At the end of it there are two passages, one low and horizontal, or level with the ground, and the other high, and rising like the former. At the entry of the lower passage, on the right hand, is the well mentioned by Pliny, which is circular, and a little above 3 feet diameter; the sides are lined with white marble, and the descent is by fixing the hands and feet in little open spaces cut in the sides within, opposite and answering to one another in a perpendicular

pendicular direction; which is the contrivance for descending into most of the wells and cisterns at Alexandria. This well led perhaps to the vault above mentioned; but it is almost now stopped up with rubbish, and not above 20 feet deep.

Leaving the well, and going strait on the distance of 15 foot, you enter another passage opening against the former, and of the same dimensions, the stones of which are very massy, and exquisitely joined. This passage runs in a level 110 feet, and leads to an arched vault, or chamber, standing due east and west, of a sepulchral smell, and half full of rubbish; its length not quite 20 feet, the breadth about 17, and the height less than 15; the walls are entire, and plaistered over with lime; the roof is covered with large smooth stones, not lying flat, but shelving, and meeting above in an angle. On the east side of this room, in the middle of it, Greaves says there seems to have been a passage leading to some other place; but neither Thevenot nor Le Bruyn could discover any such passage.

Returning back through the narrow horizontal passage, you climb over it, and enter into the other, or second gallery, on the left, divided from the first gallery by the wall, in which is the entrance to the last mentioned passage. This second gallery is a very stately piece of work, and not inferior either in curiosity of art, or richness of materials, to the most sumptuous and magnificent buildings; it rises with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in length 154 feet from the well below; but, if measured on the pavement, somewhat less, by reason of a little vacuity of about 15 feet, before described, between the well and the square hole: the height of it is 26 feet, and the breadth $7\frac{5}{8}$ feet, of which one half is to be allowed for the way in the midst, there being a stone bench on each side of the wall of 1 foot and $\frac{1}{3}$ in breadth, and as much in depth. On the top of these benches, near the angle where they close with the wall, are little spaces, cut in right-angled parallel figures, set in each side opposite to one another, intended, no doubt, for some other end than ornament. The stone of which this gallery is built is white polished marble, very evenly cut in large tables; and the joints are so close, that they are scarce discernible by a curious eye; but what adds grace to the whole structure, though it makes the passage more slippery and difficult, is the acclivity and rising of the ascent. However, the going up is not a little facilitated
by

by certain holes made in the floor, about six hands breadth from one another, into which a man may set his feet, while he holds by the bench with one hand. In the ranging of the marble tables, in both the side-walls, there is one piece of architecture very graceful, and that is, that all the courses, which are but seven, do set and flag over one another about three inches, the bottom of the upper course oversetting the higher part of the next below it in order as they descend.

Having passed this admirable gallery, you enter another square hole, of the same dimensions with the former, which leads into two small anti-chambers, or closets, lined with a rich and speckled kind of Thebaic marble. The first of these is almost equal to the second, which is of an oblong figure, one side containing 7 feet, and the other 3 and a half; the height is 10 feet, and the floor level. On the east and west sides, within two feet and a half of the top, which is somewhat larger than the bottom, are three semicircular cavities, or little seats.

The inner anti-chamber is separated from the former by a stone of red speckled marble, which hangs in two mortices, (like the leaf of a sluice), between two walls, more than three feet above the pavement, and wanting two of the roof. From this second closet you enter another square hole, over which are five lines cut parallel and perpendicular; besides which no other sculptures or engravings are observed in the whole pyramid (K). This square passage is of the same width as the rest, and in length nine feet, being all of Thebaic marble most exquisitely cut, and landing you at the north end of a very sumptuous and well-proportioned room. The distance from the end of the second gallery to this entry, running upon the same level, is 24 feet.

This magnificent and spacious chamber, in which art seems to have contended with nature, stands, as it were, in the heart and center of the pyramid, equidistant from all the sides, and almost in the midst between the basis and the top. The floor, the sides, and the roof, are all

(K) It may therefore be in hieroglyphics; and also justly wondered, whence the upon what authority Cornelius Arabians borrowed those (or rather Ælius) Gallus is traditions, that all sciences are said to have therein engraven inscribed within the pyramids his victories (3).

(3) Xiphil. in Cæs. Aug.

made

made of large tables of Thebaic marble. From the top of it to the bottom there are about six ranges of stone, all which being respectively sized to an equal height, very gracefully in one and the same altitude run round the room. The stones which cover this chamber are of a stupendous length, like so many huge beams, lying flat, and traversing the room, and withal supporting that infinite mass and weight of the pyramid above. Of these there are nine which cover the roof; two of them are less by half in breadth than the rest, the one at the east end, and the other at the west. The length of the chamber on the south side, most accurately taken at the joint or line, where the first and second row of stones meet, is $34\frac{1}{2}$ English feet; the breadth of the west side, at the joint or line where the first and second row of stones meet, is $17\frac{1}{2}$, and the height 19 feet and a half.

Within this stately and magnificent room stands the monument of Cheops, or Chemmis, of one piece of marble, hollow within, uncovered at the top, and sounding like a bell; which last particular is mentioned not as a rarity, but because some authors have taken notice of it as such. Some write that the body has been removed hence; but it has been already observed, that the founder was not buried in it. This monument is of the same kind of stone with which the whole room is lined, being a speckled marble, with black, white, and red spots, as it were, equally mixed, which some call Thebaic marble; but Mr. Greaves rather conceives it to be that sort of porphyry which Pliny calls *Leucostictos*, of which there were, and still are, an infinite number of columns in Egypt; though Burretini, who accompanied him, imagined this kind of marble came from Mount Sinai, where he affirmed the rocks to be of the same colours, and that he had seen among them a great column of the same marble left imperfect, almost as big as that called Pompey's pillar, near Alexandria.

The figure of the tomb is like an altar, or two cubes finely set together; it is cut smooth and plain, without any sculpture or engraving. The outward superficies is in length 7 feet 3 inches and a half, and in depth 3 feet 3 inches and three quarters. The hollow inside is in length on the west side $6\frac{4}{5}$ feet, in breadth at the north end $2\frac{1}{2}$, and in depth $2\frac{1}{5}$. As this monument could not have been brought hither through the above mentioned narrow passages, it is supposed to have been raised and placed there before the roof of the chamber was

closed. It stands exactly in the meridian, or due north and south, and almost at an equal distance from all sides of the chamber, except the east, from which it is twice as remote as it is from the rest. Under it there is a hollow space dug away, and a large stone in the pavement removed at the angle next adjoining it, which Sandys imagined to be a passage into some other apartment, but more probably done in hopes of finding some hidden treasure; it being a superstitious custom formerly observed by the ancients, and continued to this day in the East Indies, to conceal money in their sepulchres. In the south and north sides of the chamber there are two inlets opposite to one another $\frac{7}{8}$ of a foot broad, $\frac{1}{8}$ of a foot deep, evenly cut, and running in a strait line 6 feet and farther into the thickness of the wall; that on the south side is larger and somewhat round, not so long as the former, and by the blackness within seems to have been made use of for receiving of lamps.

This is all that is to be seen within this first pyramid; but there is one thing more to be observed, and that is a very surprising echo, which Plutarch takes notice of, and says that it answers four or five times; but a late traveller, M. Lucas, assures us that it repeats no less than ten or twelve times very distinctly. If we consider the narrow entrance of the pyramid, and the length of the two galleries, which all lie, as it were, in one continued line, and leading to the middle of the pyramid, we need not be at a loss to account for this effect.

The second pyramid.

The second pyramid stands about a bow-shot from the first, towards the south; but very little has been said of it either by ancient or modern writers. Herodotus says it falls short of the other in magnitude, he having measured them both, but he does not give the dimensions; he adds, that it has no subterraneous chambers, neither is the Nile conveyed into it by a channel, as into the former, but that it is of equal altitude. Diodorus is somewhat more particular, and tells us, that for the architecture it is like the former, but much inferior to it in respect of magnitude; each side of the basis containing a stadium, or 600 Grecian feet, in length; so that by his computation, each side should want 100 Grecian feet of the former pyramid. Pliny makes the difference to be greater by 46 feet. Most modern travellers also agree that this pyramid is less than the other. Thevenot makes it but 631 feet square. However, Strabo supposes these pyramids to be equal; and Mr. Greaves, on the credit

credit of a person who measured the second with a line, assures us the bases of both are alike; and that the height, taken by a deliberate conjecture, is not inferior to that of the first. This pyramid has no entrance, and is built of white stones, not near so large as those of the first; the sides rise not with degrees, but are smooth and equal; and the whole fabrick, (except on the south side), is quite entire.

On the north and west sides of this second pyramid are two very stately and elaborate pieces of architecture, about 30 feet in depth, and about 1400 in length, cut out of the rock in a perpendicular direction, and squared by a chissel; designed, as is supposed, for the lodgings of the Egyptian priests. They run parallel to the two sides of the pyramid, at a convenient distance from it, and meeting in a right angle, make a very fair prospect. The entrance is by square openings hewn out of the rock, much of the same size with the narrow passages of the first pyramid, each leading into a square chamber, arched with the natural rock. In most of them is a passage opening into some other apartments, but dark, and full of rubbish. On the north side without there is a line engraved in sacred Egyptian characters.

The priests lodgings near it.

The third pyramid stands at the distance of about a furlong from the second, on an advantageous rising of the rock, whereby afar off it seems equal to the former, though it be much less, and lower. Herodotus says it is 300 feet on every side (L), and, to the middle, built of Ethiopic marble. Diodorus gives the same dimensions of the basis; and adds, that the walls were raised fifteen stories with black stone, like Thebaic marble, and the rest finished with such materials as the other pyramids are built with; that this piece of work, though it be exceeded by the two former in magnitude, yet, for the structure, art, and magnificence of the marble, far excels them; and that in the side, towards the north, the name of Mycerinus, the founder, is engraved. Pliny writes to the same effect, except only, that he makes this pyramid 363 feet between the angles. Belon tells us, that it is but

The third pyramid.

(L) Yet he tells us, that it wants but 20 feet on each side of the first pyramid, which must be a mistake; unless we charge it rather on the copies, and instead of 20 read 500.

Mr. Littlebury, in his translation of Herodotus, supposes the meaning to be, that this pyramid was 20 feet lower than the former. As great a mistake as the other.

a third part greater than that of C. Cæstius at Rome; and that it is still perfect, and no more decayed than if it had been newly built, consisting of a kind of Ethiopic marble called basaltæ, harder than iron itself. The descriptions of other modern travellers concur in the same tale as to the substance, only differing in some circumstances; so that they all seem to have copied Herodotus, without having really viewed this pyramid, since they so constantly agree in what is most evidently false; for they have mistaken both the quality of the stone, and the colour of the pyramid, the whole appearing to be of a clear and white stone, somewhat brighter than that in either of the two others: there are indeed the ruins of a pile of buildings on the east side of it, of a dark colour, which might be the occasion of the error. But Belon, and those who followed him, are more inexcusable in making this pyramid but a third part greater than that of Cæstius, which, exactly measured on that side within the city, is 78 English feet in breadth, to which if we add a third part, the result will be 104, which should be equal to this Egyptian pyramid. An unpardonable oversight, of no less than 200 feet in very little more than 300; for so much, besides the authority of Herodotus and Diodorus, Mr. Greaves takes the side of this pyramid to be, and the altitude to have much the same proportion. The name of Mycerinus is not now to be seen in it, the engraving having been defaced by time.

*A fourth
pyramid.*

To the descriptions of these three pyramids we shall add that of a fourth, which stands near the mummies, and would fall nothing short of the beauty of the first, if it had been finished; it has one hundred and forty-eight steps of large stones like the first pyramid; the platform of it is not even, the stones being set together without order; which shews, that it has not been finished; and yet it is much more ancient than the other, as is evident by the stones, which were all worn out, and crumbled into sand. It is 643 feet square, and has its entry at the fourth part of its height on the north-side, as the former, being distant from the east side 316 feet, and by consequence 327 from the west. There is but one passage into it, 3½ feet broad, and 4 feet high, which reaching 267 feet downwards, ends in an hall with a sharp arched roof 25½ feet in length, and 11 in breadth. In the corner of the hall there is another passage, or gallery, parallel to the horizon, 3 feet square within, and 9½ long, which leads to another chamber, 21 feet in length, and 11 in breadth,

breadth, with a very high arched roof, having at the west end a square window raised $24\frac{2}{3}$ feet from the floor, by which you enter into a passage pretty broad, of a man's height, parallel to the horizon, and reaching in length 13 feet and 2 inches. There is a great room, or hall, at the end of this passage, with an arched roof, containing in length 26 feet 8 inches, and in breadth 24 and 1 inch; the floor of it is the natural rock, which on all sides is rough and unequal, leaving only a little smooth and even space in the middle, incompassed round with the rock, and much lower than the entry into the room, or the foundation of the wall.

In what manner these wonderful structures were erected, and by what contrivance the stones, especially those vast masses in the first, were raised to that height, has been the subject of much speculation. Herodotus, whose expressions are not very clear, supposes, that when they had laid the first range, they raised other stones thither from the ground, by short engines made of wood; that when the stone was lodged on this row, it was put into another engine standing on the first step, from whence it was drawn up to the second row by another, there being as many engines as orders of stone; or else there was but one engine, which they might remove occasionally. He says also, that the highest parts were first finished, and the rest in order, but last of all, the lowest. Diodorus imagines the work was erected by the help of mounds, which, he says, the Egyptians pretended were raised of salt and nitre, and that they were dissolved and washed away by letting in the river. With this writer Pliny agrees, adding, that others supposed bridges were made of bricks, which, the work being ended, were distributed into private houses; conceiving, that the Nile, being much lower, could not come to wash them away. Greaves thinks they first built a large tower in the midst, reaching to the top; to the sides of which he conceives the rest of the building to have been applied, piece after piece, like so many buttresses, still lessening in height, till at last they came to the lowermost degree. A difficult piece of building taken in the easiest projection.

*How the
pyramids
were built.*

If what the ancients deliver be true, that the stones made use of in the building of these pyramids were fetched either from the quarries in the Arabian mountains, Thebais, or Ethiopia, we need not be surprised, when we are told, that Cheops employed one hundred thousand men in this labour, ten thousand every three months.

But some modern travellers, observing that these structures are built not with marble, but with a white sandy stone, very hard, rather believe it was dug out of the rock whereon they stand. We think a middle opinion the most probable; that the aforesaid rock indeed supplied them with great part of the materials; but that the marble of the inner rooms and passages was brought thither from some other place.

Diodorus, and Pliny make the number of men employed in building the first pyramid three hundred and sixty thousand. It is agreed, that twenty years were spent in the work; and Herodotus adds, that there was in his time an inscription on the pyramid, though it be since worn out, declaring how much was expended in radishes, onions, and garlic, for the workmen, which his interpreter told him amounted to no less than 1600 talents of silver, or about 413,333 l. 6s. 8d. sterling.

Though late writers find no beauty in these structures, it cannot be denied that they are prodigious; and no doubt they were intended rather as monuments of power, than models of beauty. No prince now in being is supposed able to raise such piles of building: ancient writers say, that they were magnificent beyond expression; and that they exceeded all other works, not only in the massiness of the building, and in the expence, but also in the industry and skill of the workmen.

One particular to be farther observed in the first pyramid, is, that the sides of it stand exactly facing the four quarters of the world, and consequently, mark the true meridian of the place (M); which precise position could not well have been owing to chance, but was, in all probability, the effect of art and design; and that it was really so, is confirmed by the same position of the tomb within. A permanent proof of the early progress made by the Egyptians in astronomy.

Herodotus mentions a bridge near this pyramid, little less considerable than the pyramid itself; but there are

(M) Mr. Chazelles, who made this observation, and was on the spot in the year 1693, being an excellent mathematician, we shall here set down the dimensions of this pyramid, as taken by him; and the rather, because they come the nearest to those of Mr.

Greaves. The side of the base is, according to this gentleman, 110 toises, which is, as we compute, 704,880 English feet; and the perpendicular height 77 toises, and 3 quarters, or 498,222 English feet. Vid. Rollin Hist. Ant. tom. i. p. 20.

now no remains of it to be seen. It was 40 stadia, or about 5 miles in length, 60 feet broad, and in the highest part 80 feet in altitude; all of polished stones, sculptured with the figures of various animals. This was the work of ten years^a.

Having dwelt so long on the description of the pyramids of Memphis, we may be excused taking notice of those which are to be seen in other parts of Egypt; observing only, that they are not all of the same form, some being round, and almost conical, and others rising with a lesser inclination, and not so pointed at the top. Lucas assures us, that there are no fewer than twelve pyramids near the cataracts, and two in Al Feyyâm, nothing inferior to those of Al Kâhira^r. *Other pyramids.*

The Egyptian labyrinth, from whence Dædalus is supposed to have taken the model of that which he afterwards built in Crete, was a celebrated structure; and yet Herodotus, who saw it, says, that it far surpassed the report of fame, being, in his judgment, even more admirable than the pyramids^s. As there were at least three buildings of this kind, ancient writers, not distinguishing them, generally speak but of one, and consequently with great confusion and disagreement. *Of the labyrinth.*

They tell us it stood in the Heracleotic nome, near the city of Crocodiles, or Arsinoë, a little above the lake Mœris^t. Pliny places it in the lake, and says, it was built by Petesuccus, or Tithoes, one of the demi-gods, four thousand six hundred years before his time; but that Demoteles would have it to be the palace of Motherudes; Lyceas, the sepulchre of Mœris; and others the temple of the Sun. It is recorded by Manetho, that Lachares or Labares, the successor of Sesostris, built a labyrinth for his monument. And Diodorus writes, that Mendes, or Marus made another for the same purpose, which was not so considerable on account of its magnitude, as for the artificial contrivance of it; but this seems to be a different building from that described by him a little after; which is, in all probability, the same with the labyrinth of Herodotus; for they both agree in the situation. They say it was the work of twelve kings, among whom Egypt was at one time divided; and that they built it at their common charge.

^a Herodotus.

^r Voyage, tom. i. p. 10. & 99. tom. ii. p. 75.

^s Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 148.

^t Id. *ibid.* p. 149. Plin. lib. v.

cap. ix. & lib. xxxi. cap. 13.

This structure seems to have been designed as a pantheon, or universal temple of all the Egyptian deities, which were separately worshipped in the provinces. It was also the place of the general assembly of the magistracy of the whole nation, for those of all the provinces or nomes met here to feast and sacrifice, and to judge causes of great consequence. For this reason, every nome had a hall or palace appropriated to it; the whole edifice containing, according to Herodotus, twelve; Egypt being then divided into so many kingdoms. But Pliny makes the number of these palaces sixteen, and Strabo, as it seems, twenty-seven. Herodotus tells us, that the halls were vaulted, and had an equal number of doors opposite to one another, six opening to the north, and six to the south, all encompassed with the same wall; that there were three thousand chambers in this edifice, fifteen hundred in the upper part, and as many underground; and that he viewed every room in the upper part, but was not permitted, by those who kept the palace, to go into the subterraneous part, because the sepulchres of the holy crocodiles, and of the kings who built the labyrinth, were there. He reports, that what he saw seemed to surpass the art of man; so many exits by various passages, and infinite returns, afforded a thousand occasions of wonder. He passed from a spacious hall to a chamber, from thence to a private cabinet; then again into other passages out of the cabinets, and out of the chamber into the more spacious rooms. All the roofs and walls within were incrustéd with marble, and adorned with figures in sculpture. The halls were surrounded with pillars of white stone finely polished; and at the angle, where the labyrinth ended, stood the pyramid formerly mentioned, which Strabo asserts to be the sepulchre of the prince who built the labyrinth.

To this description of Herodotus, others add, that it stood in the midst of an immense square, surrounded with buildings at a great distance; that the porch was of Parian marble, and all the other pillars of marble of Syene; that within were the temples of their several deities, and galleries, to which was an ascent of ninety steps, adorned with many columns of porphyry, images of their gods, and statues of their kings, of a colossal size; that the whole edifice consisted of stone, the floors being laid with vast flags, and the roof appearing like a canopy of stone; that the passages met, and crossed each other with such intricacy, that it was impossible for a stranger to find his way

way, either in or out, without a guide; and that several of the apartments were so contrived, that on opening of the doors, there was heard within a terrible noise of thunder.

We shall subjoin part of the description given by Diodorus of a fabric, which, though he does not call it a labyrinth, but a sepulchre, yet appears to be the same we are now speaking of. He says it was of a square form, each side a furlong in length, built of most beautiful stone, the sculpture and other ornaments of which posterity could not exceed; that on passing the outward inclosure, a building presented itself to view, surrounded by an arcade, every side consisting of four hundred pillars; and that it contained the ensigns or memorials of the country of each king; and was, in all respects, a work so sumptuous, and of such vast dimensions, that if the twelve princes who began it, had not been dethroned before it was finished, the magnificence of it could never have been surpassed. Whence it seems, that Psammetichus, one of the twelve, who, expelling his associates, made himself master of all Egypt, finished the design, but not with a grandeur answerable to the rest of the structure; though Meia attributes the glory of the whole to that king.

The solidity of this wonderful building was such, that it withstood, for many ages, not only the rage of time, but that of the inhabitants of Heracleopolis, who, worshipping the ichneumon, the mortal enemy of the crocodile, which was the peculiar deity of Arsinoe, bore an irreconcilable hatred to the labyrinth, which served also for a sepulchre to the sacred crocodiles, and therefore they strove to demolish it. Pliny says, it was remaining in his days; and that about five hundred years before Alexander, Circummon, eunuch to king Nectabis, was reported to have bestowed some small reparations on it, supporting the building with beams of acacia, or the Egyptian thorn boiled in oil, while the arches of square stone were erecting.

Though the Arabs have also, since the days of Pliny, helped to ruin this structure, yet a considerable part of it is still standing, almost at the south-end of the lake Moeris, a little to the east, and about ten leagues from the ruins of Arsinoe. The people of the country call it the palace of Charon, of whom we shall say something by-and-by.

The remains we speak of retain yet some marks of the ancient splendor of the whole. The first thing that presents itself to the view is a large portico of marble, facing the rising sun, and sustained by four great pillars of marble also, but composed of several pieces; three of these pillars are still standing, and one of the two middlemost is half fallen. In the middle is a door, whose sides and entablature are very massy; above is a frieze, whereon is represented an head with wings out-stretched; and several hieroglyphics appear underneath. This head is covered with a kind of veil, and surrounded with four points of marble, like rays; over this first entablature runs a frieze, the stones of which are cut into the figures of serpents. On this frieze are the ruins of several doors in different stories, by which probably they entered into the apartments that were above; but they are at present entirely ruined: on each side of that in the middle is an anubis full of hieroglyphics.

This edifice resembles none of the four orders of architecture, which we have received from the ancients. Having passed through the portico, you enter into a fine large hall, all of marble, the roof consisting of twelve tables, exquisitely joined, each 25 feet long and 3 broad, which cross the room from one end to the other; the roof being not arched (as Herodotus says), but flat, strikes the spectator with admiration at the boldness of its architecture; it being scarce conceivable, how it could continue so many ages in a position so improper to support such a prodigious weight. This hall is at present 40 feet high, without making any allowance for the dust and rubbish with which the floor is covered. At the end of this hall, over-against the first door, there is a second portico, embellished with the same ornaments as the first, but in a smaller scale, by which you enter into a second hall, not so large as the first, which is covered with eight stones. At the end of this room, strait forwards, there is a third portico, still less than the second, as well as the hall into which it leads, though it has thirteen stones to roof it. At the end of this third hall there is a fourth portico, set against the wall, and placed there for symmetry only, to answer the rest. The length of these three halls is the whole depth of the building in its present condition; it was on the two sides, and especially underground, that the prodigious number of rooms and avenues, mentioned by the antients, were built; the halls we have described having several openings, through
which

which are passages into other rooms on the same level, from whence there are stair-cases to go up into those above, and down into those under-ground. Our author, having first taken the precaution which Ariadne taught Theseus, and provided himself with above two thousand fathom of thread, and some chopped straw to strew in his way, went into above one hundred and fifty of these chambers; but was often obliged either to creep on his belly, or to remove the rubbish which choaked up the passages; but, with all his endeavours, he was not able to go very far.

To have a perfect idea of the construction of this edifice, you must imagine, that you go from one chamber into another, sometimes into an alley, which has apertures in several places answering to other avenues, from which, without perceiving it, you come to the place from whence you set out. All these chambers and passages, where a perfect obscurity reigns, are not of equal dimensions, nor of the same figure; some being long, some square, and others triangular.

The disagreement which may be found between this relation and the accounts of the ancients, and even among the several descriptions of the ancients themselves in a building of so great variety and extent, need not be wondered at. What is now remaining of it seems to be no more than a fourth-part of the inner edifice, which, in all probability, had four fronts, and twelve halls answering to them; the rest being decayed by time, or demolished by design, as appears from the prodigious ruins which are to be seen all round it*.

How admirable soever the labyrinth was, yet the lake Mæris, by which that monument stood, is said to be yet more wonderful. The ancients make it no less than 3600 stadia in circumference†, which is somewhat incredible (N); but later relations assure us, that it is not

*Of the lake
Mæris.*

* Lucas Voy. tom. ii. p. 18, &c.
† 49. Diodorus Siculus lib. i. p. 49.

† Herodot. lib. ii. cap.

(N) Pomponius Mela makes the circuit of this lake no more than 20 miles; which being so very dissimilar from what Herodotus and Diodorus have delivered, the critics will have it to be a mistake in Mela's copy, and have corrected it by those authors; but as we imagine, without reason; though we

must not dissemble the tradition of the people of the country, who say the lake was formerly much larger than it is now; and one place in particular, which the water has left, is become a dangerous quicksand, wherein men and cattle are sometimes lost.

above

above half a league broad, and a day's journey in length, being in circuit about twelve or fifteen leagues; which is prodigious enough, if we consider, that it was the work of mens hands, as appeared from the two pyramids built in the midst of it, which were standing in the time of Herodotus. In the deepest parts it has fifty fathom of water. This lake stretches from north to south, and is not fed by the sea, the adjacent country being excessively dry, but by water derived from the Nile, by a chanel cut for that purpose, eighty stadia long and three hundred feet broad, through which the water flowed into the lake six months of the year, and back again to the river the other six months; yet we are told by a modern traveller, that there are two considerable springs in the lake, which keep it from becoming ever quite dry; though in those years that the Nile encreases but little, it has not much water, and then several fine ruins are discovered, which at other times are not to be seen^u.

This lake was dug by a king of Egypt, called by Herodotus, Moeris, and by Diodorus, Myris, whose name it afterwards received, to correct the irregularities of the Nile, by receiving the superfluous waters when that river rose too high, and thereby preventing their stagnation in other places to the detriment of the land, and by supplying water for the lands when the river failed; which purpose was effected by many canals and ditches cut from the main chanel. These canals are still subsisting, and almost entire at this day, their number and structure being worthy admiration. As they were of the greatest benefit to the ancient inhabitants, so are they no less serviceable to the present, who, attribute these works, and, indeed, almost all other ancient works of public utility, to Joseph.

The canal of communication between the Nile and the lake had anciently large sluices to let the water in or out, as occasion required; and whenever they were either to be opened or shut, the charge of doing it was no less than fifty talents, or about 12,916l. 13s 4d. On the other hand, the lake brought in a very considerable revenue to the prince; the fishery, during the six months of the river's retreat, yielding a talent of silver, or about 258l. 6s. 8d. every day to the royal treasury; and the rest of the time twenty minæ, or a fourth-part of that sum; there being twenty-two sorts of fish in this lake, and in

^u Lucas, tom. ii. p. 53.

such plenty, that though a great number of people were employed in salting them, yet there wanted hands for the work. Mœris, it is said, gave these revenues to his wife, to buy her ointments, or, as we express it, for pin-money. The earth dug for the making of the lake was, as the Egyptians told Herodotus, carried to the Nile, and dispersed by the current of that river.

There is an isle in the middle of the lake Mœris, of about a league in circumference; but nothing is now to be seen of the two pyramids which were built here, though they say there are several ruins of temples and tombs in the isle, with large figures of men and animals. On the farther side of the lake there are some little mountains with grottos, which were formerly made use of for sepulchres.

The inhabitants, at present, call this lake the Lake of Charon, concerning whom they tell the following story; that, being a person of mean extraction, and resolved to get money by any means, he took up his abode by this lake, and exacted of every corpse, that was ferried over to be interred, a certain sum; though he acted thus without any authority from the prince, yet he carried on the imposition for several years, till, refusing passage to the dead body of the king's son, unless the usual sum were paid him, the fraud was discovered; however, he made the king so sensible of the great advantage it would be to him to continue this duty by his royal authority, that he ordered it to be constantly paid for the future, appointing Charon his first minister, and confirming him in his old employment, which he made the first post in the kingdom. Charon got such vast riches in it, that he became powerful enough to assassinate the king, and usurp the throne.

We cannot pretend to give an exact description of the other buildings, and admirable works of the ancient Egyptians, though, perhaps they deserve it equally with what we have already mentioned; the very spoils of them making at this day the principal ornament of Rome, where is scarce a column or an obelisk, worthy of note, but what has been carried thither out of Egypt. We shall now take notice of two or three particulars which we judge extraordinary; and for which, we apprehend, we may not hereafter find a more proper place.

One is a most magnificent palace in the upper Egypt, not far from Aswân, the ancient Syene; the ruins whereof are enough to strike a spectator with astonishment.

*A palace
near the
cataracts.*

ment. It is as large as a little city, having four avenues of columns, leading to as many porticos. At each gate, between two pillars of porphyry, stand two gigantic figures of fine black marble, armed with maces. The avenues consist of columns set three and three together, in a triangle, on one pedestal: on the chapter of each triangle is placed a sphinx, and a tomb alternately. Every column is seventy feet high, all of one stone. There are in all the four avenues about five or six thousand of these columns, a great many of which are fallen down.

The first hall of this palace is adorned with pieces of history, which seem as fresh as if the painting had not been long finished. In some places they have represented the hunting of antelopes; in others, feasts, and a great many young children playing with all kinds of animals. From thence you go into other apartments, incrustated with marble, the roof being supported with pillars of porphyry and black marble. Notwithstanding the vast quantity of rubbish, our author made shift to get up to the top of this building, from whence he had a prospect of the ruins of the greatest city that ever had been, as he thought, in the world. He supposes it might be the ancient Thebes; but that city stood much lower^a.

*Grots near
Osyû.*

The grots near Osyû ought not to be omitted. One of them is large enough to contain above six hundred horse, in battle array: it is cut out of the rock, and supported by vast square pillars left standing. In this grotto several little seats are made to rest on; and it seems, by some foot-steps which still remain of them, that formerly the figures of several deities were painted there; but they are now almost entirely defaced. There are a great many other grots in the same mountains still more beautiful, ranged in order, with doors answering one another, on which are several images of the ancient gods of Egypt in basso relievo, some having staves in their hands as if they guarded the entrance. In these grottos various apartments have been made, and some wells sunk; but, what is most wonderful of all, at the farther end there are catacombs hollowed in the rock, where are a great number of mummies, and tombs adorned with sculpture in basso relievo, which have been almost all disfigured by the Arabs. Our author went into above two hundred of these grots; and he assures us, that the number of the whole exceeds one thousand. The people of the country

^a Lucas, ubi supra.

believe those grotts the work of demons, who have hid in them immense treasures. As to the time when, and the purpose for which they were cut, it is vain to expect any light from history*.

Among the antiquities of Dandera, the ancient Tentyra, there is standing part of a temple, or palace, of surprising height and dimensions. The back part of this structure is a vast wall, without any windows, built of large stones of greyish granite, covered with basso relievos bigger than the life, representing the ancient Egyptian deities, with all their attributes in different attitudes. Two lions of white marble, as big as horses, stand above half the length of their bodies out of the wall. The side is above three hundred paces long, filled also with sculptures of the same kind, and has three lions jutting out, of the same size with the former. The front of this glorious edifice exposes to view, in the midst, a porch, sustained by square pilasters of a prodigious size; a large arcade supported by three rows of columns, one of which eight men can hardly fathom, extends itself on each side the porch, and bears up a flat roof, made of stones of six or seven feet broad, and of an extraordinary length. This roof appears to have been formerly painted, and some colours, which time has spared, are still to be perceived. The columns, made of great stones of granite, and full of hieroglyphics in relief, have each, on their cornice, a capital composed of four women's heads attired, set back to back, and appearing like the faces of a double Janus: these heads are of a proportion suitable to the columns: there is above them an abacus, or square table of stone, above six feet high, somewhat longer than it is broad, which supports the roof. A kind of cornice, of a singular construction, runs all round this arcade; and in the middle, over the porch, there are two great serpents interwoven, whose heads rest on two large wings extended on each side. Though these columns are above half buried in the ruins, yet one may judge of their height by their circumference; and, according to the proportions of architecture, they ought to be, at least, 44 or 45 feet high, and 120, including the basis with the capital. From this porch you enter directly into a large square hall, where there are three doors opening into different apartments, which lead still into others, supported also by a great many fine columns, but dark and full of rubbish.

A magnificent structure at Dandera.

* Lucas, ubi supra, tom. ii. p. 76, &c.

As this edifice is almost entirely buried on one side under the ruins and heaps of stones, which have formed a kind of mountain, one may easily get up to the top; and, to give some idea of its dimensions, it is sufficient to say, that the Arabs had formerly built a very large town upon it, the ruins of which are still to be seen. At some distance from the front, there is a large arch of a beautiful order of architecture, about 40 feet high, which seems to have been the first gate.

The tradition of the country is, that this was a temple of Serapis; which seems to be confirmed by a Greek inscription on the frieze, wherein the name of that deity appears; but the whole is so imperfectly taken, that there is no forming any certain judgment of it. They also pretend, that this temple had as many windows as there are days in the year; and that those windows were so disposed, that each answering to one of the degrees of the ecliptic, the sun every day saluted the deity who presided there, through them, in order one after another.

We shall conclude this section with a remark made on occasion of this structure: that if in such cities as Tentyra, and some others of inferior note, there are found monuments of such exquisite beauty and grandeur, what ought we to think of those erected in the principal cities which were the ordinary residence of the kings, as Thebes, Memphis, &c. ! And how great an idea ought we to entertain of the power and magnificence of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt !

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the ancient Egyptians.

The antiquity of the Egyptians.

THERE are few nations in the world which can pretend to an equal antiquity with the Egyptians. Their country is the only part in the world which has borne the name of a son of Noah; though it be uncertain whether Ham himself made any settlement there. However, his son Mizraim certainly peopled Egypt with his own issue, which inhabited several parts of it, under the names of Mizraim, Pathrusim, Casluhim, and Caphtorim.

7 Sic. *Mém. des Missions*, tom. ii. p. 158. Lucas, tom. ii. p. 233. &c.

And

And yet the Egyptians themselves, ignorant of their true descent, pretended even to a greater antiquity, asserting that the first men in the world, as well as animals, must have been originally produced in their country, rather than in any other part of the world, because of the benign temperature of the air, the natural fecundity of the Nile, and its spontaneous bringing forth several kinds of vegetables, as proper food for the newly produced men and animals. And, to support this opinion, they instanced the great numbers of mice which were every year bred out of the mud left by the Nile on its retreat, some of them, as they said, appearing alive, and formed so far as the fore-part of the body only, the other part being inanimate, and without motion, as having not yet quite put off the nature of earth. That the concurrence of proper causes, in certain seasons, will occasion a prodigious increase of such vermin, is observed in other countries; but, as to the other part of the relation, it is not improbable, that the mice which are generated at that season in Egypt, are of the same kind with those mentioned by ancient authors to breed in that country, and some other parts, which have but two legs, and which an incurious spectator might therefore easily take to be imperfect animals, and but half formed. On this mistaken notion of their original the Egyptians built their history, reckoning an extravagant number of years, during which they pretended they had the most flourishing kingdom in the world, under the administration of their own native kings. However, we are told, that in the time of Psammeticus they acknowledged the Phrygians to be more ancient, yielding that nation the priority, and challenging only the second rank to themselves.

The Egyptians are said to have been the first who found out the rules of government, and the art of making life easy, and a people happy; the true end of politics. Their laws and institutions were not only highly revered by those who lived under their immediate influence, but by other nations, and particularly the Grecians, whose first sages and law-givers travelled into this country to acquaint themselves therewith, and borrowed thence the best part of those which they afterwards established at home.

Their government and laws.

The crown of Egypt was hereditary: their first kings did not live after the manner of other monarchs, or govern by their own arbitrary will and pleasure, subject to the controul of none; but they were obliged to conform themselves to the established laws of the land, not only in

Their kings manner of life.

the management of public affairs, but even in their private way of life. No slave bought with money, or servant born in the house, was admitted into their service; but they were attended by the sons of the priests of most distinguished birth; who, after having had a suitable education, were, at the age of twenty, placed about the king's person; that, being waited on both day and night by men of such extraordinary merit, he might learn nothing unworthy of the royal majesty, and be in the less danger of falling into any vicious excess; which princes seldom do, unless they find, among those who approach their persons, encouragers of their debauchery and ministers of their passions.

There were stated hours of night, as well as day, when the king could not do what he had a fancy to, but was indispensibly obliged to give attention to business and serious employment. When he arose early in the morning, the first thing he did was to peruse the public dispatches and letters which came from several parts of his dominions, that so he might be well acquainted with the state and affairs of his kingdom. Then, bathing himself, putting on splendid attire, and assuming the ensigns of his regal office, he went to the temple to sacrifice: the victims being brought to the altar, the chief priest, in the presence of the king and the assistants, prayed with a loud voice for the health and prosperity of the king, who governed according to justice and the laws of the kingdom. And on this occasion he enlarged on his royal virtues, observing that he was pious towards the gods, tender towards his people, moderate, just, magnanimous, of strict veracity, liberal, master of himself, punishing below, and rewarding above desert. He then spake with execration of the faults which the king might have committed through surprize or ignorance; but withal absolving him, and laying the guilt on his ministers and council. And this method they took to win their kings to the practice of virtue, not by sharp admonitions, but by the pleasing praises due to good actions. The sacrifices being duly performed, the scribe read, out of the sacred records, such of the counsels and actions of the most famous men as might be of use in life, and fit for imitation; that the king might thereby be instructed to govern his state by their maxims, and regulate his administration, in every respect, according to the established laws.

Nor was the king obliged to this exactness in public affairs only; he was so little master of himself in private, that

that he could not take the air, converse with his queen, bathe, or do the most indifferent thing, but at certain times, which were particularly appointed and set apart for this or that purpose. He was not permitted to choose what he would eat; but his table was furnished with the most simple food, generally veal or goose; and he was allowed but a certain quantity of wine to drink. And this regulation was so moderate, that it seemed not to have been the institution of a legislature, but the prescription of an experienced physician for the preservation of health, to which it was so conducive, that one of the kings of Egypt, named Tachos, who had the best of constitutions while he lived after the frugal manner of his own country, retiring into Persia, soon ruined it by the luxurious diet of that nation. It is said, that there was, in a certain temple in Thebes, a pillar, with an inscription, containing imprecations against a king who had first introduced luxury among the Egyptians.

So great a restraint laid on the prince in matters seemingly of little consequence, is, indeed extraordinary; but what deserves greater admiration is, that it was not in his power to satisfy more dangerous appetites, by wronging or oppressing the subject; for he could not punish any person out of passion or caprice, nor give judgment in any case otherwise than as the laws ordained. And all this was so far from being thought hard or dishonourable by the kings, that on the contrary they esteemed it a singular blessing, that, while other men were subject to the ill consequences of indulging their natural passions, they were exempt from such dangers, by living up to a rule of life approved of by the most prudent persons. While the princes behaved themselves with this justice and moderation, they were infinitely dear to their people; not only the colleges of priests, but the whole Egyptian nation, being more solicitous for the king's safety, than that of their wives, children or possessions. Wherefore, so long as these laws were observed, their state was flourishing, and the people happy; they extended their dominions by the conquest of several nations, became exceeding rich and populous, and able to adorn the several provinces of the kingdom with works of inimitable magnificence.

The affection of the Egyptians to their kings appeared in nothing more than in the lamentations they made for them, and the honours they paid them, when dead; for, upon the death of any of their kings, the whole kingdom went into mourning, rending their garments, shutting up

*The honours
paid them
when dead.*

their temples, and putting a stop to all sacrifices, feasts, and solemnities, for the space of seventy-two days. Companies of two or three hundred, both men and women, with dust on their heads, and girt with linen girdles, marched solemnly in procession twice a day, singing his praise in mournful dirges, and commemorating the virtues of the deceased. All this while they abstained from flesh and wheat, as also from wine, and all delicacies; they neither bathed nor anointed themselves, nor slept in their beds, nor used the company of their wives; but every one mourned both night and day, as for the loss of a beloved son. In the mean time the funeral pomp being prepared with great magnificence, on the last day, the body was exposed in a coffin at the entrance of the sepulchre, where, in pursuance of a law, the actions of his life were recited, and every one was at full liberty to accuse him. The priests pronounced his elogy, and, if the deceased had reigned worthily, the numerous multitude assembled on the occasion seconded the applause of the priests; but, if he had governed unworthily, they boldly expressed their disapprobation. It even depended on the inclinations of the people, whether the deceased prince should be honoured with a solemn burial, which, through their dislike, was denied to several. Upon this account (among others), and lest their dead bodies should be abused, and their memories blasted with eternal infamy, they did their utmost to deserve the good opinion of their subjects by the most unblameable conduct.

The political division of the kingdom.

As to the administration of public affairs, each nome, or province, had its peculiar governor, who ordered and took care of every thing within his jurisdiction. The lands were divided into three parts; of which one was allotted to the priests, and the revenues thereof were employed not only for the maintenance of them and their families, but for providing sacrifices, and defraying all other expences of public worship. The second belonged to the king, and was allotted for the charges of his wars, and for supporting the regal dignity with splendor. By such an abundant provision, he was enabled liberally to reward men of distinguished merit; and had no occasion to lay any burthen some taxes on his people. The third part was for the soldiers, who, having so handsome a maintenance, were thereby encouraged to venture their lives in defence of their country; for, they thought it absurd to trust the safety of the whole nation in the hands
of

of those who had nothing dear or valuable at home to fight for.

Herodotus says the Egyptians were distinguished into seven orders of men; priests, soldiers, herdsmen, hogherds, traders, interpreters, and seamen; who took their names from the professions they exercised. But Diodorus mentions no more than five; priests, soldiers, shepherds, husbandmen, and artificers; including, probably, the two other orders under some of these.

The king, priests, and soldiery, made as it were the three estates of the kingdom. The priests were held in great reverence and esteem, not only for their attendance on the worship of their gods, but because by their learning and prudence they were of great service to the state; being for that reason always near the king's person, as the chief of his council, to assist him with their advice, to give their judgments as to the event of any enterprize, by their skill in astrology, and in divination by inspection of the sacrifices; and to read useful points of history out of the sacred commentaries. These were exempt from all taxes, and the next in power and dignity to the king. *Of the priests.*

The priests wore linen garments and shoes, being not permitted to dress in any other manner; they took particular care to wash them often, and have them always clean; and, for greater neatness, they shaved all parts of their bodies once in three days, and bathed constantly twice by day, and twice by night, in cold water, with a great deal of superstition. The service of every god was performed, not by one, but by many priests; and they had a chief priest over them, in whose room, when he died, his son was substituted. The priesthood enjoyed very great advantages; they were never disturbed with domestic cares, for they eat the consecrated bread, and were daily furnished with beef and geese in abundance, and had also an allowance of wine; but were not allowed to taste fish. The Egyptians, in general, abstained from beans; but the priests even abhorred the sight of them, accounting them impure and abominable: whence Pythagoras conceived the aversion he had to that kind of pulse.

The military men were called Calasirians, or Hermotybi- *Of the soldiery.* ans, according to the different nomes they inhabited. The Hermotybi-ans inhabited the nomes of Bufiris, Saïs, Chemmis, Papremis, and one half of the island Prosopis, from which one hundred and sixty thousand men could be drawn, when they were most populous. The nomes of

the Calasirians were those of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennytus Athribis, Pharbæthus, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anytis, and Myecphoris; which last was situate in an island over-against the city of Bubastis. And these nomes could furnish two hundred and fifty thousand men at the most. The soldiers of both denominations were not permitted to learn or exercise any mechanical art; but were obliged, from father to son, to apply themselves to the art of war only; wherein, it may be supposed, they therefore made a more than ordinary proficiency; but their great excellency seems to have been in horsemanship, and the skill of guiding chariots; for which they were particularly and early famous, as appears from Scripture. For neglect of duty, flying in battle, or cowardice, they were punished only with marks of infamy; it being thought more adviseable to keep them in order by the motive of honour, than the fear of chastisement.

The lands conferred on the militia were exempted from public taxes, as well as those of the priests. The portion assigned to each man was twelve aruræ, every one containing a square of one hundred Egyptian cubits (O). The king's guard consisted of one thousand Hermotybians, and as many Calasirians, who were changed every year, that they might all have that honour and advantage in their turn. For, besides the revenues of their lands, those that were on duty at court had (each) a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two pounds of beef, and two pints of wine. This liberal provision for the militia was also an encouragement for them to marry, to people the country, and by these means leave behind them a succession of troops sufficient for the defence of the kingdom.

But, after all, the Egyptians cannot be said to have been a warlike nation: they rather extended their dominions by the colonies they sent out, than by their arms; however, we shall find some conquerors of great fame among their kings.

If the Egyptians at any time created a new king by election (which sometimes happened), he was always chosen, either out of the priests, or the soldiers; and if out of the latter, he was immediately received into the order of priests, and initiated in their learning and mysteries.

(O) The Egyptian arura what more than three quarters
must therefore have been some of an English acre.

The

The husbandmen, taking the lands from the king, priests, and soldiers, at an easy rent, employed themselves wholly in tillage, and the son continually succeeded the father in the same occupation: thus they became the most expert in agriculture of any people in the world. The shepherds, in like manner, were always shepherds from generation to generation; and, by the observations of their forefathers, and their own experience, attained to great skill in their way, endeavouring to vie with one another in contrivances to increase the breed of the flocks they fed. One thing in particular deserves to be mentioned, which was practised by those who fed hens and geese: not content with the ordinary way of natural increase, they did not suffer them to brood, but hatched the eggs by an artificial warmth; and by that expedient raised prodigious flocks of those fowls. The method was most probably by ovens, which are still used in Egypt for the same purpose, and much spoken of by travellers².

Of the inferior class.

The law which obliged the son of the husbandman and shepherd to follow the vocation of his father, extended to all arts and trades; for, amongst the Egyptians, a man was under an indispensable necessity of taking up his father's employment, and of applying himself wholly to that, without meddling with any other. Thus, being cut off from all hopes of rising to the magistracy, and having no room left for popular ambition, they stuck closely to what they professed. They were never permitted to concern themselves with civil affairs; and if they happened to attempt it, or undertook any business that did not belong to their hereditary profession, they were severely punished.

The Egyptians were very careful in the administration of justice; for they rightly judged the sentences pronounced from the tribunals, to be of the greatest consequence to the public; and that as nothing could conduce more to the reformation of mens manners, than the punishing offenders, and relieving the oppressed, so nothing could be more destructive of society, or a greater cause of confusion, than the suffering either bribery or favour in such cases. For this reason they were very scrupulous in the choice of their judges, who were men of the best reputation, and taken from the three chief cities, Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, ten from each; so that

Of their courts of justice.

² Vide Greaves's Manner of hatching Chickens at Cairo. Phil. Trans. No 137.

their whole number was thirty; a tribunal thought to be no ways inferior either to the areopagus at Athens, or to the Lacedemonian senate.

This venerable assembly chose a president out of their own number, whose place, as an inferior judge, was, upon his election, supplied by the city that sent him. Their salaries were paid by the king, who allowed the president a stipend proportioned to his superior rank; and, that he might be more visibly distinguished from his brethren, he wore a chain of gold about his neck, from which hung an image of precious stones, called by them Truth. Whenever the president assumed this ensign of his office, it signified that he was prepared to hear causes. The court being seated, and the eight books, which contained all the laws, laid before them, the plaintiff preferred his complaint, clearly and distinctly set forth in writing; a copy of which being granted to the defendant, he gave in his answer. To this the plaintiff replied, and then the defendant rejoined. Each party having given in two writings, the court took them into consideration, and, consulting together, proceeded to judgment, the president turning the effigies of Truth towards the party in whose favour judgment was given. The Egyptians, sensible of the fallacies of oratory, and the evil arts of public pleaders, banished them from the tribunal, nor would they even suffer a man to speak in his own cause, well knowing the advantage one person might have over another by more artful speaking, or greater confidence; but, contented themselves with a simple and intelligible state of the case in writing, which, being readily understood, was as readily decided: by these means every man stood upon the level with his antagonist, and nothing but the merits of the cause had any weight in its determination.

Having spoken of their courts of judicature, it may not be amiss briefly to mention such of their laws as are most remarkable for their antiquity or use.

Their remarkable laws.

I. Perjury was punished with death; as a crime sinful in the sight of the gods, and destructive of human society.

II. He that saw a man killed, or violently assaulted on the highway, and did not endeavour to rescue him, was punished with death. If it appeared, that he was unable to give assistance, he was nevertheless obliged to discover and prosecute the offenders according to law; which duty, if he neglected, he received a certain number of stripes, and was kept without food for three days.

III. False

III. False accusers underwent the same punishment as the accused should have undergone in case of conviction.

IV. Every Egyptian was enjoined to give in his name, and by what means he gained his livelihood, in writing, to the governor of the province where he lived. But if it could be proved, that he had given in a wrong information, or got his living in an unlawful way, he was punished with death. This law was made by Amasis; and Solon, who introduced it among the Athenians, is said to have borrowed it of the Egyptians.

V. He that wilfully killed any person, whether freeman or slave, was condemned to die.

VI. Parents that killed their children were not adjudged to die, but were obliged to embrace their dead bodies for three days and three nights together; a guard being set over them, to see that they punctually obeyed this law.

VII. But parricides were put to a most cruel death; first their limbs were mangled, and their flesh cut into small pieces with sharp reeds; afterwards they were laid upon thorns, and burnt alive.

VIII. Women with child were not executed till they had been delivered; that the innocent might not be involved in the punishment of the guilty.

IX. Mutiny and desertion were punished only by degradation and disgrace; which could never be wiped away but by brave actions.

X. Those who betrayed secret designs to the enemy, had their tongues cut out.

XI. Coining false money, using false weights, and forgery of all sorts, were punished by cutting off the offender's hands.

XII. He that committed a rape on a free-woman, had his privities cut off; for they held a ravisher guilty of three most enormous crimes, having, besides the injustice of the action, brought infamy on the woman, and bastardized her issue.

XIII. Adultery by consent was punished in the man, with a thousand stripes given with rods; and in the woman, with the loss of her nose.

XIV. According to the commercial laws, which are said to have been made by Bocchoris; if a man borrowed money without giving a note in writing for it, he was discharged from the debt, provided he would make oath,
that

that he was no ways indebted to his creditor. The oath in this case was very solemn, and preceded by sacrifice.

XV. In cases where the debt was acknowledged by proper instruments, the interest was not to exceed the double of the capital or sum lent. The debtor's goods, and not his body, were answerable for the debt: for his body was claimed by the city or place where he lived, which had the greatest interest in him, and had a right to his service both in peace and war. In short, they did not apprehend wherein the policy lay of sacrificing an useful member of the republic to the cruelty or avarice of a private person. This law, or one very like it, is said to have been established by Solon.

XVI. To help the circulation of money, Asychis made a law, that a man might borrow on the pledge of his father's dead body, which was to be put into the hands of the creditor; and if he did not redeem it, he himself was to be deprived of the honour of a funeral; nor could he have the liberty of burying any person descended from him; a restriction which was accounted the greatest ignominy.

XVII. An Egyptian priest was allowed no more than one wife, but all others might marry as many as they pleased; nor was any child reckoned a bastard, though begotten on a slave bought with money; for they held the father to be the sole cause of generation, and that the mother only provided nourishment and lodging for the infant.

XVIII. By the laws of Egypt, brothers were permitted to marry their sisters, because they had an instance of the happiness of such marriages, in that of Isis with her own brother Osiris; for Isis having vowed, on his death, never to suffer the embraces of any other, she revenged his murder, governed the kingdom during her widowhood with great prudence, and became the author of infinite benefits to mankind in general. For which reason, in Egypt, the queen had more power, and more honour shewn her than the king; and, in marriage-contracts, the greater authority was given to the women, the husbands promising to be obedient to their wives in all things.

XIX. There was a very remarkable law, or rather custom which had the sanction of law, with regard to the Egyptian robbers and sharpers. Whoever entered himself in their gang, gave in his name to their chief, promising to deliver him all the booty he should from time to time

time purloin. Upon this account it was customary for such as had any thing stolen from them to apply to the chief of the gang, and give him a very particular account and description, in writing, of what they had lost; as also of the day, hour, and place, when and where they lost it. This information being given, the stolen goods were easily found, and restored to the right owner, upon his paying a fourth part of their value. The instituter of this extraordinary law thought, that since it would be impossible to prevent thieving entirely, it would be more tolerable for the injured party to lose a fourth, by way of redemption, than the whole^a.

As much as the Egyptians seemed to excel other nations in the wisdom of their laws and constitutions, they yet surpassed them more in bigotry and superstition.

Of the religion of the Egyptians.

Idolatry was so ancient among them, that the Grecians confessed they borrowed not only their religious ceremonies, but the names of almost all their gods, from Egypt. For the Egyptians are said to have been the first people who erected altars, images, and temples, and the first inventors of festivals, ceremonies, and transactions with the gods by the mediation of others; and also to have first given names to the twelve gods^b.

They had a great many deities of different ranks and orders. Those who were chiefly honoured in Egypt, were Osiris, and Isis; by which it is most probable they originally meant the Sun and the Moon (P), whose influences governed and preserved the world; those two planets being reckoned by them the great causes of nutrition and generation, and, as it were, the sources from whence the other parts of nature, which also they looked upon as gods, and to which they gave distinct names, were derived. These were Jupiter, or *spirit*, the vis vivifica of

(P) The name of Osiris, we are told, in the Egyptian tongue, signifies *many-eyed*; an epithet very proper for the sun; and Isis, *ancient*.

There are several other mythological interpretations of these two deities. Sometimes Isis is the earth in general; sometimes only the land of Egypt; and Osiris is the moon,

or else the Nile, which is lost or destroyed in the sea, which they call Typhon. At other times Osiris is Pluto and Bacchus; and Isis, Ceres, Proserpine, Cybele, &c. One supposes Osiris to signify the efficient cause of things, and Isis, matter; and another thinks Isis denotes nature in general.

^a Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 69.

^b Herod. lib. ii. cap. 60.

living creatures. Vulcan, or *fire*; Ceres, or the *earth*; Oceanus (by which the Egyptians meant their Nile) or *moisture*; and Minerva (called also by that nation Neith) or *air*.

Besides these celestial and eternal gods, there were also terrestrial and mortal deities, who had merited the honours paid them by the benefits they conferred on mankind. Several of them had been kings of Egypt; some of these bore the same names with the celestial gods, and others had proper names of their own. Such were the Sun, Cronus or Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter (called by them Ammon), Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, Hermes or Mercury, Orus, Venus, Pan, Arueris, Nephthys, Harpocrates, and others^b. Serapis is said to have been an upstart deity, introduced by one of the Ptolemies at Alexandria^c; but others suppose that to be only another name for Osiris^d, who was also called Bacchus. As Osiris was supposed to have been of a good and beneficent nature, so his brother Typhon was esteemed the reverse, and held in universal detestation for the evils brought by him on his family and nation. The other names of Typhon were Seth, Bebon, and Smy.

Though the bodies of these mortal deities remained in their sepulchres on earth, yet the Egyptians believed their souls shone in the stars in heaven; the soul of Isis in particular in the Dog-star, called by them Sothis; the soul of Orus in Orion; and that of Typhon in the Bear.

Notwithstanding this polytheism of the Egyptians, they are yet said in reality to have acknowledged one supreme God, the maker and ruler of the world, whom they sometimes denoted by the name of Osiris, or Serapis, sometimes by that of Isis, and at other times by Neith, on whose temple at Saïs was the following remarkable inscription: "I am all that hath been, is, and shall be; and my veil hath no mortal yet uncovered^e." There is also an inscription to Isis still remaining at Capua, to this effect: "To thee, who, being one, art all things, the goddess Isis." The inhabitants of Thebais are reported to have worshipped only the immortal and unbegotten god Cneph, or Emeph; for which reason they were exempt from all contributions towards the maintenance of the sacred animals which were worshipped in the Lower Egypt.

^b Vide Diod. Sic. ubi supra, p. 11. &c. ^c Origen cont. Cels. Tacit. Hist. lib. xx. ^d Plutarch de Isid. & Osir. p. 362. ^e Id. ib. p. 354.

From this god Cneph, they supposed a secondary god proceeded, representing the world, and called Phtha, which word is at present used among the Copts to signify the divine Being.

However, the idolatrous humour which prevailed at first perhaps only in some parts of Egypt, appears at length to have entirely over-run it; and what seems scarcely credible, they came at length to bestow divine honours on several animals, nay, even on vegetables, as leeks and onions; and that with so great variety and disagreement among themselves, that, except some of the principal gods, who were honoured all over the kingdom, the worship of every deity was confined to one or two cities or provinces: whence it came to pass, that a great number of the chief cities of Egypt were by the Grecians named after the gods or animals that were worshipped there; as Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter; Heliopolis, or the city of the sun; and in the like manner others bore the names of Pan, Apollo, Latona, Hermes, Hercules, and Venus; and also of the Dog, the Lion, the Wolf, the Crocodile, the fishes Latos, Oxyrynchus, Phagrus, &c.

This diversity of worship was sometimes attended with very ill consequences, especially if their deities happened to be such as were naturally enemies to one another; the inhabitants of one place often paying their adoration to that kind of animals which were held in the greatest abhorrence by their neighbours. Hence proceeded inveterate quarrels, and dangerous wars, as happened in particular between those of Heracleopolis who worshipped the ichneumon, and those of Arsinoe who worshipped the crocodile; and, to mention no more, between the cities of Oxyrynchus and Cynopolis, the former of which sacrificed and eat dogs, the deity of the latter, in revenge for their eating that sort of fish which was the object of their own worship. It was thought, however, that the kings themselves, out of policy, first occasioned, or at least encouraged and fomented these dissensions, to divert the people from attempting any thing against the state; for Diodorus tells us, that one of their first and most prudent kings, finding the Egyptians very prone to sedition, enjoined to each province the worship of some particular animal different from all the rest, and likewise to use a different diet; so that the Egyptians being thus divided into so many distinct societies, prejudiced against each other in religious matters, and mutually despising one another on account of their different customs in the ordinary

dinary affairs of life, there was no likelihood of their ever uniting again ^c.

It would be rather tedious than entertaining, to set down all the fables and uncertain traditions, which might be found in ancient authors concerning the Egyptian gods; some of them may perhaps be occasionally taken notice of hereafter; wherefore we shall proceed to give an account of the images by which they represented those deities that were most peculiar to this nation, and likewise of their sacrifices, festivals, and religious ceremonies.

Osiris was variously represented, sometimes by a scepter and eye, to express his power and providence; at other times by the image of an hawk, because of its sharp sight, swiftness, and other qualities; and in later times in an human form, in a posture not very decent, signifying his generative and nutritive faculty^d; but the greatest adoration was paid to his living image, the bull, as we shall observe by-and-by.

The image of Isis was usually in the form of a woman, with cow's horns on her head^e, representing the appearance of the moon in her increase and decrease, and holding the sistrum (a kind of cymbal) in her right-hand, and a pitcher in her left; the former signifying the perpetual motion there is in nature, and the other the fecundity of the Nile. But sometimes she was represented as Cybele, with her body full of breasts, to express her nourishing all things^f.

The statue of Serapis was of an human form, with a basket or bushel on his head, signifying plenty; his right-hand leaned on the head of a serpent, whose body was wound round a figure with three heads expressing a dog, a lion, and a wolf; in his left-hand he held a measure of a cubit length, as it were to take the height of the waters of the Nile.

Jupiter, or Ammon, the Egyptians represented by an image with the head of a ram; the reason of which figure they say was this; Hercules, being very desirous to see Jupiter, did not, without great difficulty, obtain his request; for the god was unwilling to be seen; but at length Jupiter yielded to his importunity, and, having separated the head from the body of a ram, and flayed the whole carcase, he put on the skin with the wool, and in that form shewed himself to Hercules. And, in this

^c Diod. ubi supra, p. 80.

^d Plut. ubi supra, p. 371.

^e Herodotus, ubi supra.

^f Apuleium Metam. lib. ii.

manner of representing Jupiter, the Egyptians were imitated by the Ammonians, a colony of them and the Ethiopians.

The other more famous deities of the Egyptians were Anubis, Harpocrates, Orus, and Canopus. The first was usually painted with the head of a dog, because he accompanied Osiris in his expedition, cloathed in a dog's skin, and was the guard of him and Isis. Sometimes this deity is confounded with Hermes, and then the dog's head may denote his great sagacity. Harpocrates was the son of Isis, begotten, as is said, by Osiris on her after his death; for which reason he was weak in his lower limbs. This was the god of silence, being therefore usually represented with his finger on his mouth; he was always placed near the statues of Osiris and Isis, to intimate that their having been once mortals, was not to be spoken of. Orus is often confounded with Apollo; he was the son of Isis and Osiris; generally represented as a child wrapped up in swaddling-cloaths; and sometimes, by those of Coptos, as holding in one hand the privities of Typhon. Canopus was the pilot of Osiris's ship, whose soul, after his death, migrated into the fixed star of that name, which is one of the first magnitude, but not visible in Europe. This god became famous for the victory obtained by him over the Chaldean god, Fire: the story of which is this; the Chaldeans carried about their god, to combat with those of other provinces, all which it easily overcame and destroyed, none of their images being able to resist the force of Fire, till at length the priest of Canopus devised this artifice; he took an earthen water-pot full of holes, which he stopped up with wax, and, having filled it with water, painted it over; and, placing the head of an old image upon it, produced it as a god. In the conflict, the wax being soon melted, the water rushed out, and quickly extinguished the fire. In memory of this victory, Canopus is usually represented in the manner we have just described, without arms, and having scarce any feet to be seen. Yet others suppose these were really no more than vessels filled with the water of the Nile, which the ancient Egyptians used also to worship.

Of the sacred animals adored by the Egyptians, none was held in so great reverence as the bull, by which they represented Osiris. There were two of this kind kept in Egypt, one at Memphis, called Apis, by the Grecians Epaphus; and the other at Heliopolis, called Mnevis;
this

this last was black, and the honours paid to him were inferior to those due to Apis. The Apis was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and no otherwise to be impregnated (as the Egyptians imagined) than by thunder. The marks which distinguished him from all others were these; his body was black, except one square of white on the forehead; he had the figure of an eagle on his back; a double list of hair on his tail, and a knot like a beetle under his tongue. Others reckon no less than twenty-nine marks peculiar to this beast. They sacrificed bulls to Apis, but were so nice in the choice of them, that if they found but one black hair upon them, they judged them unclean. This search was made by the priest with the utmost precaution; after which he drew out his tongue, to see if he were clean in that part; and in the last place he examined his tail, to see whether the hairs were natural, and as they ought to be. The beast being found without blemish, the priest tied a label about his horns, and, sealing it with his signet, ordered him to be taken away and secured; for it was death to sacrifice any beast of this kind that was not marked with such a seal. The order and ceremony of the sacrifice was thus; the victim being brought to the altar, they immediately kindled a fire; and, pouring wine upon him, they offered their prayers to the god. Then, killing the beast, they flayed him, and struck off his head, which they carried, with many imprecations, to the market, or other public place, and sold it to some Grecian if they met with any; but if no such person were to be found, they threw it into the river, with this form of execration; "may the evils impending over the persons now sacrificing, or the Egyptians in general, fall upon this head." This ceremony of libation, and the manner of devoting the head of the victim, was an universal practice over all Egypt; for which reason no Egyptian would eat of the head of any animal. But in the choice of their victims, there were different customs in different places.

When the Apis died, and his funeral pomp was over, the priests, whose province it was, sought out for another with the same marks; and when they had found him, the lamentations immediately ceased. The priests led the calf first into the city of Nile, where he was fed for forty days; from thence he was transported in a vessel with a gilded cabin to Memphis, as their god, and turned into the grove of Vulcan. For forty days women only were admitted into his presence; after which time they were
not

to the Time of Alexander.

not permitted to see the new god. The reason they gave for this worship was, that the soul of Osiris migrated into a bull of this sort, and by a successive transmigration passed from one to another, as often as one died, and another was found. But others say, that it was because, when Osiris was killed by Typhon, Isis threw his limbs into a wooden cow, covered with fine linen, from whence the city of Busiris received its name.

The festival of Isis was celebrated with the utmost solemnity. On the vigil they fasted, and prayed; then they sacrificed a bullock, taking out the bowels, but leaving the fat, with the most noble parts, in the carcase; cutting off the legs, rump, neck, and shoulders, and filling the body with fine bread, honey, dried raisins, figs, incense, myrrh, and other perfumes, they proceeded to the consecration, pouring in great quantities of oil. They sacrificed fasting, beating themselves all the while the flesh lay on the fire; but afterwards they feasted on the remainder. The offerings of this kind of cattle, whether young or old, were to be unblemished males; for the females, being sacred to Isis, could not be offered. When a cow died, they threw her into the river; but a bull was buried without the cities, one horn, and sometimes both, being left above ground as a mark of the grave. The flesh being perfectly consumed, and nothing but the bare bones left, they were transported to an island of the Delta, called Prosopitis, from whence vessels were dispatched to several parts of the kingdom, to collect the bones, and carry them away, and bury them together; the same ceremony was observed in relation to other cattle; for the Egyptians were forbidden to kill any.

Jupiter was principally worshipped at Thebes, thence named Diospolis; they esteemed the ram sacred on that deity's account, and, abstaining from sheep, sacrificed goats only; however once a year, at the festival of Jupiter, they killed a ram, and, flaying the carcase, put the skin on the statue of the god, bringing at the same time an image of Hercules into his presence, in memory of what we have related above concerning these two gods; after which, every one present gave the ram a blow, and he was buried in a consecrated coffin.

The inhabitants of Mendes, on the other hand sacrificed sheep, and no goats; because they worshipped Pan, whom they took to be one of the eight most ancient gods, and always represented him with the face and legs of a goat, just as the Grecians did; not that they imagined

him to have been really of that shape (for they believed him to be like other gods), but for some mystical reason. Though the Mendefians had a religious veneration both for the male and female goat, yet they had a greater esteem for the former, and paid great reverence to goat-herds; particularly to one, who at his death was universally lamented. In the Egyptian tongue, Mendes signified both Pan and a goat.

To the Moon they sacrificed when she was at the full. The victims offered to her were swine, which the Egyptians held to be impure animals, and were forbidden to offer them to any other deities, than to that planet and Bacchus. When they made their sacrifice to the Moon, and had killed the victim, they put the end of the tail, with the spleen and fat, into the caul, and burning them on the sacred fire, eat the rest of the flesh on the day of the new moon, though they would not have tasted it at any other time. Those whose poverty would not admit of the expence of this sacrifice, moulded a piece of paste into the shape of a hog, and offered it in sacrifice.

At the festival of Bacchus, though every one was obliged to kill a hog before the door of his house in the evening, yet they instantly returned the carcase to the swine-herd of whom it was bought. The rest of this festival was celebrated in the same manner in Egypt as in Greece; excepting that, instead of the phallus, the Egyptian women carried about little images of a cubit in height, each having a priapus almost as big as the rest of its body, and so contrived with strings as to move. With these the women marched in procession, all the while singing the praises of Bacchus.

They did not think it sufficient in Egypt to solemnize the festivals of their gods at annual periods only; but they had several times in the year appointed for that purpose, when they visited, with great devotion, the several cities where the particular deities were worshipped.

Those of Isis at Busris, and of Jupiter at Thebes, we have already mentioned; only, in respect to the former, we must add, that, after the sacrifices were duly performed, the men and women who met together on that occasion, to the number of many thousands, disciplined themselves with an instrument our author (Herodotus) dared not discover. In which devotion the Carians who lived in Egypt surpassed all others, cutting their foreheads with swords. The other most remarkable festivals were those of Diana, at Bubastis, which was the Egyptian name of
that

that goddess; of Minerva, at Sais; of the Sun, at Heliopolis; of Latona, at Butus; and of Mars, at Papremis. Those who assembled on such solemn occasions at Heliopolis and Butus, offered sacrifices only, without any farther ceremony; but the other festivals deserve a more particular description.

That of Diana, in the city of Bubastis, was observed after this manner; great numbers of men and women embarked promiscuously together, and during the voyage some of the women beat on the tabor, whilst certain men played on the pipe; the rest of both sexes singing and striking their hands together at the same time. They stopped at every city in their way, where, during their stay, the women were partly employed in their music, and partly in railing at the women of the place where they had stopped, or in dancing and shewing themselves naked. At length being arrived at Bubastis, they celebrated the festival with numerous sacrifices, and consumed more wine than in all the rest of the year; for the concourse of people upon this occasion was reported to amount to seven hundred thousand men and women, besides children.

When they met to sacrifice to Minerva at Sais, they hung up by night a great number of lamps filled with oil mixed with salt, round every house, the tow swimming on the surface. These burned during the whole night, and the festival was thence named, "the lighting of lamps." The Egyptians who were not present at this solemnity, observed the same ceremonies, wherever they happened to be; and lamps were lighted that night, not only at Sais, but throughout all Egypt. The reasons for using these illuminations, and paying so great respect to this night, were kept secret.

At Papremis a very extraordinary custom was observed; for, after having gone through the usual form of worship, a few of the priests, towards the setting of the sun, attended about the image of Mars, whilst the far greater part of them posted themselves before the gates of the temple with staves or clubs in their hands; on the other hand, a company of men, who had devoted themselves to this service, and frequently amounted to above a thousand, armed in like manner, drew up opposite to the priests, who guarded the avenues of the temple. The image of the god, which was kept in a gilded wooden shrine, and had been removed out of the temple on the eve of the festival, and placed in another chapel, was

drawn by those few who were appointed to attend it, together with the shrine in which it stood, on a four-wheeled chariot, back again to the temple. But the priests who guarded the entrance, refusing to give them admittance, the before mentioned votaries, in duty to the god, fell on their adversaries with their clubs: a violent conflict ensued, the blows being chiefly dealt on the head, insomuch, that in all probability many must have died of their bruises, though the Egyptians would never allow that any life was lost. The inhabitants of the place accounted for this barbarous institution, by relating, that Mars, having been educated abroad till he attained to man's estate, and coming home to see his mother, who was an inhabitant of this sacred place, her servants having never seen him, refused to admit him, and forcibly drove him away. Whereupon, retiring to another city, he got together a good number of men, and, returning, fell upon his mother's servants, and entered by force; in commemoration of which action this combat was instituted.

But there was nothing so remarkable in the Egyptian religion, as the preposterous worship that nation paid to animals; such as the cat, the ichneumon, the dog, the ibis, the wolf, the crocodile, and several others, which they had in high veneration as well dead as living. Whilst those animals were living, they had lands set apart for the maintenance of each kind; and both men and women were employed in feeding and attending them, the children succeeding their parents in the office, which was so far from being declined, or thought despicable, by the Egyptians, that they gloried in it as an high honour, wearing certain badges and ensigns, by which, being distinguished at a distance, they were saluted by bending the knee, and other demonstrations of respect. To these, and to the deities they served, the inhabitants of the several cities where they were worshipped, offered up their prayers; in particular for the recovery of their children, whose heads they shaved sometimes all over, sometimes only one half, or a third part, and putting the hair into one ballance, and silver into the other, when the silver preponderated, they gave it to the keepers of the animals, who therewith provided food for them, which was usually fish cut in pieces; but the ichneumons and cats were sometimes fed with bread and milk.

If a person killed any of these sacred animals designedly, he was punished with death; if by accident, his punishment

ment was referred to the discretion of the priests; but if a man killed either a cat, an hawk, or an ibis, whether with design or not, he was to die without mercy; the enraged multitude hurrying away the unfortunate person to certain death, sometimes without any formal process or trial; an instance of which is given in a Roman, who happening accidentally to kill a cat, the mob immediately gathered about the house where he was, and neither the intreaties of some principal men, sent by the king, nor the fear of the Romans, with whom they were then negotiating a peace, could save the man's life. For this reason, if any one by chance found one of these creatures dead, he stood at a convenient distance from it, and with great lamentation protested, that he found it dead. And, what may seem still more incredible, it is reported that, in time of a famine, which drove the inhabitants to the cruel necessity of devouring one another, there was no one person accused of having tasted of any of these sacred animals.

The extravagant worship which the Egyptians paid to these deities; as to the bulls at Memphis and Heliopolis, the goat at Mendes, the lion at Leontopolis, and the crocodile at the lake Mœris (Q), and to many others in different places, exceeds all belief; for they were kept in consecrated inclosures, and well attended by men of high rank, who, at a great expence, provided victuals for them, which consisted of the greatest dainties, such as the finest flour boiled in milk, cakes of several sorts, made with honey, and the flesh of geese boiled and roasted. Those who fed on raw meat were supplied with several sorts of birds, and moreover washed in hot baths, anointed with most precious ointments, and perfumed with the most odoriferous scents: they lay on the richest carpets

(Q) The crocodile seems to be the last animal to which mankind could be tempted to pay divine adoration. That it might be done with safety, one of these creatures were trained up to be tame and familiar for the purpose, and had his ears adorned with strings of jewels and gold, and his fore-feet with chains. He was fed with consecrated provisions at the public charge; and, when strangers went to see him out of curiosity, they also carried him a present of a cake, dressed meat, and wine, or a drink made with honey, which was offered to him by the priests; one opening his mouth, and the other feeding him. When he died, his body was embalmed, and buried in a sacred coffin at Arsinoe.

and other costly furniture; and, that they might want nothing to make their lives happy, they had the most beautiful females, of their several kinds, provided for them, to which the Egyptians gave the title of their concubines.

When any of these animals died, they lamented them as if they had been their dearest children, and frequently laid out more than they were worth in their funeral: as an instance of which, it is said, that in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, the Apis dying of old age (R) at Memphis, his keeper bestowed no less than fifty talents of silver, or almost 13,000*l.* over and above all his substance, in burying him. We are told, that some keepers of these creatures had squandered away 100,000 talents, a most immense sum, in their maintenance. In whatever house a cat died, all the family shaved their eye-brows; and, if a dog, their whole body; nor would they make use of any provision which happened to be in the house at such times. In case of a fire there was generally great lamentation among the Egyptians on account of their cats; for though, when such accidents happened, they took greater care to preserve the cats than their houses, yet many of them perished in the flames. The dead bodies of the sacred animals were wrapped up in fine linen, anointed with oil of cedar, and other aromatic preparations, to preserve them from putrefaction, and buried in sacred coffins. Dead cats were carried to be interred to the city of Bubastis; hawks and the mole, to Butus; dogs, bears, (of which there are but few in Egypt), and a small kind of wolves no bigger than foxes, were buried where they were found dead; and, in performing this last honour to them the Egyptians were so exact, that when they had been abroad in foreign wars, they frequently brought home dead cats and hawks, which they interred with great demonstrations of sorrow, and no small expence, though, at the same time, they often wanted necessaries. How absurd and ridiculous soever these superstitions may seem, yet various reasons were alleged to justify and defend them; though the priests generally affected silence on these occasions, referring all to certain mysteries which they might not reveal. The

(R) This contradicts that a certain time; after which assertion of some, that the apis the priests drowned him in a was not suffered to live beyond sacred fountain (1).

first reason alleged was from the fabulous tradition that the gods, in the early ages, were obliged to transform themselves into several kinds of animals, to avoid the assaults and cruelties of men, who had conspired against them; but afterwards, out of gratitude for the many benefits bestowed by them on mankind, those in power ordained, that the creatures, whose shapes the gods had assumed, should be well maintained while they lived, and honourably buried when they died.

Some pretended this worship had the following original. The ancient Egyptians being often routed by their neighbours, for want of a regular disposition of their troops, at length, invented the use of standards, to distinguish the different companies; and for that end, fixed the images of the animals they afterwards adored, on so many spears, and caused the leaders to carry them at the head of each troop; by which means every man knew his post. Their observing this order often gained them the victory, the honour of which they ascribed to the animals whose figures they had used for ensigns. Others will have these images to have been made use of in the most early times, to distinguish the first civil societies who united for mutual defence against the violence of their fellow-creatures.

A third reason is taken from the great use and service the several animals are of to mankind; as the ox for tilling the land, the sheep for supplying milk and wool, the dog for guarding the house and hunting, the ibis and hawk for destroying the serpents and noxious insects, the crocodile for defending the country against the incursions of the Arabian robbers, the ichneumon for preventing the too great multiplication of the crocodiles, and the cat for its service against the asp and other venomous reptiles.

But men of better judgment, not satisfied with these reasons, which seemed to them too weak to excuse practices so dishonourable to paganism, and at which they blushed in private, urged something more specious in favour of them, by pretending, that the worship paid by the Egyptians to animals, did not terminate in the animals themselves, but in the gods, whose symbols they were, and to whom they had some peculiar relation. The philosophers, say they, honoured the image of God wherever they met with it, even in inanimate beings, and consequently much more in those which partake of life. They therefore are to be commended who worship not the creatures, but the supreme Deity through them, which ought

to be esteemed as so many mirrors offered us by nature, reflecting the divine image; or as so many instruments of God in the support and preservation of the world. Wherefore, if statues should be adorned with all the gold and precious stones in the world, it is not to them that men should direct their worship; for the divine nature cannot dwell in the artful disposition of colours, nor in matter which is subject to decay, and destitute both of sense and motion. They add, that as the sun, moon, heaven, earth, and sea, are common to all men, but have different names in different nations, so there is but one Mind, and one Providence, which governs the universe, and has several subordinate ministers, though called by different names, and worshipped in divers manners, and with different ceremonies, according to the laws and customs of every country.

Agreeably to this notion, they pretended that the hawk was an emblem of the supreme Deity, because of its piercing sight and swiftness; the asp, the cat, and the beetle, were also honoured as images of the divine power; the first as not subject to old age, and moving without the assistance of limbs; the cat, because they imagined she conceived by her ear, and brought forth her young by her mouth, representing the generation of speech; and the beetle, because they supposed there was no female in the whole species. The crocodile also they took to be another image of the Deity, because, of all animals, it has no tongue, which organ God has no occasion for.

The relation the sacred animals bore to some particular gods, or the services they had rendered on some particular occasions, or their being typical resemblances of some parts of nature, are also mentioned as further reasons for the great respect shewn them. Thus it is said, that dogs were worshipped because they guided Isis when she sought for the body of Osiris, which they had guarded from wild beasts; though this creature afterwards lost much of its reputation by eating part of the ap^{is}, which had been killed by Cambyfes, when no other animal approached the dead body: they alleged that the hawk was deified because one of those birds, in ancient times, brought a book to the priests of Thebes, tyed round with a scarlet thread, containing the rites and ceremonies which were to be observed in the worship of the gods; for which reason the sacred scribes wore a scarlet fillet, with a hawk's feather on their heads: that the wolf was adored, because Osiris arose in that shape from the infer-
nal

nal regions, and assisted Isis and her son Orus in the battle against Typhon, wherein that usurper was slain; or else because, when the Ethiopians once broke into Egypt, a great company of wolves fell upon the invaders, and drove them beyond Elephantis, whence that nome was called Lycopolites; though others give no other reason for the respect paid them, than the near relation they bore to dogs: that the crocodile attained this honour, because one of those creatures saved Menas, an ancient king of Egypt, from being worried by his own dogs, which pursued him to the lake Mæris, where a crocodile took him on his back, and carried him to the other side of the lake: that the cat was revered as an emblem of the moon, for its various spots, fruitfulness, and activity in the night: and the goat, the most lustful of all creatures, was the hieroglyphic of that violent impulse by which men are urged to propagate their species; and, in honouring this animal, they testified their gratitude to the gods for the populousness of their country^d.

Not to take up the reader's time in enumerating the other animals worshipped in the several parts of Egypt, we shall conclude what we intend to say of them with Herodotus's account of the phoenix, which fable has given rise to whatever has been since related of that imaginary bird. He tells us, that the phoenix was one of the sacred birds, which he himself had never seen but in effigy; for he appeared in Egypt but once in five hundred years, immediately after the death of his father, as those of Heliopolis affirmed. The painters represented him with a plumage of crimson and gold, and of the shape and size of an eagle. They pretended he came from Arabia, and brought the body of his father embalmed, which he buried in the temple of the Sun. And this duty he performed in the following manner: first, he moulded as much myrrh as he could carry into the shape of an egg, and, having tried its weight, hollowed the egg, and put his father into it; he then stopped up the aperture again with myrrh, in such proportion, that the weight of the whole might equal that of the egg before the body was put in, and carried it to Heliopolis^e.

The Egyptians were the first who assigned each month and day to a particular deity, and observed the times of each person's nativity, by which they judged of their fu-

Some other institutions of the Egyptians.

^d Diodorus Siculus, ubi supra, p. 78, &c.
ubi supra.

^e Herodotus,

ture fortunes. They carefully registered all prodigies (in which their country is said to have abounded more than any other), with an account of their consequences; supposing that, if the like happened at another time, the event would be the same. However, they did not pretend to foretel any thing themselves, but all predictions were delivered by the gods. For, if they were not the first nation which erected oracles, and introduced the custom of consulting them, it is however allowed, that the most ancient and famous oracles among the heathens, particularly those of Jupiter in Lybia, and at Dodona, owed their original to Egypt.

There were several oracles in Egypt; those of Hercules, Apollo, Minerva, Diana, Mars, and Jupiter; but those which they revered, above all others, were the oracle of Latona, in the city of Butus; and, in after-times, that of Serapis at Alexandria. The sacred animals also had their several oracles; as the apis, the goat, the lion, and the crocodile. The manner of consulting the apis, was by observing into which chamber, of the two that were prepared for him, he entered; his going into one being construed as a propitious sign, and his entering the other as a bad omen; or else they offered him food, and, from his accepting, or refusing it, concluded the answer favourable, or the contrary. It is said, that Germanicus Cæsar consulting this oracle, not long before his death, the apis would not eat out of his hand.

We must not forget the human sacrifices which are said to have been offered by the ancient Egyptians. As red oxen were allowed to be sacrificed because of their resemblance to Typhon, who, it is said, was red-haired; so men of that complexion were reported to have been slain, in former times, by their kings, at the tomb of Osiris; but, few of the Egyptians, having red hair, strangers were the usual victims; whence it is supposed, the fable so current among the Greeks, of the cruelty of Busiris to strangers, took its rise; not from any king of that name, but because Osiris's tomb was so called in the Egyptian tongue. Men were also, in old times, sacrificed at Heliopolis, and to Juno or Lucina, at a city in Upper Thebais, called by the name of that goddess, who was worshipped there under the form of a vultur. These human victims were to be approved of in the same manner as the calves that were searched and sealed as clean; and three were sacrificed every day in the dog-days, being burnt alive, and their ashes scattered abroad: to these
unhappy

unhappy men they gave the epithet of Typhonian*. This barbarous custom was abolished by Amasis, who ordered that so many images of wax should be offered in their stead^f; and there was so little remembrance of it left in the days of Herodotus, that, mentioning a fable of the Grecians, implying, that when Hercules arrived in Egypt, the Egyptians, designing to sacrifice him to Jupiter, conducted him to the altar with great ceremony, but that he delivered himself, by killing all who were present; that historian judges those who invented the story utterly ignorant of the Egyptian laws and customs. For how, says he, can we imagine, that a people forbidden to kill any kind of animal, except geese, swine, and such bulls and calves as they find without blemish (S), would sacrifice men^g? However, that there was really such a custom, seems undeniable from good authority, and is confirmed by the impress of the priest's seal, which was set on the oxen that were to be sacrificed, and on which a man was engraved kneeling, with his hands bound behind him, and a sword at his throat^h. We have formerly mentioned the human sacrifices which were offered to the Nile, according to a tradition of the Egyptians; but we do not find any notice taken of them in ancient authors.

We have mentioned the worship of leeks and onions as one part of the Egyptian superstition; but as the historians are silent on this head, we imagine the satirist, to heighten the ridicule, might go a little beyond strict truth; though there might possibly be some foundation for such an opinion, from the scrupulous abstinence of some of that nation from particular vegetables, as lentiles, beans, and onions; the latter of which the priests abominated, as some pretend, because Dictys, who had been brought up by Isis, was drowned in seeking after them; or, rather, because onions alone, of all plants, thrive when the moon is in the waneⁱ.

Before we quit this subject, the structure of the Egyptian temples deserves some notice. The first thing which

* Manetho apud Pophyr. de Abst. lib. ii. cap. 55. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iv. cap. 16. & Plut. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 380. ^f Idem. ^g Herodot. ^h Plutarch. ⁱ Plutarch. p. 353. Diod. p. 80.

(S) From this passage, and never lawful for the Egyptians what has been said above, we to appease the gods with cattle cannot but think those mistaken or blood, but only with prayers who have asserted, that it was and incense (2).

(2) Vide Macrob. Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 7.

offered itself to the view was, an avenue, or stone pavement, of a plethron, that is, of about one hundred feet in breadth, or something less, and about three or four times as long, having on each side a row of sphinxes, twenty cubits distant from each other. This avenue led to a portico, behind which was a second, and sometimes a third (the number of these porticos being not always the same.) The temple itself consisted of a spacious and magnificent court, and a well proportioned chapel, in which was generally no image (for the Egyptians, in the more early times, used none); or if there were any, it was not of human form, but in the shape of some irrational animal.

The miscellaneous customs of the Egyptians.

Few nations in the world observed their original laws and customs so long as the Egyptians; and their exactness in observing ordinances of a higher nature was not to be admired, considering their strict attachment to their own usages and manners in trivial things; for a new custom was a prodigy, in Egypt.

In the education of their children they were very careful, but they brought them up with great frugality, feeding them with cheap broths, made of common things, and with the stems of the papyrus roasted under the ashes, and the stalks and roots of other plants which grew in the marshes, sometimes raw, and sometimes dressed. They went, for the most part, naked and barefoot, during their childhood, because of the warmth of the climate; so that the whole expence of a child, from his birth till he arrived at the state of manhood, did not exceed twenty drachmæ, or about thirteen shillings. As to the instruction they gave their children, the priests taught them two sorts of letters, those called sacred, and those in which their common learning was written; but exercised them chiefly in geometry and arithmetic: however, there were few of the inferior classes who learned to write and read, except the tradesmen. But, that they might be useful members of the common wealth, and enabled to maintain themselves, they began very early to learn their paternal art, or profession, either from their fathers, or near relations. Music and wrestling they never taught their children, as disapproving them both; the first they deemed not only useless, but even hurtful, serving only to emasculate the mind; and the other they believed did not tend to the preservation of health, the strength gained by it being of short duration, and the exercise itself dangerous. One particular of the education of the Egyptian youth was very commendable; for they were taught to behave with great

respect towards their elders, being obliged to rise up from their seats, and to retire, at the approach of those that were more aged; which custom was also practised at Sparta^f.

As to the diet of the Egyptians, we have already made some occasional observations on that subject; to which we may add, that, among them, it was a reproach to eat bread made of barley or wheat; instead of which, they used a fine flour, called by some *olyra*, and by others *zea*, what we call spelt; and this bread they named *collestis*, probably from its glutinous quality. Their usual drink was the water of the Nile, which is very agreeable to the taste, and so fattening, that they never gave it to the apes, lest he should grow too corpulent^g. It is true, the water of this river is somewhat muddy; but the Egyptians have a way of clarifying it, by rubbing the vessel with pounded almonds^h. Their better sort of drink, or wine, as Herodotus calls it, was made of barley, because they had anciently no vines in that country, or, rather, did not cultivate them; nor do they yet, in any other part than the province of *Al Feyyûm*ⁱ. So that we are, probably, indebted to this nation for the invention of beer.

The Egyptians abstained from several sorts of animals, in different parts of the kingdom, according to the different deities they worshipped; but they all agreed in the aversion they had to swine's flesh, which was accounted, by them, so impure, that if a man but touched one of those animals by accident, he went immediately, and plunged himself in the river, with his cloaths on; and, for this reason, hogherds alone, of all the Egyptians, were not suffered to enter any of their temples; neither would any man give his daughter in marriage to one of that profession, or take a wife born of such parents: so that they were forced to marry among themselves. They eat fish, either pickled, or dried in the sun; and also quails, ducks, and smaller birds, preserved in salt, without any other preparation: all other birds or fishes, except such as they accounted sacred, they eat, without scruple, either boiled or roasted. Those who dwelt in the marshes fed on several plants which annually grow there, particularly, on the lotus, of which they made a sort of bread; and on the lower stems of the papyrus, the head of which was reserved for other uses.

^f Herod. cap. xx.

^g Plutarch de Isid. & Osir. p. 353.

^h Sicard, Mém. des Mûs. vol. ii. p. 13.

ⁱ Lucas, vol. ii. p. 266.

At their principal feasts it was their custom, when they began to taste the wine after supper, to bring in a coffin with the image of a dead man carved in wood, and painted, of one or two cubits in length, or, as others say, a real corpse; which was carried about to all the company, by a person appointed for that purpose, who repeated these words distinctly: "Look upon this, and be merry; for such as this is, shalt thou be, when thou art dead." This image some will have to be that of Maneros, in memory of whom they sung a mournful song at their entertainments, which they called by his name. Of this person there are various traditions: the Egyptians made him the son of their first king, who died in the flower of his age; others say he was the son of a king of Byblus, in Phœnicia, who was so frightened by the angry look of Isis, for prying too narrowly into her behaviour towards the dead body of Osiris, that he died soon after. This Maneros is reported to have been the first inventor of music; for which reason, and the conformity of the song to that sung by other nations in honour of the Grecian Linus, Herodotus supposes him to be the same with that poet: but, after all, some pretend Maneros was not the name of a person, but of the song itself; and that the dead image represented the fate of Osiris.

The Egyptians were very cleanly, both at their meals, and in other respects, carefully scouring the drinking vessels, which were of brass, every day; and using frequent ablutions and purifications. They scrupulously avoided eating with strangers, as unclean; and for neatness, chiefly, it was, that they circumcised themselves, which was a custom among them from time immemorial, and esteemed by them so necessary, that Pythagoras, to have the liberty of conversing with the Egyptian priests, and entering into their temples, was obliged to submit to this operation. One of the fathers tells us, they were circumcised at the age of fourteen²; but whence he had his information, we do not know.

The habit of this nation was, a linen vest, fringed at the bottom, which they called calasiris; and over that they wore a white mantle of woollen cloth; but to enter any of their temples in that upper garment, or to bury their dead in woollen, was accounted profane. Their manner of saluting one another abroad was, by bowing very respectfully, letting their hands fall down to their knees.

² Ambros. de Abrahamo, lib. ii. cap. 11.

The Egyptians, in several of their manners and customs, seemed industriously to act in contradiction to the rest of mankind; for amongst them it was the custom for the women to be employed in trade and business abroad, while the men stayed at home to spin, and minded domestic affairs; and this practice, perhaps, gave occasion to that extraordinary law, by which the sons were not obliged to provide for their parents, but the daughters were. In carrying burdens, the men bore them on their heads, and the women on their shoulders. They used to ease nature at home, and eat publicly in the streets; saying, very justly, that such things as were filthy, though necessary, should be done in private; and such as were decent, in public. They kneaded dough with their feet, and tempered mortar with their hands. And whereas, in other countries, the places destined for cattle were separated from those of the men; in Egypt men and beasts dwelt together. We might mention several other instances of the like singularity.

The great virtue of the Egyptians, wherein they pretended to excel all mankind, was gratitude; which they esteemed to be of the greatest service in life, as the only encouragement to beneficent actions. And for this reason it was, that they honoured their princes as gods, supposing that those whom Providence had exalted to the throne, and endued with both the power and will to do good to mankind, participated, in some measure, of the divine nature. Hence, also, proceeded the great respect they shewed to the remains of their dead ancestors, and their constant endeavour to testify their gratitude to every person and thing from which they received benefit.

The Egyptians are said to have been the first who asserted the immortality of the soul, which, according to their doctrine, when the body was corrupted, entered into some other animal, and passing, by a continual metempsychosis, through the different kinds of animals belonging to the air, earth, and water, returned again into a human body, after the revolution of three thousand years. For this reason they endeavoured, by art, to preserve the body as long as possible, that the soul might be obliged to continue with it, and not soon pass into another, and as the dead bodies, by the means they used, were of long duration, they spared no labour nor cost in building their sepulchres, which they termed their eternal mansions; at the same time being little curious in the structure of their houses, calling them inns, where they

Of their funeral ceremonies.

stayed

stayed but for a short time; whereas they remained in the other for a long course of years.

The mourning for the dead, and funeral rites, in Egypt, were anciently performed in the following manner: when a man of any consideration died, all the women of that family having their heads and faces covered with dirt, their breast bare, and their waists girt, left the body at home, and marching in this garb, attended by all their relations of the same sex, through the streets of the city, lamented the deceased, and beat themselves in a most cruel manner. The men, at the same time, forming another company, mourned after the same method. And this they continued till the corpse was interred, abstaining in the mean time from bathing, from wine, and delicate meats, and laying aside their best attire. The first lamentation being over, the body was carried to those who professed the art of embalming. These shewed the kindred of the deceased several models or patterns in wood, and painted, together with a bill of the charges of each manner of preparation, asking them which they chose; for there were three different ways of preparing dead bodies for burial. One was exquisite and expensive, and cost a talent of silver, or about 258l. 6s. 8d. the second was inferior, and of a moderate price, the charge being twenty minæ, or a fourth part of the former sum; and the third way was very mean, and cost but a trifle. This preliminary being settled, the embalmers took the body, and first drew out the brains through the nostrils with a crooked instrument of iron, and filled the vacancy with different spices. Then one, whom they called the scribe, marked out, on the left side of the belly, how far the incision was to be made; and the parafchistis, whose office it was to make the incision, taking a sharp Ethiopic stone, cut open the body as far as the law ordained, and immediately retired with all possible haste, pursued by those who were present with stones and curses, to turn the execration upon him: for they thought it a very heinous crime to wound, or offer violence to, a dead body; but the taricheutæ, or embalmers, were highly esteemed and respected, conversing with the priests, and being with them admitted, as persons of sanctity, into the more sacred parts of their temples. When these came to dress the dissected body, one of them thrust his hand into it by the wound, and drew out all the intestines; another cleansed all the entrails, washing them with wine of palms, and perfuming them with aromatic odours. Then the body was filled with

with pounded myrrh, cassia, and other odoriferous drugs (frankincense only excepted); and the incision being sewed up, the body was carefully anointed with the oil of cedar, and other ointments, for above thirty days, or else laid in nitre for seventy days, which was the longest time allowed. At the expiration of which term, they washed the whole body, and bound fillets of fine linen round every part, covering it with gum, which the Egyptians used instead of glue. All this was done without disfiguring the body; so that the very hairs remained on the brows and eye-lids, and the resemblance of the countenance was preserved, so as to be easily known^b. The embalmers having performed their parts, the relations received the corpse, and put it into a wooden coffin, which they set upright against the wall of the edifice designed for that purpose. For several of the Egyptians kept their dead at home with them above groundⁱ, in magnificent apartments, having by this means the pleasure of seeing the lineaments of their ancestors, who died many ages before they were born; and they often brought the dried corpse of a friend as a guest to their feasts^k. The way of embalming which we have described was the most costly manner of preserving the dead: those who were unable or unwilling to be at so great an expence, were contented with a more ordinary preparation; which was performed by syringing oil of cedar the common way, without opening the belly, or taking out the bowels, and by laying the body in nitre the number of days above mentioned; at the end of which they let out the oil of cedar by the fundament, which, by a peculiar efficacy, brought away the entrails shrunk and putrefied; the nitre having consumed the flesh, and left nothing but the skin and bones. They then delivered the body to the relations without any farther operation. The third and last manner of preserving the dead, used only for the poorer sort, was performed by cleansing the belly by injected lotions, and salting the body for seventy days, after which it was taken away. The wives of considerable persons, and all women who had been beautiful, and dear to their relations, were not delivered to the embalmers presently after death; but were kept at home three or four days before they were carried out, to prevent those artists from abusing the bodies of such persons;

^b Diodorus Sic. ubi sup. p. 81. Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 85, &c.
ⁱ Cicer. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i. cap. 9. ^k Lucian. de Lucif.

for one of them was caught in such an action, upon the information of his companion. If any Egyptian, or even a stranger, was found killed by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, wherever the body came ashore, the inhabitants were by law obliged, at their own charge, to embalm and place it among the consecrated monuments in the most costly manner; for none of his friends, or relations, or any other, might touch his body, except the priests of the Nile, who buried him with their own hands, as something more than human¹.

When the corpse of the deceased was prepared for the sepulchre, his nearest relations gave public notice of the day when such a man was to pass the lake, in order for his interment, to which the judges and all his friends were invited. At the time prefixed above forty judges assembled, and sat in a semicircle, in a certain place beyond the lake (which we suppose to be that of Mœris). The vessel, whose pilot was, in the Egyptian tongue, called Charon, being hauled up to the shore, before the coffin which contained the body was suffered to embark (T), every one was at liberty to accuse the deceased. If an accuser appeared, and made good his charge, that the deceased had led an ill life, the judges gave sentence accordingly, and the body was denied the usual burial; but if the accuser was convicted of having accused him unjustly, he incurred a severe punishment. If no accuser appeared, or if the accusation proved false, then the relations, laying aside their lamentation, proceeded to recite the praises of the deceased, but took no notice of his descent; for all the Egyptians were held equally noble; having mentioned in what manner he had been brought up and educated, they declared how he had lived and behaved after he had attained to manhood, enlarging on his piety, justice, temperance, and other virtues. The assistants joined their acclamations to this funeral oration, and celebrated the praises of the defunct. Then the body was deposited in the sepulchre of the family; or if they had no sepulchre, they kept it at home in the manner above mentioned. Those that were forbidden to be interred, either for crimes by them committed, or for debt,

¹ Herodot. ubi supr.

(T) This is the sense of the original; though it should rather seem, by the judges sitting on the farther side of the lake, that the corpse was actually ferried over, but was not suffered to be disembarked till sentence had passed.

were deposited privately in their own houses. But it often happened, that the posterity of such persons, growing rich, paid their debts, or obtained their pardon, and buried them in an honourable manner.

It must be acknowledged, that this institution of the Egyptians, in relation to their treatment of dead bodies, was excellently contrived for the encouragement of virtue, and the discouragement of vice. It is very plain that the Greeks took all their fables concerning the infernal judges, and the happiness and punishments of men after death, from this practice of the Egyptians; but Diodorus observes, that instead of bringing men to amendment of life by those fables, they incurred the ridicule and contempt of profligate persons; whereas, in Egypt, the reward of the good, and punishment of the wicked, after death, was not fabulous or imaginary, but really and daily distributed in public, in the sight of all men^m.

The sepulchres wherein the Egyptians deposited the bodies of their dead, were built in various manners, according to the person's condition. The magnificence of the royal tombs has been already hinted; those of the ancient kings of Thebes, as we have observed, could not be exceeded by their posterity. Of the pyramids, which were built for the same purpose, we have spoken sufficiently; and the sepulchre of Osymandyas we shall mention hereafter. The Egyptians of lower quality, at a great expence, cut subterraneous grots, or dormitories, in the rocks, such as those in the Libyan deserts, of which travellers speak so much, calling them catacombs, or mummy-pits. The entrance into them is by a square well, where holes are cut on each side for the convenience of those who descend. These wells are not of equal depth, but the shallowest are above six men's height. At the bottom of the well there is a square opening, and a passage of ten or fifteen feet long, leading into several square vaulted chambers, each side of which are usually fifteen or twenty feet; and in the midst of every one of the four sides of the chamber is a bench cut out of the rock, upon which the embalmed bodies lie. At the head of them there is commonly an idol, at the feet the image of a bird; and on the walls are several hieroglyphics, which perhaps serve for epitaphs. Besides the principal bodies, there are others smaller, and particularly of children, which lie on the ground. Sometimes there are no

^m Diod. ubi supr. p. 38, &c.

less than twenty-five or thirty of these chambers, or grotts, having communication one with another; and the descent to them all is by one well. The stones, of which Strabo observed a great number in a plain between Syene and Philæ, are also by some thought to have been tombs. That author calls them *Hermææ*, from the resemblance they bore to the heaps of stones frequently erected by the highways in honour of Mercury; and he describes them to be great smooth stones, almost spherical, of that hard and black marble, of which mortars were made, placed upon greater stones, and surmounted by others; some of them lying by themselves; the greatest of them was no less than twelve feet diameter, and all above half as bigⁿ.

*Of their
arts and
sciences.*

The ancient Egyptians were the inventors of many useful arts and sciences; and though they did not, perhaps, carry them afterwards to that perfection which might have been expected, since among them every man being obliged to apply himself to his paternal profession, was confined to one particular art or branch of learning only; yet, whoever considers how difficult it is to lay the first foundations of any science, be it ever so small, will allow them great commendation.

As they acknowledge themselves indebted to their first kings for instructing them how to provide the common necessaries and conveniencies of life, so they attributed the honour of the first invention of the sciences to their *Hermes*, or *Mercuries*. How many there were of this name, when they lived, or what they invented or wrote, we shall enquire in another place, contenting ourselves at present with giving a short account of the arts and learning which the Egyptians are supposed to have communicated to the rest of mankind.

That the Egyptians were early famous for wisdom and learning, appears from many ancient writers, and even from the Scriptures themselves; where it is said, to the honour of Moses, that "he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" and, to magnify the wisdom of Solomon, that "it excelled all the wisdom of Egypt." Profane authors also unanimously allow this nation to have been the parent of all philosophical knowledge, and the Egyptians the only men that perfectly understood divine things.

*Of their
geometry.*

Geometry is on all hands agreed to have been first found out in Egypt; and is said to have owed its rise to the setting out and measuring their lands, the bounds of

ⁿ Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 1173.

which

which were annually disturbed by the overflowing of the Nile. How far the Egyptians improved this science, is not very certain; but their skill therein seems not to have been very profound, nor to have extended to all geometrical quantities and subtle theories, like that of the moderns; the utmost they knew was probably no more than plain measuring, and such rules as were of common use in life. For Pythagoras, who travelled into Egypt for the sake of their learning, after his return home offered a hecatomb, on his finding out the proportion of the longest side of a right-angled triangle to the other two; and Thales, who also learned geometry in Egypt, sacrificed an ox to the gods, for joy that he had hit on a method of inscribing a right-angled triangle within a circle; both which inventions they could not have had from the Egyptians, unless we should say, that the Egyptians did not teach them all they knew, or that those two philosophers unjustly arrogated to themselves what they had learned of their masters. Now, if these more simple, though noble, propositions were not then to be found in the Egyptian geometry, much less can it be supposed to have contained those more abstruse theorems, and analytical methods, which were afterwards known, and for which we are indebted to the Greeks, who built so fine a superstructure on the old Egyptian foundation.

As Arithmetic is not only of great use in itself, but absolutely necessary both in the theory and practice of geometry, that science was diligently cultivated in Egypt. That there was in later ages a kind of algebra known in that country, appears from the writings of Diophantus; but that it was not an improvement made by the Grecians, after their settling there, we will not take upon us to affirm; however, it was greatly inferior to the modern algebra in many respects.

Arithmetic.

It is generally supposed that astronomy was also an invention of the Egyptians, who, by reason of the constant serenity of the air, and the flatness of their country, might observe the motion of the heavenly bodies earlier, and with more ease, than other people. Herodotus indeed gives the honour of this invention to the Babylonians; but Diodorus derives the Babylonians themselves, as well as their sciences, originally from Egypt. He attributes the first invention of astronomy to those of Thebes. He says the Egyptians were accurate observers of the places and motions of the stars, and kept registers of their observations for an incredible number of years,

Astronomy.

having addicted themselves to this study in the most early ages; that they were well acquainted with the motions, periods, and stations of the planets, and likewise with their influences and effects; and that, by long experience, they were often able to make surprising predictions of events in life, and to foretel famines, plenty, pestilential diseases, earthquakes, the appearance of comets, and other things, which seemed to exceed human capacity. The phenomena they seem to have observed were indeed the most obvious and easy; but thereby they were directed to adjust the length of the year to the annual revolution of the sun; which this nation first did, by adding to their twelve months, of thirty days a-piece, five additional days, and six hours, while the Greeks and Romans used the more inconvenient form of lunar years, intercalating a month every third year. But the great use they seem to have made of their astronomy was, either for the improvement of husbandry, or else for astrological calculations, to which the Egyptians were much addicted. It is probable they might have a true notion of the system of the world, and of the matter of the planets and fixed stars; for they called the moon an ethereal earth, and affirmed the stars to be fire; however, they were far from having an exact knowledge of the theory of the planetary motions, so as to make any artificial calculations; since Thales was the first man who ventured to foretel an eclipse, and Eudoxus and Ptolemy first reduced the motion of the heavenly bodies into hypotheses and tables.

Medicine.

The science of medicine seems also to have owed its origin to the Egyptians. The invention of it is generally ascribed to Æsculapius, which name was given to Tosorthrus, or Seforthrus, a king of Memphis, and the second of the third dynasty of Manetho, for his great skill in that art. This prince was much more ancient than the Grecian Æsculapius; and though Africanus places him some ages after Athothis, the successor of Menes, supposed to be the same with Thoth, or the first Hermes, yet others make them contemporaries; as they must have been, if this Æsculapius was the same with the son of Sydyce, and the brother of the Cabiri. Athothis is also said to have been a physician, and to have written some books of anatomy; unless we rather ascribe those writings to the second Hermes, who might publish several inventions of the first Hermes, and of Æsculapius; for we are told that, among the Hermaic books, there were six which treated of medicine, and that the first of them was anatomical,

mical. Isis herself is also said to have invented several medicines, and to have taught the art to her son Orus, or Apollo; whence she was held by the Egyptians to be the goddess of health.

The Egyptian physicians, mentioned by Moses, seem rather to have been embalmers than physicians, in the strict sense of the word; unless we suppose both arts were originally professed by the same person; which possibly might be the case, though in after-times it was otherwise; for every physician was not permitted to practise every branch of the art; but it was distributed into distinct parts, and each man applied himself to the cure of one disease only. This custom occasioned a great number of physicians in Egypt; some professing to cure the diseases of the eyes; others, those of the head, teeth, or parts about the belly; some applied themselves to chirurgical operations, whilst others undertook the cure of internal distempers; by which regulation, great improvements might have been expected from them in their several provinces, had not the laws, as it were, shut the door to any future discoveries, by obliging the physicians to prescribe according to fixed rules and receipts, set down in their sacred registers, which had been collected from long observation and experience, and approved by the most famous men of the profession. So long as the physician followed these legal prescriptions, he was safe, let the success of the medicines be what it would; but if once he ventured to depart from them, and to follow his own private judgment, he was answerable for the event, and ran the hazard of his life in case the patient died. It must be confessed, however, that this was a most effectual method to prevent the mischievous practice of empirics. Another particular, observable, with respect to the Egyptian physicians, is, that they had a public provision made for them by law; for which reason, they were not to take any fee from those who happened to be sick in the army, or on a journey, within the kingdom.

The Egyptian medicines seem rather to have been calculated for prevention than cure; they chiefly prescribed evacuations, which they effected either by clysters, potions, or emetics, or else by fasting; and this they repeated every day; or let the patient rest three or four days, according to the case; for they were of opinion, that, in the digestion of all food, the greater part was superfluous; and, loading nature, nursed diseases; for which reason, those who lived in the corn-country used to

vomit and purge themselves every month, three days successively, to preserve health ; though otherwise they were, by nature, very healthful. The better to promote the operation of their medicines, the physicians, together with their proper art, also studied astrology, and their ritual mysteries ; for the Egyptian practice of physic depended much on astrological and magical grounds ; either the influence of some particular planet, or some tutelar demon, was still considered ; which precarious foundations must needs depreciate their skill, and stop any increase of knowledge which might be made on other principles.

Anatomy.

As they began to cultivate anatomy in Egypt very early, and their kings ordered dead bodies to be dissected for the perfection of this art ; it might be presumed they made greater progress therein than we can allow, if two instances that are given of the accuracy of the Egyptian anatomists be genuine. One of their observations was, that there is a particular nerve, which goes from the heart to the little-finger of the left-hand ; for which reason, the Egyptians always wore rings upon that finger, and the priests dipped that finger in their perfumed ointments. And the following reason is given why a man cannot live above one hundred years, because the Alexandrian embalmers observed a constant increase and diminution of the hearts of those sound persons whom they opened, whereby they judged of their age ; finding that the heart of an infant of a year old weighed two drachms, and this weight increased annually, by two drachms every year, till men attained to the age of fifty ; from which they as gradually decreased, till they arrived at an hundred, when, for want of a heart, they necessarily died.

Natural philosophy.

Of the physiology of the old Egyptians (to consider it here distinctly from their theology, which two sciences the ancients constantly joined together, we have not much to say. Their opinion, as to the origin of things, and the mundane revolutions, we have considered elsewhere. Their philosophical doctrines, may best be known by looking into that of the ancient Greeks, who were their scholars, and travelled into Egypt for instruction in the more sublime parts of learning ; it was from this country, in all probability, that Pythagoras brought home the knowledge of that ancient system of the world which bears his name, and is now so generally received ; though it seems to have been part of the secret doctrine of the Egyptians, and not revealed to the vulgar. The ancient
barbarian

barbarian philosophers did not employ their studies in the explication of this, or that particular phænomenon, or direct their enquiries to the examination of things taken singly; it being in vain to expect from them, for example, the cause of the attractive power of the loadstone, or of the colours of the rainbow; what is the substance of fire, and what are the particles of water, or the force of compressed air; but their speculations were about the mundane phænomena, or those which affected universal nature; such as the first beginning of things, their revolutions, periods, and final catastrophe:

But the science for which the Egyptians were particularly famous, and the attainment whereof was esteemed the highest pitch of knowledge, was magic. *Magic.* Some, imagining the invention of this art to exceed human capacity, pretend, the angels who fell in love with the antideluvian women, first taught it; that Ham preserved the principal rules of it at the deluge; and that Mizraim learned these secrets of his father. But others ascribe the invention to Hermes; though it is said to have been much improved by Nechepsos, a king of Egypt. However that be, the art was certainly very ancient in Egypt; they had magicians, who pretended to the interpretation of dreams; and a way of divining by a cup, in the time of Joseph; and very extraordinary instances were given of the power of enchantments in the days of Moses. The professors of magic among the Egyptians were the priests and sacred scribes; two of which order, named Jannes and Jambres, were pitched upon to withstand that prophet. Nor was this science confined to that nation in those early times; from the caution given by Moses to the Israelites against them, it is evident, there were pretenders to it under various denominations, among most of the idolatrous people; and Balaam, in particular, seems to have been a considerable proficient therein. The claim of Zoroastres and the Babylonians to the honour of being the first who practised and taught magic, shall be considered in another place.

What were the real grounds of this science we cannot say; there is an innocent kind of magic, which consists only in an excellent knowledge of nature, and its various powers and qualities, and the application of certain agents, which, by force of some peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar observation and comprehension; but the magical wisdom of the Egyptians according to Scripture, must have been something

something very different from this, or have gone much beyond what we are now masters of, notwithstanding those vast and various discoveries which have been lately made in the properties of natural bodies.

*And other
arts.*

Some of the other arts of the Egyptians, which were less considerable, we have already occasionally taken notice of. The Greek writers tell us, that in Egypt, no trade, no profession, however mean, was reckoned ignoble; husbandmen, and those who fed cattle, in particular, were much considered; though the latter, in some parts of the country, were not suffered, but counted an abomination; the reason of which was chiefly the difference in religion. For the skill of the Egyptians in architecture, mechanics, painting, and sculpture, we need only refer to what we have said in the preceding section. As to the last, their statuaries are said to have worked by the most methodical rules of proportion, and not by the eye, as the Grecians did; and they judged of the exactness of the symmetry by the same. They divided the whole body into twenty-one parts and one fourth; and, after the artists who were employed had come to a resolution as to the size of the statue, they went home, each taking his task, which they performed with singular skill, and made the several parts proportionable to one another, with a surprising exactness. It is said, the most famous statuaries among the ancients lived some time in Egypt; particularly Telecles and Theodorus, the sons of Rhœcus, who made the famous statue of Apollo Pythius in Samos, after the Egyptian manner; for it was divided into two parts, from the head to the groin; Telecles cutting one half in Samos, and his brother the other at Ephesus; which, being joined together, fitted so exactly, that they seemed to have been made by one hand; and this seemed the more admirable, considering the attitude of the statue, which had its hands stretched out, and its legs at a distance from each other, in a moving posture. It must be owned, however, that the ancient Egyptian statues, still extant, are extremely deficient in elegance and proportion.

*Of their
navigation
on the Nile.*

The vessels, which the old Egyptians made use of on the Nile, were of a particular construction; they were made of the acantha, or Egyptian thorn; from which were cut small planks, about two cubits square; these pieces of timber the artist set together like tiles, and fastened with a great number of long pins; and when the whole was thus well compacted, he erected benches for
the

the rowers; for they used no kind of ribs, or bent timber, in their work, but secured the joints of the inside with bands of papyrus. They had but one rudder, which passed quite through the keel, a mast of acantha, and a sail made of the papyrus. These vessels were very unfit to go up the river against the stream, and therefore were always towed up, unless the wind proved very fresh and favourable. But when they came down with the current, a hurdle of tamarisk with a rope was fastened to the prow; which hurdle they strengthened with bands of reeds, and let it down into the water; a stone, pierced through the middle, of a considerable weight, was hung by another rope, to the poop. By these means, the stream, bearing on the hurdle, carried down the boat with great expedition; the stone at the same time balancing, and keeping it steady. Of these vessels there were great numbers on the river, and some very large. The Egyptian navigation by sea we shall mention when we come to speak of their trade.

The manner wherein the old Egyptians preserved their knowledge, and transmitted it to posterity, deserves to be particularly considered. Their priests were the depositaries of all their learning; they had the care of their philosophy, and other sciences, as well as of their religion and sacred rites; and were the persons to whom those who desired to be instructed therein were obliged to apply; for which purposes, they had divers colleges or academies in several parts of the kingdom; one of these at Heliopolis, is mentioned by Strabo, who visited the apartments where Eudoxus and Plato had studied for several years. The Egyptian learning was partly inscribed on columns, and partly committed to writing in the sacred books. Not only the Egyptians, but several other ancient nations, used to preserve the memory of things by inscriptions on pillars. We are told, the Babylonians kept their astronomical observations engraven on bricks; and Democritus is said to have transcribed his Moral Discourses from a Babylonish pillar. But the most famous of all others were the columns of Hermes in Egypt, mentioned by several credible authors; upon them he is reported to have inscribed his learning, which was afterwards explained more at large by the second Hermes in several books. It is certain, at least, that from these pillars the Greek philosophers and Egyptian historians took many things. Pythagoras and Plato both read them, and borrowed their philosophy from thence; Sanchoniatho
and

*How the
Egyptians
preserved
their
knowledge.*

and Manetho likewise made use of the same monuments, which were still remaining in the time of Proclus, or not long before. They stood in certain subterraneous apartments near Thebes. To these inscriptions succeeded the sacred books, somewhat more recent, but not less famous, to which Sanchoniatho and Manetho are also said to have been beholden for the contents of their histories; for these books not only contained what related to the worship of the gods, and the laws of the kingdom, but historical collections, nay, even all kind of miscellaneous and philosophical matters of considerable moment; for it was part of the business of the priests, or sacred scribes, to insert in those public registers whatever deserved to be recorded, and transmitted to posterity, as well as carefully to preserve what had been delivered down to them from their ancestors.

These were the literary monuments of the Egyptians; some that were obvious and plain to be understood by the common people and strangers; and others, more dark and mysterious, laid up in the inner recesses of the temple, and communicated to very few. For there were two sorts of learning among the ancients, and particularly the Egyptians, the vulgar and the secret. The first was open to all, who might be instructed therein by the public monuments, and the ordinary masters; but the other, lest it should grow cheap, or be corrupted by passing through vulgar hands, was veiled and disguised by several methods. The monuments of this superior sort of learning, besides being hidden in the private apartments of the temples, were written in a character not commonly understood, and guarded by the priests, who were extremely difficult of access, and could not be prevailed on to explain them but after abundance of preparation, and initiatory ceremonies. Pythagoras, designing to travel into Egypt, desired Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, to recommend him by letter to Amasis, king of Egypt, who was his particular friend, that he might have the freer admission to the secret learning of the priests. He obtained also of Amasis letters to the priests, ordering them to communicate their knowledge to him. He went first to those of Heliopolis, who referred him to the college at Memphis, as their seniors; and from Memphis he was sent, under the same pretext, to Thebes: after much tergiversation, not daring to disobey the king's command by any farther dilatory excuses, they endeavoured to deter Pythagoras from his purpose, by the infinite labour and trouble

trouble he was to expect, enjoining him, in his noviciate, things that are very hard, and contrary to the religion of the Greeks. And when he had undergone all this trial, with invincible courage, he obliged them at length, against their wills, to admit him to a participation of their sacred mysteries, and profound learning.

The last method which the Egyptians took to conceal their doctrine from popular conception was, by wrapping it up in hieroglyphics, symbols, enigmas, and fables. It is well known, that the ancients in general used to deliver their instructions under those dark veils of allegory and fiction; few or none in the most early times, either among the Greeks or barbarians, taught any part of philosophy intelligibly; they seemed to think, that, to express things in a familiar and easy manner argued want of acuteness; or else imagined, that modesty forbade them to shew truth naked to the vulgar. The Egyptians seem to have excelled other nations in the obscurity of their fictions; wherein the footsteps of truth were often so faint, that they required a sagacious tracer, and one able to discern things of moment from trifles*.

In their inscriptions and writings, the Egyptians made use of three several sorts of characters; the first, and most ancient, was that of hieroglyphical figures of various animals, the parts of human bodies, and mechanical instruments; of which three things, the hieroglyphics, both of the Ethiopians and Egyptians, consisted; though there is reason to think the Egyptians had also another sort of characters, called hieroglyphical, and used by the priests, something resembling the present Chinese characters. They are said to have been the invention of Hermes; and a specimen of his performance therein is given us by Sanchoniatho.

There are large collections among the antiquaries of hieroglyphical inscriptions, images, and pictures, which they have taken a great deal of pains to explain, but with very little success; for, if we except a few of these characters, the meaning of which has been preserved by old

* De his vide Herodotus. Diodorus, ubi supra. Procl. in Tim. Platon. lib. i. Diog. Laert. in Thalet. Cicer. de Divinit. lib. i. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 12. Conring. de Hermet. Egyptior. vet. & Paracellina Nova Medicinæ. Wotton's Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, p. 119. Burnet's Archæolog. lib. i. Sir Wm. Temple's Essay on the Wisdom of the Ancients.

writers (U), there is great reason to suspect their conjectures are very ill founded, and particularly as to those figures which they suppose to represent the old Egyptian gods; the greater part of them being in human form, with the head of some animal, or else distinguished by some animal-representation set upon their heads, or near them; whereas, images of human form were not introduced among the Egyptians till later times; and why such figures might not be made in memory of some of their most famous men, we cannot see; since it was the old Egyptian custom to represent not the man's person, but his manners, character, station, and honour; and this they did by hieroglyphics.

The Egyptians also used literal characters, of which they had two sorts; one they called the sacred letters, in which their public registers, and all matters of an higher nature, were written; and the other the vulgar, or epistolographic, made use of by every one in common business. The Egyptians were not the only people who observed such a distinction in their writing; several of the eastern nations, particularly the Ethiopians and Babylonians, had two different kinds of letters; and the modern bramins, among the Indians, have not only a sacred character, but a sacred language also, in which they were very shy of instructing strangers.

When, and by whom, letters were invented, we shall not now enquire; it will be sufficient to observe, that, though most other nations are supposed to have received them from the Egyptians, yet they themselves, perhaps, learned them of their neighbours the Ethiopians: among whom letters were in use very early. Both these sorts of the old Egyptian letters are now lost; or, if the forms of them remain in any old inscriptions, they are unintelligible. All that we know of them is, that the alphabet consisted of twenty-five letters, and that they wrote from the right hand to the left, as most of the oriental nations still do. We can, by no means, assent to the opinion of those who imagine the present Coptic letters have been those of the ancient Egyptians; for the Coptic alphabet is

(U) Thus, we are told, they represented the supreme Deity, by a serpent with the head of a hawk. The hawk itself was the hieroglyphic of Osiris; the river-horse, of Typhon;

the dog, of Mercury; the cat, of the moon, or Diana; the beetle, of a courageous warrior; a new-born child, of the rising-sun; and the like.

manifestly

manifestly nothing else but the Greek, with the addition of some few letters, to express sounds which the Grecians had not, and which probably came to be used in Egypt after the time of Alexander, though we know the Greek language, and perhaps their letters also, were taught there long before, in the reign of Psammeticus. That the reader may judge of this affinity we have here inserted the

COPTIC ALPHABET.

Figure.	Name.	Power.	Figure.	Name.	Power.
Α α	Alpha	A.	Π π	Pi	P.
Β β	Bita	B. V.	Ρ ρ	Ro	R.
Γ γ	Gamma	G.	Σ σ	Sima	S.
Δ δ	Dalda	D.	Τ τ	Tau	T.
Ε ε	Ei	E.	Υ υ	Ypsilon	Y. U.
Ϛ ϛ	So	S.	Φ φ	Phi	Ph.
Ζ ζ	Zita	Z.	Χ χ	Chi	Ch. Græc.
Η η	Hita	I. Æ.	Ω ω	O	O long.
Θ θ	Thita	Th.	Ϙ ϙ	Shei	Sh.
Ι ι	Iauda	I.	Ϛ ϛ	Fei	F.
Κ κ	Kappa	K.	Ϝ ϝ	Khei	Kh.
Λ λ	Lauda	L.	Ϟ ϟ	Hori	H.
Μ μ	Mi	M.	Ϡ ϡ	Janja	J.
Ν ν	Ni	N.	Ϣ ϣ	Shima	Sh.
Ξ ξ	Xi	X.	Ϥ ϥ	Dhei	Dh.
Ο ο	O	O short.	Ϧ ϧ	Epsi	Pf.

The Egyptian language is certainly one of the most ancient in the world, and, in all probability, an original or mother tongue. It was certainly a distinct tongue, at least so early as the time of Joseph, who, when he was made governor of Egypt, had a new name given him of Egyptian derivation; and speaking to his brethren in that language, was obliged to make use of an interpreter; and yet this very language is, in a great measure, preserved to our own times in the present Coptic, though, by reason of the almost continual subjection of that nation to foreigners, ever since their conquest by Cambyfes, a considerable part of it has been lost; in return for which, it has received a great number of Greek, and some Persian, Latin, and Arabic words, during the long time they were under

Of their language,

under the successive government of those nations. The Arabic, at present, prevails so universally in Egypt, that the Copts, or native Egyptians themselves, generally speak no other, the common people having utterly lost the knowledge of their ancient tongue, which few, even of their priests, understand to any degree of perfection.

The Coptic tongue, at present, consists chiefly of the old Egyptian and Greek; still bearing evident marks of primitive antiquity in its structure and constitution, wherein it differs so widely from all the oriental and European languages, that it is impossible to conceive it derived from any of them. For the Copts neither decline their nouns, nor conjugate their verbs (not even those of foreign extract), otherwise than by prefixing particles sometimes of one or more syllables, and sometimes of a single letter, which denote the case, gender, number, and person; several of them being often joined together in one word, and the primitive word usually placed last. So that the difficulty of this tongue consists in the incredible combination of the words and particles, in the change of the vowels, and in transposing the middle part of the word, and adding of superfluous letters; to distinguish which requires great labour and skill.

*Of their
trade and
navigation.*

Egypt is excellently situated for commerce, the trade of the western parts of Asia, all Europe, and the North, lying open to it, by the Mediterranean sea; and that of Arabia, Persia, India, and the southern and western coasts of Africa by the Red Sea; the eastern merchandizes being commodiously brought into Egypt on camels, by the Isthmus of Sues; it is to be presumed so industrious and sensible a people were not long without making use of those advantages; not only from the prospect of gain, but also in order to supply themselves with those things which their country wanted, such as metals, wood, pitch, resin, &c. which they bartered for their own rich productions and manufactures, such as corn, linen, paper, glass, and other valuable commodities. Sir John Mariham supposes, that the Egyptians did not apply themselves to merchandize till the time of the Ptolemies; but in this opinion he seems to be mistaken; for though those princes did very much encourage trade, recovering that of the East to their subjects, by building Berenice, Myos Hormos, and other ports on the Arabian gulph, so that Alexandria became the greatest mart in the world; yet the Egyptians certainly traded very considerably with foreigners long before. Not to insist on their claim to the

the first invention of commerce, which, they say, was found out by Osiris, their Mercury. Diodorus tells us, that Psammethichus gained great riches by trade, before he was king of all Egypt; and we learn from Scripture, that the Midianites and Ishmaelites traded thither so early as the time of Jacob: nay, it is presumed, that they had anciently the sovereignty of the Red Sea, by which means they engrossed all the trade of India, and other parts, which were then carried on that way. They seem, indeed, to have been dispossessed of it, if what Philostratus relates be true, by a certain prince named Erythras (whom some imagine to be the same with Esau, or Edom); for he, being master of the Red Sea, made a by-law, or regulation, that the Egyptians should not enter that sea with any ships of war, nor with more than one merchant-ship at a time. To evade which, the Egyptians built a vessel so large and capacious, as to supply the place of many. However, David becoming afterwards master of Elath and Esiongeber, two ports in the Red Sea belonging to Edom, which he had conquered, built ships there, as some say, and fetched gold from Ophir; but whether that assertion be true or no, Solomon, his son, certainly established a very great trade in those parts, which it is not improbable he might do by permission or connivance of the Egyptians, to whose king he was son-in-law. And this trade the Jews continued to share with them, not without some little interruption, till the time of Ahaz, when they entirely lost it: then it fell into the hands of the Syrians, and afterwards devolved to the Tyrians, till the Ptolemies recovered the whole again to their own subjects.

Some writers have indeed expressly asserted, that Psammethichus was the first king of Egypt who opened the ports to strangers, and granted foreign traders security in his dominions; and that the ancient princes, being content with the abundant riches of their own country, would allow no strangers to enter, but fortified the frontiers against them, and particularly against the Greeks. But this prohibition cannot be understood of any other commerce than that which was driven by the Mediterranean, where the Greeks exercised their piracies along the coasts of Egypt. Being excluded on that account, they complained of such treatment as a great injustice, and an attempt against the law of nations, representing the Egyptians as a barbarous nation, which had renounced all humanity and hospitality; whence arose the fable of the

Vol. I. S cruelty

cruelty of Busris; for that the Egyptians traded before with other nations, is evident from the above mentioned instance of the Midianites and Ishmaelites, the easy access which Abraham and the sons of Jacob had to Egypt, and from Solomon's having horses from that country.

Toward the Greeks, indeed, they behaved with some caution and reserve, even after they were admitted; for, after the time of Psammetichus, though Amasis, who was their great friend, suffered them to build the city of Naucratis, for the settlement and residence of their merchants; yet that was the only place in the whole kingdom where he allowed them to have a factory. They sailed up to it by the Canopic mouth of the Nile (X); and if, by any accident, a Greek vessel entered any other mouth of that river, the owners, making oath that they were forced into it against their will, were obliged to go back to that channel; or, if the winds were contrary, to unlade and send up their goods to Naucratis by the river-vessels.

Though the Egyptians, on a religious account, bore a great aversion to the sea, which they called Typhon, because it swallows up their Nile, and hated sailors so much, that they would not speak to them; and though they were not fond of going out of their own country, for fear of introducing foreign luxury and customs, yet were they not ignorant of sea affairs, having an order of men among them who followed nothing else; nay, the Greeks confess, they learned navigation from them. Sesostris built a formidable navy of four hundred ships of war for his expedition to the southern seas; and also a very large vessel of cedar, two hundred and eighty cubits long (Y), gilt and beautified with gold and silver, which he dedicated to Osiris. And it is to be presumed they improved in this art in succeeding times ^b.

^b De his vide Porphy. de Vit. Pythagor. p. 12. Shuckford's Conn. vol. ii. p. 331. Kircher Oedip. Montfaucon. Antiq. Plutarch. de Isid. & Osir. Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. v. p. 555. Lucian de Macrob. Burnet's Archæolog. Huet de Commerce et de la Navigat. des Anciens.

(X) Yet others make this city of Naucratis to be a colony of the Milesians, and to stand on the Bolbitic or Heracleotic mouth of the Nile.

(Y) This ship must vastly exceed any modern vessels in

bulk, being neartwice as big as one of our largest first-rates; the length of the Royal Sovereign being no more than 175 feet on the middle gun-deck; and the breadth about 70 feet by the beam.

S E C T. III.

Of the Egyptian Chronology to the Time of Alexander the Great.

WE shall now proceed to the history of the princes who reigned in Egypt from the most early times to the final reduction of the country by Alexander. But as chronology is the light of history, and without it the most exact relations would be only a chaos of facts heaped together, we ought to settle this point, before we enter upon the history of the Egyptian kings. Here the guides we have hitherto followed, either quite forsake us, or give us such information as we can by no means depend on, having been themselves grossly imposed upon by forged records, or false traditions. The different tables of the thirty dynasties which have been composed from the old Egyptian chronicle, and from Manetho, by Africanus and Eusebius, and the tables of the Egyptian kings, formed by Josephus, Eratosthenes, Syncellus, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, are so palpably fabulous, defective, inconsistent, and contradictory that the perusal of them would yield no satisfaction to the sensible reader, and therefore they are omitted. Nay, the disagreement between the several successions of Egyptian kings, both in their names, and the years of their respective reigns, is so great, and there are such chasms, and apparent corruptions and mistakes, in them all, that it would seem lost labour to attempt to reduce them into a chronological series, so as to agree with one another, much less with Scripture, and the chronological observations of other historians.

The sum total of the thirty dynasties, according to the old chronicle, is not only an immense number, vastly exceeding the age of the world, but appears to be an astronomical calculation; by which the Egyptians wanted to shew that their dynasties have run through a whole periodic revolution of the zodiac; and therefore we shall not offer to make any use of it. It may only be observed, that though this sum be said to be the amount of the thirty dynasties, yet therein must be included the 30,000 years which the Sun reigned, the 3984 years reign of Saturn and the other twelve gods, and the 217 years reign of the eight demi-gods; making, together, 34,201 years. As to the fourteen first dynasties, which we conceive to

Of the numbers of the old chronicle.

be omitted in the fragment we have remaining of this chronicle, the meaning of the original may perhaps be, that the fifteen generations of the cynic circle, which are placed in the table in the fifteenth dynasty, and reigned 443 years, make up the first fifteen dynasties. This supposition seems to be confirmed by the sum total of the years of the sixteen last dynasties, which amounts to 2140 years, and, with the said 34,201 years, makes 36,341; to which if we add 184 years, for the duration of the twenty-eighth dynasty, the number of which is omitted, we shall have the complete sum of 36,525: consequently, deducting thence the sum of the reigns of the gods and demi-gods, the remainder will be 2324 years, for the duration of the succeeding dynasties, according to this chronicle; which is a number reasonable enough, though it cannot be reconciled to the account of Manetho.

Of the dynasties of Manetho.

The successions of Manetho have this additional corruption, that their order has been disturbed by transcribers; and as in their present disposition they cannot possibly be reduced to any one system of chronology, some have altered that disposition according to their various hypotheses; while others make short work with them, and absolutely reject these dynasties, or great part of them as fabulous.

The credit of Manetho has been called in question by several writers^a, not only because of the incredible antiquity to which his history is supposed to have ascended, but from the account which, it is said, he himself gave of the records from which he compiled. He pretends to have extracted it from certain pillars in the Seriadic land, on which inscriptions had been made in the sacred dialect and letters, by Thoth, the first Hermes; and were translated after the flood, out of the sacred dialect into the Greek tongue in sacred letters, and laid up in books by Agathodæmon, the son of the second Hermes, the father of Tat, in the inner recesses of the Egyptian temples^b. Now it is absolutely impossible, that the first Hermes, who lived in the earliest ages of the Egyptian monarchy, could write an history of so many generations which came into the world after his death, unless he did it by inspiration; and if Manetho could be so stupid as to make this assertion, it must necessarily have overthrown the credit of his whole work. But we do not think that

^a Vide Jac. Capell. in Hist. Sacr. & Exot. ad A. M. 2269. *Stillingf. Orig. Sacr. book i. chap. 2. § 10. &c.* ^b *Synce. p. 40.*

writer could mean any such thing: the words cited from him do not say he took his whole history from those pillars; though he might, probably, quote those records to support the ancient history which preceded the time of Thoth; and such pillars, or, at least some pillars which were of great antiquity, and by the priests attributed to Thoth, must have been extant in the days of Manetho, or he could never have appealed to them in so public a manner, especially in writing to his prince. It may also be answered, that though Thoth made the first inscriptions on those pillars, yet it is not impossible but, in succeeding times, other inscriptions might be added to those of Thoth; for the pillars might be in common phrase ascribed to him, though the historical inscriptions were continued after his death by others. But, after all, it may be questioned, whether Manetho really intended to support his history by the authority of those pillars: the passage wherein he mentions them seems to have been taken out of another book of his, called Sothis, or Seth, which was not historical, but prophetic. For, in his dedication of that work to Ptolemy Philadelphus, he says, that his interpreting the sacred books of Hermes was in obedience to that prince's command, who inquired of him concerning the future events that were to happen in the world^c. And as to the records from whence he took his history, we are elsewhere assured, it was compiled from the sacred registers^d, which were kept by the priests, and written in the Egyptian language, since he translated them into Greek.

The stronger prejudice, therefore, against the credit of this writer, arises from his chronology. The Egyptians, it is true, pretended to an excessive antiquity, and to have certain records for a prodigious length of time past. This claim appears not only from the old chronicle above mentioned, but from the extravagant numbers of years their priests imposed on Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus (A);

but

^c Syncel. p. 40. ^d Joseph. cont. Apion: lib. i. p. 326.
Eusëb. Præp. Ev. lib. ii. in præm.

(A) Some of these incredible accounts are as follow: years.

From Vulcan to Alexander,	- - - -	48,863
From the reign of the Sun to Alexander (1),	- - - -	23,000
From Osiris to Alexander, above	- - - -	10,000
Or almost	- - - -	23,000

(1) Vide Diod. Sicul. lib. i.

but Manetho seems to have been much more modest. The sum of his thirty-one dynasties from Menes to fifteen years before Alexander (without taking the reigns of the gods and demi-gods into the account), if cast up, will amount to above 5300 years, which will reach higher than the creation of the world. And Joseph Scaliger^{*} has accordingly settled their chronology in such a manner, that, by his own way of reckoning, it exceeds the epoch of the creation 1336 years. But there is a lesser number mentioned by Syncellus, who says, the account of the years of all the dynasties was 3555; which is much more reasonable than the other, and yet will agree with no system of chronology, unless we take part of this number for the reigns of the antediluvian princes of Egypt. Manetho, as we have already observed, began his history with seven gods, and nine demi-gods, who reigned 1985 years; and then succeeded mortal kings, the first of whom was Menes: these three races seem to be the same with those called, in the old chronicle, Auritæ, Mestrai, and Egyptians. Now if we allow (as is most reasonable, in case there be any shadow of truth in this part of the history), that the gods, or Auritæ, were antediluvians; the demi-gods, or Mestrai, the postdiluvians of the race of Mizraim; and the mortal men, or Egyptians, Menes and his successors; and if we allow 1200 years, part of the 1985, for the reigns of the first, the remainder, 785, will be the years of the reign of Mizraim, and his descendants; and, deducting the whole 1985 out of the said 3555, there will remain 1570 years, the distance from Menes to the fifteenth year before Alexander. This way of computing would be plausible, were it not that the epoch of the Egyptian kingdom will, by this account, precede the dispersion of mankind; which can hardly be supposed, unless it be allowed, that the Egyptians reckoned the years of the government of their first ancestors over

^{*} Canon. Isagog. lib. ii. p. 228.

From Hercules to Amasis (2),	-	-	-	17,000
From Bacchus to Amasis,	-	-	-	15,000
The gods and heroes reigned	-	-	-	18,000
From Orus, the last of them, to the 180th Olympiad,	-	-	-	15,000
Kings of Egypt before Amasis reigned,	-	-	-	13,000
From their first mortal kings to Sethon,	-	-	-	11,340
There were chronicles at Sais of (3)	-	-	-	8,000

(1) Herod. lib. ii.

(3) Plato in Tim.

their

their descendents before they left Shinaar, and arrived in Egypt. But the great objection of all is, that Manetho's number of 3555 appears to belong wholly to the successors of Menes, and we have no manner of warrant to make any deduction from it.

Some chronologers, therefore, particularly Father Pettau^f (who took delight in contradicting Scaliger), reject the whole scheme of Manetho's dynasties as fabulous, and of no manner of value or credit. And others^g, to whom Eusebius led the way in his canon^h, omit the first sixteen dynasties only, and begin their chronology with the seventeenth; though they differ among themselves in their computations. The first who, without rejecting any, earnestly set about reducing the entire series to the Scripture chronology, was the learned Sir John Marshamⁱ, who first guessed, that these dynasties were not successive, but collateral. He supposes that Egypt, immediately after the death of Menes, was divided into four distinct kingdoms, of Thebes, This, Memphis, and the Lower Egypt, besides some of lesser note, which arose afterwards, and whose epochs are more difficult to be settled; and that it continued so divided for almost seven centuries, till the pastors made themselves masters of all, except that of Thebes; at whose expulsion, about 500 years after, Egypt became subject to one prince. By these means, the duration of the whole empire, from Menes to the end of the reign of Amasis, is reduced to 1819 years. It must be observed, that Sir John Marsham makes great use of the table of the Theban kings given us by Eratosthenes, of which we shall speak by-and-by.

The next who undertook to model this Egyptian chronology is father Pezron, who, by following the larger chronology of the Septuagint, has more latitude, and allows the duration of the Egyptian empire 2619 years, from Menes to Nectanebus. This author likewise builds on the same foundation with Sir John Marsham, in making the first seventeen dynasties not successive, but collateral. He is of opinion that the Mestrians, or offspring of Mizraim, the first inhabitants of Egypt, were those whom their posterity honoured with the titles of gods and

^f De Doct. Temp. lib. ix. cap. 15. ^g Calvisius, Usserius, & Jac. Capellus, Perizonius esteems the first fourteen or fifteen, to be fabulous. ^h Chron. Græc. p. 89. ⁱ In his Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, &c.

demi-gods; and that, though they began to people the country, yet they formed no kingdom there till Menes, who began his reign 648 years after the deluge. Sesostris he places in the time of the judges of Israel, Deborah then presiding over that people ^k.

From the plans of these two great men, several other chronological writers have formed systems of their own, differing in some respects from them, as well as from each other. The chief care of them all is to fix the times of Menes and Sesostris, which when they have done, they imagine the rest follows almost of course. The opinions, as to these two princes, are so various, that it would lead us into too great a detail to mention them all in this place; and what we judge most curious, and worthy notice, in such disquisitions, will be more properly introduced when we give their histories. One thing may generally be observed of all these writers, especially with respect to Perizonius, that they are much oftener in the right in refuting and detecting the errors and mistakes of one another, than in settling or adjusting any thing of their own that may be safely relied on.

The fundamental hypothesis which all these writers go upon, that there were, in the most early times, several kingdoms in Egypt at once, seems to be very probable, the Scripture mentioning the kings of the Egyptians in the plural, even so late as the time of Jehoram^l. The kingdoms of Thebes and Memphis divided Egypt between them for several centuries; and it is certain, from Herodotus and Diodorus, that there were at least two kings in that country at the time of the invasion of the Ethiopians under Sabbaco. But it does not appear that Manetho himself, though he wrote the history of five Egyptian nations^m, represented any of the dynasties he has given us, collateral or contemporary; on the contrary, unless his transcribers have done him more wrong than we have reason to suspect, he placed them all in a continual successionⁿ; and it is taking the utmost liberty with Manetho to alter it, unless we charge the fault on the records which he transcribed.

After Cambyfes had carried away their records, the Egyptian priests, in all probability, to supply their loss, and keep up their pretences to antiquity, began to write

^k Pezron. *Antiq. des Temps rétablie*, chap. 13.
vii. c. ^m Syncell. p. 49.
ⁿ Egypt, p. 62, &c.

^l 2 Kings
^a See Perizon. *Orig.*

new annals, wherein they not only necessarily made great mistakes, but added a good deal of their own invention, especially as to distant times. From these materials, for want of better, Manetho collecting his history, must have intermixed a good deal of fable, as there is indeed in the antiquities of all nations; for it cannot be expected, that people in the circumstances of these early nations, could have begun to keep records till some ages after their settlement. It is unjust therefore to lay the whole blame of the confusion and uncertainty we find in the Egyptian history at the door of Manetho; he collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the records he had; and we have so little genuine remains of him, and what we have has been so mangled by transcribers and critics, that Isis found less difficulty in gathering the dispersed remains of her dead husband, than it must be to patch up a figure which might bear some resemblance of that historian. Several ancient writers, as Josephus, Plutarch, Porphyry, and Eusebius, looked on him as a writer whose authority was to be depended on; and the curious fragment transcribed from him by Josephus, before his copies had been corrupted, seems to confirm this good opinion, being the most valuable and authentic piece of Egyptian history of so great antiquity that is extant; and the series of kings he exhibits, is a pretty exact record, connecting, if there be any credit in Manetho, the Egyptian and Grecian histories, by acquainting us that Sethosis was Ægyptus, and his brother Armais, Danaus.

The list of Theban kings given by Eratosthenes has had a very favourable reception among the learned, not only as a supplement to Manetho, who has entirely omitted that succession, but as a certain foundation for fixing the Egyptian chronology. His authority has been preferred to that of Manetho^o, in regard he was no Egyptian priest, but a Cyrenean, a man of eminent learning, and keeper of the Alexandrian library, and took his catalogue from the sacred records of Thebes^p. Together with the Egyptian names of the kings, he has given their interpretation in Greek, which those skilled in the Coptic tongue allow to be just in some instances; but several of them being corrupted and unintelligible, we have chosen to omit them,

Of the catalogue of Eratosthenes.

^o Vide Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 8. 26. 297. Cumberl. on Sanch. p. 416. &c. ^p Vide Syncell, p. 147.

This series is supposed to be connected with a known epoch in the Grecian history, by a remark of Dicæarchus, Aristotle's scholar, who says, that 2500 years elapsed from the reign of Sesonchosis, who succeeded Orus, the son of Isis and Osiris, to the reign of Nilus; and from Nilus to the first Olympiad, 436 years¹. Who Sesonchosis was, is very uncertain; the first king of the twelfth dynasty of Manetho seems to have borne this name, or one very near it; but he must have lived too late to be the person here meant; and if he be taken to be the immediate successor of Orus, he must have been one of the demi-gods, and the same with Ares, or Mars, which carries us back into fable. The first of these observations therefore can be of no great use; for the time of Sesonchosis, after this way of reckoning, will precede the deluge, even according to the Samaritan chronology, near 700 years. But the other king, named by Dicæarchus, is found in the catalogue of Eratosthenes, the last king but one there being Phruron, or Nilus; and therefore his time being known, the years of all the preceding kings are easily adjusted to any system of chronology. This seems plausible enough; yet are we afraid it will not altogether agree with the account of Diodorus. It is plain Dicæarchus supposed Nilus reigned at the time of the Trojan war, for his calculation will carry us up thither; but according to Diodorus, Nilus must have been several generations later than Proteus, who reigned in Egypt at the time of the Trojan war, by the joint testimony of him and Herodotus²; so that Dicæarchus seems only to have given a tolerable guess at his age, and not fixed it with such certainty as to enable us to determine it within a century at least. Besides, it is more than probable, that this table of Eratosthenes has suffered by time and transcribers, as well as the dynasties of Manetho; and there are doubtless several mistakes in the numbers as well as names; the sum total, for example, which Syncellus reckons to be 1075, will not agree with the particulars; for if carefully cast up, they amount to no more than 1055.

Of the series of Syncellus.

As to the series of Syncellus, on which Sir John Marsham built much³, we have a worse opinion of it

¹ Dicæarchus, apud Scholiast. Apollon. Argon. lib. iv. ver. 272.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 56. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 112.

³ Vide Can. Chron. p. 7.

than of any of the other, especially in the more early ages, where it is supported by no concurring evidence at all. He seems to have composed it by picking here and there such names and numbers, and sometimes adding both out of his own head, as he fancied, in order to accommodate it to the sacred chronology^t.

We need not spend many words to shew that it is next to impossible to frame a consistent chronology^u, from the successions of kings in Herodotus and Diodorus. For besides their irreconcilable disagreement in several instances, they confessedly omit a great number of princes, and mention no years of the reigns of others; so that such chasms are left, as no body can tell how to fill up; and their manner of reckoning by descents, or generations, is too visibly uncertain. Before Psammetichus, the Egyptian chronology is very dark; and though after that prince's time it begins to clear up, yet the variations between all the historians since his reign are considerable.

Of the successions according to Herodotus and Diodorus.

We shall not therefore waste our time in composing an hypothetical scheme of these kings of Egypt; of such performances there are choice already; and they are much more easy to frame than to support: calculations by numbers of years, which are so liable to mistake and corruption, must needs be very precarious; and it seems much more reasonable to rely on the coincidence of facts, and historical synchronisms, from which chiefly we shall, in the course of our history of Egypt, endeavour to fix the times of events. This we think is the most that can be done with any degree of certainty; for it is amazing to us, that men should pretend to adjust the Egyptian chronology, from the most early times, to so great a nicety as a few years, and dictate dogmatically in a matter of such absolute uncertainty and confusion.

^t Vide Perizon. Orig. Ægyp. p. 53, &c. ^u Vide Conring, adv. Chronol. cap. 17, 18. Stillingfl. Orig. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 5.

S E C T. IV.

The History of Osiris, Isis, Typhon, and Orus.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of the mortal kings of Egypt, we are in some manner obliged to insert the following dark and ancient fiction. Osiris and Isis were said to be the son and daughter of Saturn and Rhea; but, according to others, their grandson and granddaughter, being descended from Jupiter and Juno, who had a deity born to them on each of the five intercalary days of the Egyptians. These five deities were called Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Venus^u. We have their origin and generation again differently, and with the several particulars, related as follows; Sol, surprising Rhea in a private congress with Saturn, prayed that she might not be delivered in the space of any one month, or day of the year. Mercury, afterwards, falling in love with the goddess, embraced her also; and beating Luna at dice, took from the lunar year the seventy-second part of every day, and composed five days, and adding them to the year of three hundred and sixty days, that she might bring forth in them; and these they celebrated as the birth-days of Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Orus, and Nephthe. On the first day Osiris was born, and at his birth a voice was heard crying out, "the lord of all things is come into the world;" or, according to others, a damsel called Pamytes, going to fetch water from the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, hearing a loud voice commanding to proclaim, "the great and beneficent king Osiris is born." He was delivered to this damsel, who was directed to nurse him; which she did with all the veneration due to such a charge, performing the mysteries called Pamyliæ, like those styled Palephoria, in honour of the infant. On the second day Arueris was brought forth, whom some called Apollo, and others the elder Orus. The third was the birth-day of Typhon, who came not into the world in proper time and place, but by a violent eruption leaped out of his mother's side. On the fourth day Isis, and on the fifth Nephthe, or Nephthys, saw the light; which last was also called Finis, and Venus, and Victoria. Sol was the father of Osiris and Arueris;

^u Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. p. 13.

Mercury of Isis; and Saturn of Typhon and Nephthe. The third, being the birth-day of Typhon, was counted inauspicious, or unlucky; so that the kings thereon suspended all business, and abstained from eating and drinking. Nephthe married Typhon, and Isis espoused Osiris. As for these last, it is said, that, enticed by a mutual love, they embraced whilst yet in their mother's womb; and it was thought, that Arueris, the elder Orus of the Egyptians, and the Apollo of the Greeks, sprang from that early conjunction (B). Osiris no sooner obtained the kingdom of Egypt, than he reclaimed the inhabitants from their savage and brutal way of living, shewed them the fruits of the earth, and instituted divine worship*: building the city of Thebes, and erecting several temples, among the rest, one to Jupiter Uranus, and another to Jupiter Ammon, his father, who reigned before him†: but, that his beneficence might not be confined to the bounds of his own country, he undertook to visit the several nations on the earth, all which he civilized, not by the forcible constraint of arms, but by dint of persuasion, and by the allurements of music and poetry‡. His

* Plut. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 355.

† Diod. Sicul. ubi supra.

‡ Plutarch, ubi supra.

(B) Herodotus gives them a daughter Bubastis, or Diana; and seems to have heard the story of these fabulous princes, with some variation from what is related by Diodorus and Plutarch, the only authors extant who have written this fiction at length. And particularly, speaking of the floating island Chemmis, near the city of Butus, he writes that, by an Egyptian tradition, Latona, one of the primary deities, residing at Butus, had Orus committed to her care, at a time when Typhon was in search after him to destroy him; and she accordingly concealed him in the abovesaid isle. Now, according to Plu-

tarch, Typhon was kept within bounds by the prudence of Isis during all the expedition of Osiris; with which account this violent proceeding cannot consist: and Herodotus does not in the least hint at this search afterwards. Diodorus says Orus accompanied his father in his travels; he was therefore out of the reach of his enemy; and after his father's murder, this author says, he was so far from flying from Typhon, that he made head against him, overcame him in battle, and slew him. It appears then, that Herodotus heard this fiction related in a third and different manner (1).

(1) Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 156.

setting out, and the more remarkable particulars of his travels, are thus narrated.

Having in view the vast and beneficial design above mentioned, he raised a great number of followers, amongst whom was his brother Apollo, who claimed the laurel as sacred to him, as the ivy was to Osiris. He took also his two sons with him, Anubis, and Macedo. These two wore coats of mail, and over them the skins of such beasts as corresponded with the nature of their courage; so Anubis had a dog's skin, and Macedo the skin of a wolf; and hence, said they, the dog and the wolf were worshipped in Egypt. Pan also was of the company; he was afterwards highly revered over all the country, insomuch that he had not only statues and temples erected to him, but also the city of Chemmis, which signified Pan's city. Add to these Maro, famous for planting and dressing of vines; and Triptolemus for sowing corn, and gathering in the harvest. Finally, Osiris took with him nine virgins, proficients in music, who being committed to the care of Apollo, he thence obtained the title of master of the nine sisters, or Muses; some say he met as he went towards Ethiopia, who were acceptable for their jocund disposition, and diverting by their antic behaviour, skipping, and dancing.

But, before he left Egypt, he provided against any disturbances that might arise in his absence, by committing the administration to trusty and sagacious persons. He invested Isis with the regency, in which he left his friend Hermes to assist her. Hermes was also called Mercury, Thoth, Thoyth, Tauautes, Trismegistus, and by other names. It is a common opinion, that there were two persons, or more, who bore these several appellations; but, leaving the discussion of so dark a point, we will here speak of them as one person, and enumerate the inventions and books ascribed to him. He invented articulate sounds, appellatives, letters, religion, astronomy, music, wrestling, arithmetic, statuary, the three-stringed lyre, and the use of the olive. He was styled the father of eloquence, and thence he derived his name of Hermes, the interpreter or speaker^a. As to the books he wrote, Seleucus reckoned them at no less than twenty thousand^b. And Manetho exceeds him, computing them at thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five^c. This number

^a Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. p. 14, &c.

^b Seleuc. apud Jamblich. de Myt. Egypt. sect. 8. cap. 1.

^c Manetho, apud eund. ib.

is so enormous, that it has been a stumbling-block to the learned. Therefore some have supposed these computations to refer to verses, others to leaves of the papyrus; and others again to succinct discourses and proverbs. But Clement of Alexandria will lead us out of this labyrinth, by the following account of an ancient Egyptian procession; the first that advanced, says he, was a chanter, or singer, who bore some symbol of music; his business was to receive two of the books of Mercury, or Thoth, of which one contained hymns to the gods, and the other rules for the king to observe. Secondly, an astrologer, bearing a dial, and a palm, which were symbols of astrology; he was obliged to have the four astrological books of Mercury by heart; the first of which contained the places of the fixed stars, and the three others treated of the sun and moon, their eclipses, illuminations, rising, and setting. Thirdly, an hierogrammateus, or sacred scribe, with a feather on his head, bearing a book and a rule, in which were ink, and a reed to write with; he was versed in the subject of ten books: the 1st. treated of hieroglyphics. 2d. Of cosmography. 3d. Of geography. 4th. Of the order of the sun and moon. 5th. Of the five planets. 6th. Of the chorography of Egypt. 7th. Contained a description of the Nile. 8th. A description of the sacred utensils, and of the places consecrated to them. 9th. Treated of measures; and the 10th of whatever was necessary in the Egyptian worship. Fourthly, a stolistes, a kind of solemn marshal, holding the cubit of justice, and a cup for libations; he knew whatever concerned the institution of youth, and the sealing of victims. The whole Egyptian religion was comprehended in ten books; the 1st. related to the sacrifices; the 2d. to first-fruits; 3d. to hymns; 4th to prayers; 5th. to processions; 6th. to festivals; and the other four to the like subjects. Fifthly, and last of all, came the prophet, bearing a water-pot openly in his bosom, and followed by those who carried the processional bread; he, as presiding over the temple, studied the ten books called sacerdotal, which spoke of the laws, the gods, and the whole discipline of the priesthood. Here we have an account of thirty-six books of Hermes; besides which he wrote six more, which treated of anatomy, diseases, medicaments, and the like; so that he was author of forty-two in all^d. This is a more rational account. But to return from

^d Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi, p. 633.

whence we digressed, this sagacious person, or one of the same character, was left behind to assist Isis in the government of the kingdom.

Moreover, Hercules was appointed over the forces at home; and Antæus, Busris, and Prometheus, were constituted governors over several provinces. Osiris, having thus settled affairs in Egypt, began his progress, moving first towards Ethiopia. In this country he raised the banks of the Nile, and dug several canals, to prevent the too frequent inundations, and to abate and distribute the waters of the Nile. Whilst he was thus employed in Ethiopia, the Nile broke down its banks in Egypt, and overflowed great part of the country with so furious and so sudden a tide, that it swept away all before it, and drowned great multitudes of people, doing particular damage in Prometheus's jurisdiction, whereat he was grieved almost to despair. But Hercules soon drained off the waters, and thence is said to have shot through the eagle which preyed on Prometheus's heart; for the suddenness of this flood was compared to the flight of an eagle, and the river from thence was sometimes called after that bird. But to return to Osiris; he instructed the Ethiopians, in all rural matters, and, having built them several cities, he departed, leaving some persons behind him to act as his governors, and others to gather in his tribute. From Ethiopia he went into Arabia, and thus continued his travels till he had advanced beyond India. In India he built several cities, particularly Nyssa, which he so called from the place where (according to some) he was bred up. Here he planted the ivy, which was no where else to be found in India; and left so many monuments of himself behind him, as afterwards gave room to dispute, whether he was not originally of this part of the world. Having surveyed all Asia, he crossed the Hellespont, and, landing in Thrace, killed Lycurgus, the king of the country, who opposed his progress. Here he left Maro to cultivate the land, and commanded him to build a city, and call it, in derivation from his own name, Maronea. Afterwards he bestowed on his son Macedo the country of Macedon, which borrowed its name from him; and Triptolemus had charge of Attica. At length Osiris returned back into Egypt, laden with the choicest productions of the earth, and with the blessings of the whole race of mankind, who consented to his deification.

But his brother Typhon slew him soon after his arrival, and cut his body in twenty-six pieces, giving one to each
of.

of his accomplices*. It was thus that some spoke concerning the death of Osiris; but the story was also told after the following manner: Typhon, hearing that his brother was on his return, entered into a conspiracy with seventy-two persons, exclusive of the queen of Ethiopia, called Afo, to kill him; and, privately taking measure of Osiris's body, he ordered a very magnificent coffin to be made, and brought home to him as he was entertaining his friends. This was done, and his guests failed not to take notice of the coffin, and admire it. Whereupon Typhon, in a jesting way, told them, that the person amongst them who completely filled it should have it. Several of the company tried, but to no purpose, till Osiris went into it, which he had no sooner done, than they shut the lid, and locked the coffin. Then pouring melted lead over it, they conveyed him to the Tanitic mouth of the Nile, and there threw him into the sea; and, on this account, that entrance of the river was abhorred by the Egyptians. This cruelty was transacted on the seventeenth day of the month Athyr, in which the sun went through the Scorpion, and in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris; or, as some will have it, of his life. When the Pans and Satyrs told it to the men, they were seized by that sudden consternation which hath ever since borne the name of panic fear. Isis, hearing the sad tidings, cut off a lock of her hair, and, setting out in deep mourning from the city of Coptus, went in quest of the body of Osiris. In her progress, she asked all she met, if they had seen the coffin, or heard of it; but she enquired in vain, till certain children, who had seen Typhon's friends carrying it, gave her some information. Hence the Egyptians held children to be endued with a predictive faculty, and drew conjectures from what they said whilst playing in temples.

Isis knowing that Osiris had, by mistake, lain with his sister Nephthe, and that she had exposed a son she had by him, through fear of Typhon, resolved now to seek after the infant; and having, in the search, undergone much fatigue, she was guided, at last, by dogs to the place where he was. He afterwards served her for a guard and companion, and was called Anubis. He was thought to have guarded the gods in the same manner as dogs take care of men. At length she came to understand, that the coffin was thrown up by the sea, and lodged in a tuft of

* Diodorus Siculus, ubi supra, p. 13, &c.

broom, or heath, at Byblus; and that the broom had suddenly sprouted up with a large stalk, which enclosed and concealed it from sight. Therefore she repaired thither, and, to pass over the methods she practised to possess herself of the coffin, she there obtained it. When she first cast her eyes on it, she cried with so loud a voice as struck the king of Byblus's youngest son dead; for she had insinuated herself into his family, as the most ready means to obtain what she wanted; he having raised a building over the broom which hid the coffin. With his eldest son and the coffin she straitways embarked; and, in her passage, dried up the Phædrus, provoked by a blast of wind which blew from the mouth of that river as she failed by, about break of day. Being now private, and at leisure, she opened the coffin, and, laying her face to the face of the deceased, bathed it with her tears. As she was thus giving vent to her grief, the king's son she had brought away with her from Byblus, came behind her, and saw what she was doing; whereat enraged, she turned on him with so dreadful a countenance, as frightened him to death. Some said he leaped into the sea. This is supposed to be Maneros. She brought the body to Butus, and hid it; but Typhon, hunting by moonlight, fell on it, and tore it into fourteen pieces, which he scattered abroad. Isis then traversed the lakes and watry places in a boat made of the papyrus, seeking after the limbs of Osiris. Whence it was held, that those who went on the water in boats made of that wood, were in no danger from crocodiles, who either revered or dreaded the goddesses. In whatever place she found a limb, she there buried it; for which reason there were many tombs ascribed to Osiris; but others said, she made several figures of his body, and presented them to as many cities, pretending to each, that they had the original, and so established his worship in many places; and made it difficult for Typhon to find out the right monument, in case he should ever get the superiority, and continued in his implacable malice against Osiris^f. This burial was also related after a third manner. The author from whom we took the first account of his death, reports that Isis collected the twenty-six pieces of his mangled body, joined them, and embalmed them; and afterwards prevailed on the Egyptian priests to consent to, and promote his deification, in consideration of a a third part of

^f Plutarch, ubi supra, p. 357, 358.

Egypt, which she gave them; and they buried him at Memphis. But the place of his burial was a matter of great dispute and controversy; though some produced the following inscription in sacred characters, which they said was on a pillar in Arabia:

“ Saturn, the youngest of all the gods, was my father.
 “ I am Osiris, that king who led an army as far as the
 “ deserts of India, and from thence northward as far as
 “ the springs of the river Ister, and thence quite to the
 “ ocean. I am the eldest son of Saturn, sprung from a
 “ noble stock, and of generous blood; cousin to the Day.
 “ Nor is there a place where I have not been, I, who
 “ freely dispensed my benefits to all mankind.”

Isis, after the most diligent search, could never recover the privities of Osiris, which, being thrown into the river, were devoured by the lepidotus, the squameus, the phagrus, and oxyrynchus; which four sorts of fish the Egyptians hated upon that account; but she made ample amends for this loss, by instituting a kind of separate worship, which was devoutly and universally paid to the image of that part.

There were various reports concerning the actions of Isis and Orus after the death of Osiris, as also relating to Typhon. And first it was affirmed, that they overcame him in battle, and slew him^s. Secondly, he was said to have been thunderstruck by Jupiter, and plunged under the lake Sirbon^h (C), thence called Typhon's exhalations

^s Diod. Sic. ubi supra, p. 79.
 xi. & Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 5.

^h Apollon. Rhod. Argo. lib.

(C) According to Diodorus Siculus, the lake or bog Sirbon, Serbonis, or Selbonis, under Mount Calius, was two hundred furlongs in length, very narrow, but very deep. Many, mistaken in their road, nay, whole armies, misguided in their march, have been swallowed up in it. The shore all round it consisted of heaps of sand, which the winds blowing over the surface of the bog,

the lower particles lighted thereon, and, by degrees, formed a loose skin, or crust over it; which, though weak, was sufficient to deceive the eye of the wandering traveller, who no sooner set foot upon it, than he felt it give way under him, and was irrecoverably lost. It was also called Barathra, or the *profound gulphs*. But it has from time to time decreased in extent; for Pliny speaks

tions^l. Thirdly, it was asserted, that Osiris, ascending from the infernal regions, instructed Orus, and prepared him to war with Typhon; and that after a battle, which continued several days, this last was made prisoner. But Isis restoring him to his liberty, Orus was so enraged, that he tore off the royal attire from her head, when Mercury, being present, clapped her on a helmet made of an ox's head. Typhon afterwards renewed the war twice; but was both times vanquished^k, and, being no longer able to withstand, or make head against his enemies, concealed himself under the above mentioned lake Sirbon^l. Osiris, moreover, appeared to Isis, and had a son by her, called Harpocrates; but he proved weak and infirm. Here Plutarch breaks off, and, assuring us that his is the genuine story, proceeds to explain away the whole into an allegory^m. But Diodorus continues his account to the death of Isis and Orus, to this effect. Isis, having thus quelled her enemies, reigned with great prudence, justice, moderation, and beneficence: and, because of her great and constant affection towards Osiris, which appeared in nothing more than in the vow she made of widowhood; a law was enacted, which allowed of the marriage-contract between brother and sister: from the same source sprung the custom of preferring the queen before the king, and the wife before the husband. At last she died, and was buried at Memphis, as the common opinion was; but this also was disputed. And particularly those who laid a stress upon the above inserted inscription, affirmed, there was another pillar, near the former, in Arabia, inscribed with the following words in sacred characters:

“ I, Isis, am the queen of this country, and was tutored
 “ by Mercury. What I have ordained, no one may
 “ make void. I am the eldest daughter of Saturn, the
 “ youngest of the gods. I am the sister and wife of king
 “ Osiris. I am she who first found corn for the use of
 “ man. I am the mother of king Orus. I am she who
 “ ariseth in the dog-star. The city of Bubastus was built
 “ in honour of me. Farewel! Rejoice, O Egypt, my
 “ nursing motherⁿ!

^l Plutarch. in Vita Antonii, p. 916.

ubi supra.

^k Herodot. ubi supra.

ⁿ Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

^m Idem de Isid. & Osirid.

ⁿ Plut. ubi supra.

speaks of it as a small place to its place being no more to be
 what it had formerly been; found.
 and it is now quite choaked up,

She

She had a stately temple erected to her at the city of Busris, situate near the middle of the Delta^a. some remains of which are thought to be still standing (D).

There is nothing said of Orus any farther, than that he was the last of the gods and demi-gods^b; and therefore we here conclude this fabulous or mysterious section.

^a Herodot., lib. ii. cap. 59.

^b Idem ibid. cap. 144.

(D) Take the description and account of these ruins in the author's own words: "I here saw the remains of one of the finest, vastest, and most ancient temples of Egypt. All the stones are of most enormous length and thickness, and all of granite. They are, for the most part, adorned with sculptures in relievo, which represent men and women, and all sorts of hieroglyphics. Many of these stones bear the image of a man standing upright, with a long peaked cap on his head, and holding a goblet or bowl in each hand, which he presents to three or four young women, which stand also upright, one behind another. These young women have each of them a javelin in one hand, and a staff shorter than the javelin, in the other; and on each of their heads is a ball between two long taper horns. Others of these stones are embellished with hieroglyphical representations of birds, fishes, and terrestrial animals. A lofty and very substantial pillar of fine granite, having each of the four faces of its upper part wrought with four angular flutings or notches, seems to have been erected to support the arcades and vaults of this sumptuous edifice. On

each face of this pillar there is also carved the head of a woman bigger than the life. These sculptures have not been in the least injured by time, nor by the sun, nor by the Arabs.—It seems to be more than probable that this temple, whose remains I have here described, was the very temple of the goddess Isis; and that the city of Busris, mentioned by Herodotus, is now the very town of Bahâbeit, situated in the middle of the Delta, near Sebennytus, or Sammanûd. My opinion is the more rational, in that throughout all the island it was never heard, nor known, that any monument of marble or stone, either little or big, was ever found there that could suit with any other deity than the goddess Isis.—These ruins, which are near to Bahâbeit, are about 1000 paces in circumference. They are about a league from the Nile, about two or three leagues from Sammanûd, and about twenty-five or thirty leagues north of Kâhira. There is neither brick, nor plaister, nor mortar, nor common stone, amongst these reliques: there is nothing to be seen but great blocks of granite (1).

(1) Nouv. Mem. des Missions de la Comp. de Jéf. dans de Levant, tom. ii. p. 117. & seq.

S E C T. V.

*The Reigns of the Kings of Egypt.**Menes, or
Menas.*

MENES, or Menas, is universally agreed to have been the first mortal who reigned over Egypt (E). In his time the whole country, except Thebais, was a morass; and no land appeared between the lake Mœris and the Mediterranean, which was seven days passage on the river. He diverted the course of the Nile, which before washed the foot of the sandy mountain towards Lybia, and built the city of Memphis within the ancient bed of the river. On the north side of it he made a lake, and on the west another, both without the walls, and both fed by the Nile, which flowed along the east side of the town; and, in the city itself, he built the famous temple of Vulcan^s. He was the first that instructed the Egyptians in religious matters, that introduced domestic magnificence and luxury, and that instituted the pomp of feasts; on which account his memory was loaded

^s Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 99.

(E) Sir Isaac Newton, in opposition to all the chronologers who have written before him, is of opinion, that Sesostris was Osiris, places Menes after him, and, in consequence thereof, transposes the series of the kings of Egypt, mentioned by Herodotus, after this manner; Sesostris, Pheron, Proteus, Menes, Rhampsinetus, Mœris, Cheops, Cephren, Mycerinus, Nitocris, and the rest in the same order as they stand in Herodotus. He supposes Menes to be the same with Amenophis and Memnon, and that by corruption he was called Menes, Mines, Minæus, Minics, Minevis, Enephes, Venephes, Phamenophis, Osymanthyas (Osmandyas), Osmandes, Ismandes, Imandes, Memnon, Arminon.

According to his hypothesis, Menes is about three hundred years older than Psammetichus. He holds it irrational to suppose, that there was any king of all Egypt till after the expulsion of the shepherds; and observes, that the miracles of Memphis were not spoken of, or known in Greece, till some ages after the Trojan war; for Homer celebrates Thebes as the glory of its days, and makes no mention of Memphis; which, and the temple of Vulcan that stood in the midst of it, he grants to have been built by Menes. In a word, this hypothesis reduces the antiquity of the Egyptian empire, of which Menes was the first king, much lower than any other.

with

with the execrations of one of his successors, as will be observed hereafter.

Herodotus declares, that the Egyptians produced a catalogue of three hundred and thirty kings, extending from Menes to Mœris, who was the last of the number; and that there was nothing worth notice recorded of any of them, except one Ethiopian woman called Nitocris¹. On the other hand, Diodorus writes, that Menes's family enjoyed the throne to the fifty-second descent, and that their several reigns took up the space of fourteen hundred years². Since, therefore, there is so vast a chasm in both, we think we may safely venture to fill it up in part, with what we find concerning the shepherds who ruled over Egypt; and the rather, because this whole transaction seems to belong to some very remote period of the Egyptian history.

It happened, in the reign of Timaus, king of Egypt, that God being displeased with the Egyptians, they suffered a great revolution; for a multitude of men, ignoble in their race, took courage, and pouring from the East into Egypt, made war with the inhabitants; who submitted to them without trying the event of a battle. Having reduced the princes, they inhumanly burnt the cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and behaved in the most cruel and insulting manner to the ancient inhabitants, putting them to death, and carrying away their wives and children into captivity. They made one of their own number king, whose name was Salatis. He usually resided at Memphis, and, leaving garrisons in the most proper places, kept both the upper and lower region in subjection. Particularly, he fortified the eastern parts, fearing an invasion of the Assyrians, who were at that time very powerful. Finding, therefore, a convenient city in the Saitic nome, which was seated on the eastern banks of the river Bubastis, which was called Abaris in the ancient theology, he rebuilt it, and surrounded it with a very strong wall, and kept a garrison of twenty-four thousand soldiers therein. It was his custom, about the time of harvest, to come hither to gather in his corn, and to pay and exercise his soldiers, that they might always be ready and fit for action, and be a constant terror to any who should attempt an invasion. Salatis died, and was succeeded by five others; viz. Beon, Aphacnas, Apophis, Janias, and Assis, who, treading

The irruption of the shepherds, or pastoralists.

They set up Salatis for their king.

¹ Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 100.

² Diod. Sic. lib. j. p. 42.

in his footsteps, did their utmost to root out the whole nation of the Egyptians. This people were called *Hycsos*, or *king-shepherds* (F); *hyc*, in the sacred dialect, signifying a *king*, and *sos*, in the common dialect, signifying a *pastor* or *shepherd*; and these two produced the compound *Hycsos*. They came from Arabia, according to Manetho, as quoted by Josephus, and held all Lower Egypt in subjection for the space of two hundred and fifty-nine years[†]; at the end of which they were obliged, by a king of Upper Egypt, named Amosis and Thethmosis, to quit the country, and retire elsewhere. That prince's father had, it seems, gained considerable advantages over them, and shut them up in a place called Avaris, or Abaris, measuring ten thousand acres of land. There they were closely besieged by his son Amosis, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men; but the king, finding he could not reduce them by force, proposed an agreement, which they readily accepted; and, in virtue of which, they were to abandon Egypt, and the king was to allow them to retire whither they pleased without molestation. The agreement was faithfully executed on both sides; the shepherds withdrew from Egypt, with their families, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand; and, taking the way of the desert, entered Syria: but fearing the Assyrians, who were then very powerful,

[†] Maneth. *Ægypt. lib. ii.* apud Joseph. *lib. i.* contra Apion.

(F) We will barely transcribe the opinions of the above cited chronologers, as to the time of this irruption, as it is represented, of the shepherds into Egypt. Sir John Marsham places it one hundred and fifty-seven years before the exodus of the children of Israel. Perizonius's drawing a very circumstantial parallel between what is recorded of the shepherds by Manetho, and what is said of the obscurity of the Israelites, the power and dignity of Joseph, and the miraculous works of Moses, which almost utterly destroyed the country; upon the close, pro-

nounces the shepherds so heinously spoken of, to have been the Israelites themselves. Sir Isaac Newton makes the pastors to have been the Canaanites, who fled from Joshua, and went into Africa; but, in their flight, seized on the kingdom of Lower Egypt, in the reign of Timaus, whom the same author calls Thamus, or Thammuz. Greaves, after a parallel drawn by him between the history of the shepherds and of the Israelites, which seems as natural and as plausible as that of Perizonius, will by no means allow them to have been the same people.

and

and masters of Asia, they built themselves, in the land which is now known by the name of Judæa, a city, capable of holding so great a multitude, and called it Jerusalem: thus Manetho^u. Apion, upon the authority of Ptolemy the Mendesian, an Egyptian priest, who wrote the annals of that kingdom, supposes Amosis, or Thethmosis, to have been contemporary with Inachus king of the Argives. Hence Tatian^x, Justin the Martyr^y, Clemens of Alexandria^z, and others, taking the expulsion of the shepherds, and the exodus of the children of Israel, to be one and the same event, will have their leader, Moses, to have been contemporary with Inachus; but Inachus is now, by the generality of chronologers, thought to have lived long before Moses, and the circumstances of the exodus, as related in holy writ, differ widely from those attending the expulsion of the shepherds. As we know not where to give place, according to the series of time, either to the irruption or expulsion of the shepherds, we have chosen to join them together, and acquaint the reader, at the same time, with what we find in the ancients concerning both, though the one is said to have happened two hundred and fifty-nine years posterior to the other (G).

We now return to Herodotus and Diodorus; of whom the latter makes mention of several princes between Menes and Miris.

According to his account, Bufiris, in process of time, became king, and was succeeded by eight princes of his line; the last, called also Bufiris, was the founder of the city of Thebes, which he made the capital of the kingdom^a. *Bufiris I. and II.*

Osymandyas appears next. It is uncertain whom, or when he succeeded. The Bactrians revolting from him, he reduced them, with an army consisting of four hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. Of all the *Osymandyas.*

^u Maneth. apud Joseph. ibid.
^y Just. in Parææ,
ubi supra.

^x Tatian. Orat. contra Græc.
^z Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i.

^a Diod.

(G) Sir Isaac Newton places this expulsion in the year 1070 before Christ, or 62 years before the first expedition of Sesostris, or Sefac, as he calls him, into Africa. Their irruption happened, according to archbishop Usher, in the

year of the world 1920, 2048 before Christ; and their expulsion in 2179 of the world, and 1825 before the Christian æra; the reigns of Salatis their first king, and his five successors, as marked by Manetho, amounting to 259 years.

ancient

His tomb.

ancient monuments of the kings, for which the city of Thebes was so renowned, his was of the greatest note. It consisted of vast courts, porticos, shrines, temples, a library, his own tomb, and other buildings. The first court, which was of various kinds of stone, was 200 feet in extent, and 45 feet high. Next to this was a square portico, each side 400 feet long, and, instead of pillars, supported by representations of animals of 15 cubits high, all of one piece, and adorned with figures after the ancient manner. The cieling was blue, and seeded with stars. This portico led into a second court, in all respects like the first, except that it was more enriched with various sculptures: in the entrance were three statues, each of one stone, the workmanship of Memnon the Syenite; one was in a sitting posture, and the largest in all Egypt, the length of its foot exceeding seven cubits. This was his own statue; the other two, which stood one at each knee, represented his mother and daughter. This wonderful piece was not so admirable for the exquisite art of the carver, as for the beauty of the stone, which was free from the least flaw or blemish. It had this inscription: "I am Osymandyas, king of kings: he that would know my grandeur, or where I lie, let him surpass me in any of my works." Here was also another statue of his mother, standing by herself, 20 cubits high, cut out of one stone; she had three crowns on her head, signifying that she had been the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. This court led to a second portico, or piazza, far exceeding the first. On the wall the king was represented, with his army, besieging a town encompassed by a river, and fighting in the front of the battle, accompanied by a lion: concerning which, some said, he always fought with a tame lion at his side; and others, that the figure of that animal was only an emblem of his extraordinary courage. On the second wall were the captives, with their hands and privities lopped off to express their cowardice. On the third were all sorts of sculpture and paintings, which represented his sacrifices and triumph. In the middle of this piazza was an altar in the open air, built of the most shining marble, of excellent workmanship, and wonderful proportion. On the fourth side, or wall, were two gigantic statues, in a sitting posture, 27 cubits high. Near these were three passages, leading into a great hall, supported by columns after the manner of a music-theatre, 200 feet square. In this place were many wooden statues, representing parties engaged in law, and the judges bearing

ing the causes. These last, to the number of thirty, were carved on one side, with their president in the midst of them, at whose neck hung an image, with its eyes shut, to represent Truth, and with many books about him. By this they chose to signify, that judges ought to be proof against bribery, and respect nothing but truth and equity. Next was a gallery or walk, in which were apartments stored with the most delicious eatables. Here the king was most curiously wrought, and painted with the most lively colours, presenting to God the gold and silver annually dug out of the mines in Egypt; the amount thereof was 3,200,000,000 minas, or 96,000,000 of pounds sterling. Next was the sacred library, with this inscription; "The Dispensary of the Mind." Contiguous thereunto were the images of all the Egyptian gods, with the king paying the offerings due and peculiar to each; that Osiris, and the rest of the deities placed beneath him, might know, he had passed his life with piety towards the gods, and with justice towards men. Next to the library was an edifice of curious architecture, wherein were twenty couches to feast on, and the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and the king, which last was thought to be here entombed. Around were seven pavilions, in which curious pictures of the consecrated animals were seen. From hence was the ascent to the sepulchre, where was seen a ring or circle of gold, 365 cubits in circumference, and one cubit in thickness, surrounding the monument. This ring was divided by the days of the year, and shewed the rising and setting of the stars, and their aspects, according to the Egyptian astrology. This circular border was carried away by Cambyfes the Persian. Such was the tomb of Ofymandyas, whose descendants reigned after him to the eighth generation. The last of them was called Uchoreus^b.

Uchoreus.

The building and fortifying of Memphis, which have already been ascribed to Menes, are attributed to this Uchoreus (H) also. He is said to have given that city a circuit of 150 stadia, or near 20 miles, and by mounds

^b Diod. lib. i. p. 44.

(H) The last mentioned fore would willingly think chronologer thinks the works them one and the same person (2).
of the same genius, and there-

(2) Vid. Sir Isaac Newton, ubi supra.

and

and trenches to have secured it from the insults either of the Nile, or of an invader. He adorned it with palaces, which, though they surpassed those in any other country, yet fell short of what had been done in that way by his predecessors. For the inhabitants held this transitory life in no estimation, if compared with the joys the virtuous were to possess hereafter; and were proportionably less splendid in the lodgings they prepared for the former, than in the repositories they founded for the latter. This king translated the imperial seat from Thebes to Memphis^a.

Sasychis.

After him reigned Sasychis, the second Egyptian legislator.

Nitocris.

We have now brought Diodorus down to Myris; and, that we may do the same with Herodotus, we must relate what he has said concerning Nitocris. She succeeded her brother, an Ethiopian, whom the Egyptians murdered, but afterwards conferred the succession on her. She, meditating revenge for the brother's untimely end, put many of the Egyptians to death privately, and by stratagem; and is particularly said to have contrived a subterraneous building, whither she invited the principal actors against her brother to partake of a feast, and, in the midst of their mirth, to have turned the river upon them by a private passage, and drowned them all. Then, to screen herself from the rage of the people, she took refuge in a place well fortified with ashes^b. She was of a fair complexion, her hair was yellow, her person beautiful; but it appears, that, though her mind was great, she was not a little inclined to cruelty. She is reported to have built the third great pyramid^c.

After twelve generations, Mæris, or Myris, came to the throne. This was he who dug the famous lake which bore his name, and erected the two pyramids which stood in the midst of it. He also built a sumptuous portico on the north side of Vulcan's temple at Memphis^d. According to Herodotus, he was the three hundred and thirtieth king from Menes, and the immediate predecessor to Sesostris.

Sesostris.

Sesostris, Sesooftris, Sesoofis, Sefonchis, Sefonchosis, Sethosis, and several other appellations, are, by (I) some, held to

^a Diod. ubi supra, p. 45. ^b Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 100.
^c Syncel. p. 58. ^d Herod. ib. cap. 101. Diod. ubi supra, p. 47.

(I) Sir John Marsham is of the profane historians is the opinion, that the Sesostris of Sefac or Shishak of the sacred; he

to belong to one man, whose reign is esteemed the most extraordinary part of the Egyptian history. He is represented as having been very powerful, both by sea and land, wise, just, generous, valiant, magnificent, but ambitious. The Greeks and Egyptians, who recorded his actions, in prose or verse, differed widely from each other; but they could never differ more than our modern chronologers and historians disagree in fixing his age, and in speaking concerning him; however we shall collect the best account we can of his reign.

Sesostris then is by some thought to have been the son of Amenophis; but, whoever his father was, it is said, that the god Vulcan appeared to him in a dream, and admonished him, that the son which was or should be born to him, would be lord of the whole earth. Full of this vision, he got together all the males in Egypt born on the same day with his son, and appointed nurses, and proper persons to take care of them, and had them treated in all respects like his own child; persuaded that they who had been the constant and equal companions of his childhood and youth, would prove the most faithful ministers, and most affectionate fellow-soldiers. They were abundantly furnished with every thing needful; as they grew up, they were by degrees inured to laborious and manly exercises, and were in particular never permitted to taste of any thing till they had performed a course of one hundred

His father gathers in all the boys in Egypt that were born on the same day with him.

he takes notice, that the more ancient kings of Egypt, with whom the patriarchs were formerly concerned, are always styled Pharaoh; whereas Shishak is the first Egyptian king in Scripture called by his proper name; except Rameses be rather the name of a king than a country. This famous chronologer thinks, that when Sesostris, or Shishak, set out to invade Asia, he could not well avoid falling upon Judæa, and accordingly took the capital thereof, Jerusalem, which he stripped of its riches, and reduced Rehoboam the king to serve him; for there is express mention made in the LXX. and Vulgate versions, that he was

followed by multitudes of Libyans, Troglodytes, and Ethiopians, nations whom, according to profane accounts, he had previously conquered. Perizonius, on the contrary, affirms that Sisac and Sesostris are kings widely different and remote from each other. Whiston has taken great pains to prove that Sesostris is the Typhon of the mythologists, and the very Pharaoh that perished in the Red Sea; and Sir Isaac Newton in his Chronology, has displayed much learning to support his opinion that Sesostris is the Osiris of the Egyptians, the Bacchus of the Greeks, and the Sisac or Shishak of the Scripture.

and

*Sends him
into Arabia
and Africa.*

and eighty fulongs, or upwards of twenty-two miles. By this exercise of the body, and a proper cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to command and to execute. Amenophis, after he had been at this vast expence and trouble in laying the foundation of his son's future grandeur, resolved to give him and his companions an opportunity of displaying the good effects of their institution; and therefore he sent him and them with an army into Arabia. In this expedition the young Sesostris surmounted all the dangers of serpents and venomous creatures, all the wants and hardships of a dry and barren country; and in the end subdued the Arabians, who, till that time, had never been conquered. His father then ordered him westward, and he conquered the greatest part of Africa^e; nor did he stop his career, till he saw the Atlantic ocean^f. Whilst he was on this expedition, his father died. Having now the reins in his own hands, and being elated by the success which had hitherto attended him, he grasped at the conquest of the whole earth; or he called to mind the prediction of the god, and prepared for the enterprize. Some say, that his daughter Athyrte, a maiden of great spirit and sagacity, excited him to this enterprize; representing it as an easy matter; others allege, that she obtained assurances of her father's success by divination, by dreams in temples, and prodigies in the air^g; so that he could be no very young man at this time. Lastly, he is said to have been instructed by Mercury, who gave him counsels proper for carrying on the war^h.

*Undertakes
to conquer
the whole
world.*

Having in view a general conquest, and knowing that he must be long absent, and far remote from Egypt, he bethought himself by what means he might retain the hearts and affections of his own people, that they might not attempt any innovations during his absence. He therefore endeared himself to all his subjects, by largesses in money, by donations in land, and by the remission of punishments; he pardoned all who were guilty of treason; and paid the debts of all who were in themselves insolvent. In fine, he wrought upon the minds of all by fair speeches, and a familiar deportment. In the next place he divided the whole kingdom into thirty-six nomes, or provinces; assigned a governor to each of themⁱ; and

*Divides E-
gypt into
thirty-six
nomes.*

^e Diodorus, lib. i. p. 48.

ubi supra, 49.

^f Lucan. x. ver. 27.

^g Diodorus, ubi supra, 49.

^h Ælianus. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 4.

ⁱ Diodorus, ubi supra, p. 50.

constituted his brother Armais supreme regent, investing him with ample power; but he forbade him the use of the diadem, and commanded him to offer no injury to the queen and her children, and to abstain from the royal concubines ^k. Having thus settled the government, he selected the choicest of his subjects, and, enlisting an army equal to the vastness of his designs, bestowed the chief commands of it on his beloved companions, who were upwards of one thousand seven hundred in number. As an earnest of his benevolence, besides the favours he had bestowed on them in common with the rest of their countrymen, that he and his successors might always have a regular force ready at hand, he settled certain portions by lot, of the most fertile land in Egypt, on his whole army; whence an handsome income arising to them, neither they nor their posterity might lie under the necessity of seeking a livelihood by mercantile and mechanic callings, but wholly apply themselves to the military exercise. His army consisted of six hundred thousand foot, twenty-four thousand horse, and twenty-seven thousand chariots of war. He first marched into Ethiopia, and reduced the inhabitants to pay a tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory ^l. He is generally believed to have been the first that subdued Ethiopia and Troglodytica; and is said to have reached the promontory of Dira, near the streights of the Red Sea, where he set up a pillar, with an inscription in sacred characters; thence he proceeded as far as the country where cinnamon grows, or, at least, some place whence cinnamon was brought, where he raised monuments and pillars with inscriptions, which were to be seen many ages after his expedition ^m.

He institutes the military order.

Conquers Ethiopia.

His land forces alone were not answerable to the conquest he intended, and therefore, breaking through the ancient superstition of the Egyptians, he was the first of their kings that fitted out navies of tall ships. He had two fleets; one of four hundred sail, in the Arabian gulph, if Diodorus is to be credited, and Herodotus, who mentions the same fleet in general terms; and the other in the Mediterranean, if we may believe Manetho ⁿ, who by Sethosis understands Sesostris. By these naval armaments, and by the great services they are said to

His fleets.

^k Manetho, apud Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i. p. 1041.
^l Diod. ubi supra. ^m Vide Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 769, 770. Vid. etiam lib. xvii. p. 790. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. c. 29. ⁿ Apud Joseph. contra Apion.

He institutes the marine class, or order.

have done, Sesostris probably surmounted the aversion the Egyptians had to sea affairs, at least for a time; and instituted the marine class, as he did likewise the military order. But, not to dwell on this conjecture, we shall only add, that his consecrating a spacious and magnificent ship to the supreme god of the Thebans, looks as if he designed to bring navigation into credit in Egypt. With the first of these fleets he sailed out of the Arabian gulph into the Red or Indian Sea, and subdued the coasts thereof; and, continuing his course till he was stopped by certain shoals, and difficult places, returned back to Egypt^o; or, according to Diodorus, he went not on board himself, but sent them out against the islands and maritime places of the continent, as far as India. With his Mediterranean squadron he conquered Cyprus, the sea-coast of Phœnicia^p, and several of the Cyclades^q; this is all we know concerning his exploits by sea.

Continuation of his conquests and wars.

As to his conquests by land, it is by almost all antiquity agreed, that he over-ran and pillaged all Asia, and some part of Europe. He crossed the Ganges, on the banks of which river he erected pillars, and, to use the poet's expression, left the same kind of memorial in the remotest mountains of India^r; indeed, he is said to have marched on till he was stopped by the ocean eastward^s. From thence returning, he invaded the Scythians and Thracians: but the accounts of his war with the former, do not all agree in giving him a complete conquest over them. Herodotus, Diodorus, Agathias^t, and others, represent him as having been victorious; but some relate, that he was repulsed, and fled from the Scythians, and was worsted by the Colchians. Justin tells us, that Vexores or Sesostris dispatching ambassadors before him, to summon the Scythians to surrender, they sent back his messengers with contempt, threats, and defiance, and immediately took up arms. Sesostris, being informed that they were advancing towards him by hasty marches, suddenly faced about, and fled before them, leaving all his baggage and warlike stores to the pursuers, who followed him till they reached the borders of Egypt^u. Pliny relates, that he was overthrown by the king of Colchis^x; and Valerius Flaccus insinuates, that he was repulsed

^o Herod. lib. ii. cap. 102. ^p Manetho, apud Joseph. contra Apion. ubi supra. ^q Diodorus, ubi supra, p. 51. ^r Dionysius in Perieg. ver. 625. ^s Diodorus, ubi supra, p. 50. ^t Lib. ii. p. 55. ^u Lib. ii. cap. 3. ^x Lib. xxxiii. cap. 3.

with great slaughter, and put to flight^γ; but whether he had good or bad success in these countries, it is a common opinion, that he settled a colony in Colchis; though Herodotus, on whom we may chiefly rely in this matter, does not decide whether it was of his own planting; or whether part of his army, tired out, loitered in the rear, and voluntarily sat down on the banks of the river Phasis in that kingdom. He says, from his own knowledge, that the inhabitants were, undoubtedly, of Egyptian descent, as was visible from the personal similitude they bore to the Egyptians, who were swarthy, and frizzle-haired; but, more especially from the conformity of their customs, particularly circumcision; and from the affinity of their language with that of Egypt. And many ages afterwards, at *Æa*, the capital of Colchis, they shewed maps of their journeys, and the bounds of sea and land, for the use of travellers^z; and hence came geography. This relation to each other was acknowledged on both sides^z. We now attend upon Sesostris into Thrace, the utmost boundary of his progress westward in Europe. Here he was in danger of losing his army through want of provisions, and the difficulty of the passes; and therefore he here stopped his progress^b. But the more probable opinion is, that his return was hastened by advice he received from the high-priest of Egypt concerning his brother's revolt^c. However this may have been, his pillars were no where to be seen in Egypt beyond Thrace^d; for it was his custom to set up pillars in every country he conquered, with an inscription to this effect: "Sesostris, king of kings, and lord of lords, subdued this country by the power of his arms." If the nation had ignobly crouched to him, he, besides the inscription, caused the privities of a woman to be carved, as a mark of their effeminacy and baseness^e. If they had defended themselves bravely, their pillars bore the distinction of the contrary sex, in testimony of their courage^f. Besides these, he left statues of himself, two of which are yet to be seen, says Herodotus, one on the road between Ephesus and Phocæa, and the other between Smyrna and Sardis; they were armed after the Ethiopian and Egyptian man-

Supposed to settle a colony in Colchis.

His pillars and statues.

^γ Argonaut. lib. v. ver. 410.

^z Apollon. Rhod. Argon.

lib. iv. ver. 272.

^a Herodot. ib. cap. 103, 104.

^b Diodor.

ubi supra, p. 51.

^c Manetho apud Joseph. contra Apion.

ubi supra.

^d Herodot. Diod. ubi supra.

^e Herodot.

ibid. cap. 102, & 106.

^f Vide Syncell. p. 59, 60.

ner, five palms high, and each held a javelin in one hand, and a bow in the other. Across the breast was a line drawn from one shoulder to the other, with this inscription; "This region I obtained by these my shoulders." They were mistaken for images of Memnon ^g.

*Return to
Egypt.*

Upon advice of the rebellious proceedings of his brother, who, encouraged by his long absence, and great distance, had assumed the diadem, violated the queen, and taken to himself the royal concubines ^h, he hastened from Thrace, and, at the end of nine years, came to Pelusium, attended by an infinite multitude of captives of all nations, and loaded with the spoils of Asia ⁱ. Here the rebel Armais or Danaus, received him with outward submission and joy, but with a private design to take away his life, and root out his family. Accordingly, he invited the king his brother, the queen, and her children, to a banquet; they accepted the invitation, drank freely, and, being intoxicated, betook themselves to rest; in the mean time, he caused a great quantity of dried reeds to be laid all around the apartment where they slept; and, setting fire to them, hoped thereby to accomplish his wicked design. Sesostris, perceiving the danger he was in, and that his guards overwhelmed with wine, were incapable of assisting him, lifted up his hands, and, imploring the gods in behalf of his family, rushed through the flames, followed by his wife and children. In thanksgiving for this wonderful deliverance, and to perform the vows he had made in his extremity, he presented donations to several gods, and, particularly, to Vulcan ^k, as will be observed hereafter. Herodotus writes, that his wife persuaded him to lay two of his sons across the fire, and to tread over them. He then took revenge on his brother Armais ^l, who is said to have been the Danaus of the Greeks ^m, who being, on this occasion, driven out of Egypt, withdrew into Greece.

*Is miracu-
lously de-
livered
from the
murderous
designs of
his bro-
ther.*

Sesostris, having thus defeated his brother's unnatural designs, and seeing himself again in the quiet possession of his kingdom, adorned all the temples with spoils and rich gifts, and rewarded his troops in proportion to every man's merit. His army was not only glorious in their return, for the mighty actions they had performed, and the great riches they had acquired; but, also, for the great

^g Herodot. ib. cap. 106. ^h Manetho, ubi sup. ⁱ Herodot. ibid. cap. 107. ^k Diod. ubi supra, p. 51. ^l Herodot. ibid. ^m Manetho, ubi supra.

variety of foreign commodities they brought home with them, with which they stored the whole kingdom. Now, laying aside all thoughts of war, he disbanded his forces, leaving every one to the undisturbed enjoyment of what fortune had favoured him with. As for himself, he hence forward applied his mind to such stupendous works as might immortalize his name, and contribute to the public good.

His works were of three sorts; religious, military, and civil: first, he erected a temple in every city of Egypt, which he dedicated to the peculiar and supreme deity of each place; in the course of so universal an undertaking, no Egyptian was set to work; wherefore, upon all these temples there was this inscription, "No native laboured hereon^a." In the city of Memphis, before the temple of Vulcan, he raised six gigantic statues, each of one stone; two of them thirty cubits high, representing himself and his wife; the other four were twenty cubits, and represented his four sons^b. These he dedicated to Vulcan, in remembrance of his and his family's preservation at Pelusium^c. Many ages afterwards it was said, that Darius would have placed his own statue above this of Sesostris; but the priest of Vulcan strenuously opposed him, urging, that the Persian, though great, had not yet equalled the Egyptian; particularly, that he had never conquered Scythia; and that therefore it was unjust to prefer him to a monarch whom he had not yet excelled^d. He, moreover, raised two obelisks of marble a hundred and twenty cubits high, exhibiting inscriptions, which described the greatness of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations he conquered. These are his works, which may be said particularly to commemorate his own piety and glory. Let us now take a view of what he did for the benefit of his people.

In order to prevent the incursions of the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified the east side of Egypt with a wall; which ran from Pelusium, through the desert, to Heliopolis, 1500 furlongs, or 187 miles and a half. He moreover raised an incredible number of vast and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed such towns as had before stood in too low a situation, to secure the men and cattle from the dangers of the Nile in its inundations. All the way from Memphis to the sea, he dug canals, which

^a Diodorus, ubi supra, p. 51, 52. ^b Herodot. ibid. cap. 110.
^c Diodorus, ubi supra, p. 53. ^d Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 110.

branched out of the Nile. These not only afforded an easier communication from one place to another, and greatly advanced the trade and prosperity of the kingdom; but also rendered the country impassable to an enemy, or at least very incommodious and difficult; so that Egypt, which had hitherto been famous for her horses and chariots, and was admirably well adapted for either, was now no longer the same place in those respects, and put on a new face¹. These precautions seem to imply that Sesostris feared the several nations he had disturbed, might unite against Egypt; but quite the reverse appears by his haughty carriage towards the tributaries, as will be seen by-and-by. Mean while, some of the captives grew desperate under the intolerable slavery imposed on them; particularly the Babylonians arose, and resolved, at all hazards, to shake off their bondage. They first seized upon a strong hold, and, acting offensively against the Egyptians, wasted the country; but, on the offer of a pardon, and a place for their habitation, they were pacified, and built themselves a city, which they called Babylon². According to Herodotus this king, after he returned from his wars, divided the land equally amongst all the Egyptians; but this division is inconsistent with what has been said of the lands he bestowed on his army before he set out, which we take to be more conformable to the genius and policy of this warlike prince. The same author, upon this occasion, says, that the king, reserving to himself a small rent out of the lands so divided, whenever it happened, that the waters of the Nile, in their retreat, washed away any part of a subject's ground, he gave information to the king, who, in such case, remitted a proportionable part of the rent, and, by sending surveyors to measure it, gave rise to the art of geometry³.

His insolence.

His behaviour towards the conquered princes, who waited on them with their tribute, is most remarkably insolent; for, upon certain occasions, he is said to have unharnessed his horses, and yoking kings together, to have made them draw his chariot⁴. This practice he continued, as is said, till a certain day, when, observing one of the kings, who drew him along, look with great steadfastness back on one of the wheels, he asked what employed his

¹ Diod. ubi supra, p. 52.

ubi supra, cap. 109.

² Idem ibid.

³ Diod. ubi supra, p. 53. Plin. lib. xxxiii.

cap. 3.

thoughts, that he kept his eye so fixed on that object? He answered, "O king, the going round of the wheel calls to my mind the vicissitudes of fortune: for, as every part of the wheel is uppermost and lowermost by turns, so it is with men, who one day sit on a throne, and, on the next, are reduced to the vilest degree of slavery." This answer brought the insulting conqueror to his senses, so that he left off the practice, and thenceforth treated his captives with great humanity. At length he lost his eye-sight, and laid violent hands on himself. The manner of his death was extolled by the priests"; and, that nothing might be wanting to make his history completely glorious, they reported, that the phoenix came to Thebes during his reign*. By what has been here said concerning Sesostris, it may be concluded, that he was the first who divided Egypt into nomes, and its inhabitants into orders and classes; that he was the first Egyptian king who was considerable at sea; and that he erected the first great empire in the world. Justin says, he neither aimed at it, nor kept it, being contented with the bare glory of the conquest he made. But all are not of his opinion.

Pheron, the son of Sesostris, succeeded him on the throne; he is also styled Sesoosis (Sesostris) II. The story of his reign, as it is handed down to us, favours more of fiction than of truth. He performed nothing in the military way; but had the misfortune, in common with his father, to be struck blind. Though this might be really owing to some infirmity derived from his parent, yet it is reported, that his loss of sight was a punishment inflicted on him for his impiety towards the river: for the Nile having, in his time, overflowed the country to an unusual height, a gale of wind arose, and greatly disturbed the waters; whereat he capriciously took offence, and insolently darted a javelin among the waves: he was immediately seized with a pain in his eyes, and, soon after, involved in total darkness, which oppressed him for ten years. In the eleventh year, the oracle at Butus declared, that the term of his affliction was expired, and that his sight would return to him if he paid particular devotions to the god at Heliopolis, and washed his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never known any man besides her husband. He begun with his own queen; but, receiving no benefit from her, proceeded with the experiment from one woman to another, till,

*Pheron, or
Sesostris II.*

*He is struck
blind.*

* Diod. ubi supra, p. 54.

† Tacit. Annal. vi. p. 154.

He recovers his fight again, and raises two obelisks.

at length, a poor gardener's wife afforded him the relief the oracle had promised. Her, therefore, he made queen; but, as for the adulteresses, he sent them to a city called Erythibolus, which, together, with them, he burnt. He paid his vows to the gods in several rich donations, and, particularly, raised two magnificent obelisks in the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis².

Amasis, or Ammosis, a tyrant.

Many ages after this event the sceptre devolved to Amasis, or Ammosis, who misused his people with the utmost violence and injustice. Many he condemned to death without cause; many he deprived of their possessions, upon no other motive than his own imperious will; and towards all he behaved with insupportable arrogance.

His subjects join with the Ethiopians to drive him out.

Under this oppressor they groaned for a while, not daring to resist so dreadful a power; but in time Actisanes, king of Ethiopia, made war against Ammosis; and, entering Egypt, the people joined him, and drove their unnatural prince from the throne.

Ammosis is said to have abolished the custom of sacrificing men to Juno at Heliopolis, and, instead of them, to have substituted waxen images. They were examined, and sealed, like pure calves, and called Typhonians³. Three of them were burnt in a day, and their ashes scattered abroad, so as to be no more seen. This ceremony was performed publicly every year, during the dog-days, at the city of Idithya^b, Josephus looks upon the whole story as fabulous^c.

Actisanes the Ethiopian.

Actisanes united Egypt and Ethiopia under him, and was king of both. He bore his prosperity with great moderation and prudence, and behaved affectionately towards

He sends all the Egyptian thieves and robbers to Rhinocolura.

his new subjects. He caused a general search to be made after the Egyptian thieves and robbers; then, giving them a just hearing, commanded their noses to be cut off, and sent them away to the remotest part of the desert, between Syria and Egypt, where he built them a town, which was called Rhinocolura, from the disfigurement of its infamous inhabitants. This part was so barren, that it scarce afforded any one necessary of life; for even the few wells and ponds, there found, were brackish, bitter, and most unpleasant to the palate. Hither he banished them, that they might not injure their honest neighbours by living among them, nor be hid in corners among the

² Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 111. Diodorus, ubi supra. ^a Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i. p. 332, &c. ^b Manetho apud Porph. de Abstin. lib. ii. cap. 55. ^c Josephus, ubi supra.

nocent. But, as frightful and barren as their situation was, necessity, the mother of invention, suggested an expedient to them of supplying themselves with food; for it is reported, that they made long nets of slit reeds, and with them caught great numbers of quails, which came in flocks from the sea shore *.

Actifanes died, and the Egyptians were left to their own disposal; they therefore chose them a king, named, by some, Mendes, and, by others, Marus. He is celebrated for the sepulchral labyrinth he built.

Mendes, or Marus.

After Mendes, ensued an anarchy, or inter-reign, for five generations. At length, Memphite, of obscure birth, was chosen king. His Egyptian name was Cetes, which the Greeks rendered Proteus (K). Both Herodotus and Diodorus suppose him to have lived in the time of the Trojan war. The priests characterised him as a person skilled in the weather, or a magician; and pretended he could assume any shape or form he pleased, even that of fire. This fable, as it was told by the Greeks, drew its origin from a custom among the Egyptians (perhaps introduced by Proteus), who were used to adorn and distinguish the heads of their kings with the representations of animals or vegetables, or even with burning incense, as so many ensigns of royalty, to strike the beholders with dread and superstition^f. Whilst Proteus reigned, Paris, or Alexander, was driven on the coasts of Egypt by a storm, and there landed with Helen, whom he was carrying from Greece to Troy; but, when the Egyptian

Proteus is chosen king.

The fable of Proteus whence derived.

Paris and Helen arrive in Egypt.

* Diodorus, ubi supra, p. 55.

^f Idem, p. 56.

(K) According to Perizonius, Proteus was the Sethos of Manetho, and the Typhon of the poets. He thinks, that Homer's Proteus, and this king, are the same person; and that he was styled a sea-god, because he had commanded on the coasts of Egypt. He gives no credit to Herodotus, as to the arrival of Paris and Helen under this king. It is not consistent with his hypothesis.

Sir Isaac Newton, on the contrary, seems to give credit

to Herodotus, as far as it relates to Paris and Helena; but makes him contemporary with Amenophis, whom, as we have already observed, he supposes to be one and the same person with Menes. He thinks, he might have been governor of some part of the Lower Egypt under Amenophis; and observes, that Homer places him on the sea coast, and calls him the servant of Neptune; and that his Greek name, ~~Proteus~~ only a prince, or prophet.

king understood the perfidious breach of hospitality this young man had committed, he seized him, his mistress, and his companions, with all the riches he had brought away with him from Greece. As for Helen and her husband's effects, he detained them, promising to restore both to the injured party, whenever demanded. This he did; but Paris and his companions he commanded to depart out of his dominions in three days, upon pain of being treated as enemies. A very rich and sumptuous temple was erected to him at Memphis; and he left a son and successor behind him, called Rhemphis^a.

*Rhemphis,
or Rhamp-
finitus.*

Rhemphis, also called Rhampfinitus (L), was of an inclination to hoard up money. Diodorus reports him to have been so sordidly avaricious, that, during his whole reign, he rather acted the part of a mean-spirited steward, than of a king. He observes, that this monarch was never at the least expence in any thing that might tend either to the honour of the gods, or the good of men; and that to his sordid temper was owing the immense treasure he left behind him, amounting to no less than 400,000 talents^b. Herodotus insinuates,

^a Herodotus, ubi supra, cap. 112, &c.

^b Diod. ubi supra.

(L) Sir John Marsham is inclined to think him the eldest son of Sesostris, and to be the same with Rhampfes; and this he advances upon the authority of Manetho, who calls him the son of Sethos; supposing that the famous inscription, which was interpreted to Cæsar Germanicus at Thebes, related to him. And, indeed, there is no very great difference between the Rhampfes of Tacitus and the Rhampfes of Manetho.

Perizonius supposes, that the Rhampfes of Tacitus is Sesostris himself; but Rameffes, or Rhampfinitus, the son of Proteus, he makes contemporary with the Trojan war, in

which he is supported by a passage from Pliny.

Sir Isaac Newton conjectures him to have been the son of Amenophis, or Menes, and to be shadowed under the different names of Rhampfinitus, Ramfes, Ramises, Ramefes, Rameffes, Ramestes, Rhampfes, and Rhemphis; and that the obelisk which was sent to Rome by the emperor Constantius, with an inscription interpreted by Hermapion, an Egyptian priest, expressing that he was long-lived, and reigned over a great part of the earth, as also that pompous inscription mentioned by Tacitus, belonged to him (1),

(1) Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms.

that he was fond of riches; but does not reduce him to so wretched a degree of baseness. "Ramphsinitus," says he, "added the western portico to the temple of Vulcan, and erected two statues before it, each 25 cubits high: one of them faced the north, and was adored by the Egyptians under the title of Summer; and the other looked towards the south, and being denominated Winter, was abhorred. Moreover, he had accumulated vast store of wealth, and, being desirous to deposit it in some secure place, commanded a treasure-house to be built for that purpose. The architect employed in this work placed one of the stones in so artful a manner, that it might be taken out, and put in again, by one man only; it being his intention to have some share in the riches of the place; but about the time that the treasure was lodged in it, he was seized with a violent fit of sickness; and, finding himself at the point of death, declared to his two sons the whole artifice, giving them the most exact directions in the management of the business, which he foresaw would never be his fate to accomplish. The father died, and the young men, impatient to take advantage of the discovery, repaired, soon after his death, to the treasury, where, having with great ease removed the stone, they carried off a considerable sum, repeating, every night, the same theft. In process of time, Rhampsinitus, going in to view his wealth, was surprised to find a visible diminution of his treasure; and the more, as his seal was whole on the door, the only part of the building which he thought accessible. The two brothers continued their night expilations, till the king, after two or three further surveys, was perfectly sensible that, by some means or other, his wealth suffered a successive decrease. He then ordered snares to be laid all round the vessels which held his money. The two brothers failed not to come at night; but one of them, as he approached a vase full of silver, was immediately taken in the snare. As he found it impossible to make his escape, he called to his brother, who stood without, and earnestly intreated him to come in, and cut off his head, that so he might save his own life, and prevent detection. The brother, consulting his own safety, complied with his request; and, putting the stone in its place again, took the head away with him. Early next morning, the king going in to see the event of his project, was so surprised to find a man taken in the snare without a head, that he hastened out with the greatest confusion: he no sooner recollected himself, however, than he directed that

Builds the western portico to the temple of Vulcan,

and a treasure house,

which is plundered by the architect's two sons.

that the body should be hung on the outside of the wall, and exposed to public view; charging the soldiers, appointed to guard it, to take particular notice of the countenances of the spectators, and to arrest those in whom they perceived signs of sorrow and lamentation. The mother of the deceased, hearing that the body was exposed in this manner, distracted with grief, and upbraiding her surviving son, threatened, if he did not retrieve his brother's body, to let the king know who had robbed his treasury. The young man represented the impracticability of her request, but to no purpose. Finding her, therefore, unalterable in her resolution, he gratified her, in the end, by the following stratagem: loading his asses with skins of wine, he drove them towards the place where the body was exposed. Then he privately opened some of the skins; and striking himself in token of despair, as soon as the wine began to run out, he counterfeited the trouble and consternation of a person utterly undone. In the mean time, the soldiers upon duty strove to save part of the liquor for their own drinking. He reviled them with the most bitter reproaches for the pleasure they took in his misfortune, instead of offering to assist him; but they, using him kindly, he pretended to be pacified, and, leading his asses out of the way, feigned to be very busy in securing the remainder of his wine. Pretending to be pleased with their jokes and good humour, he at last consented to give them a skin of the wine; and they, in return for so great a favour, pressed him to stay, and take part of it with them: he complied, and, when the skin was emptied, he gave them another; so that, by excessive drinking, the whole guard was overcome, and fell into a deep sleep; then, watching his opportunity, in the dead of the night, he took down the body, laid it across an ass, and shaving the right cheek of each of the soldiers, by way of derision, carried it home to his mother. This exploit afforded matter of new wonder to the king, who, to find out the author of the stratagem bethought him of the following expedient: he ordered his daughter to prostitute herself, in a certain apartment of the palace, to all comers promiscuously; but under this restriction, that she should previously extort from each of them a confession of the most ingenious action he had ever contrived; and the most wicked crime he had ever committed. The daughter punctually complied with her father's instructions, which the young man being apprized of, he resolved to perplex the king a little further.

further. With this view he got the arm of a dead body, yet fresh, and taking it under his cloak, went in to the king's daughter. She examined him in the same form, and to the same purpose, as she had catechised the rest who had been with her before him; when he frankly confessed, that the most abominable and wicked action of his life was the cutting off his brother's head, when ensnared in the treasury; and the most ingenious device he had ever practised, was the stealing the body from the guard. She then attempted to seize him, but he, holding out the dead arm to her, while she grasped it eagerly, made his escape by favour of the night. Rhampsinitus's rage being now converted into admiration at the boldness and ingenuity of the man, he caused it to be proclaimed in every city, that if the person, whoever he was, would discover himself, he should not only be pardoned, but amply rewarded. The young man, confiding in this declaration, went straightway to the palace, and, having made himself known, the king gave him his daughter in marriage, accounting him far superior in wisdom to any man then living upon earth. Our author does not warrant every particular of his story¹.

After this transaction, it was fabled, that Rhampsinitus descended alive into the infernal regions, where he played at dice with Ceres, but neither won nor lost; and that, at his departure, she presented him with a golden bowl. The space between his descent and return to the upper regions, was observed with great solemnity by the Egyptians for many ages afterwards. And now, that we may conclude the history of this king with some air of truth and probability, he is said to have reigned with great prudence and justice, and to have been a constant and strict observer of the good order which, till his death, had uninterruptedly subsisted throughout the kingdom from its first foundation^m.

Rhampsinitus goes down to hell.

He was succeeded by seven other kings, all of nameless fame, and ignoble character, except one, called Nilus, who is celebrated for the great number of canals he dug all over the country, and for his endeavours to make the Nile as universally serviceable as possible: whence it was, that the river, which had been hitherto called *Ægyptus*, was now distinguished by his nameⁿ.

Nilus.

¹ Herod. lib. ii. cap. 121—123.
ubi supra, p. 57.

^m Idem ibid.

ⁿ Diod.

*Cheops,
Chemmis,
or Chembes,
a tyrant.*

Cheops, Chemmis, or Chembes (M), is, by Diodorus reckoned the eighth from Rhampsinitus; yet Herodotus places no distance between them. This king is branded for his impiety and tyranny. He began his reign with shutting up the temples, and forbidding all public sacrifices; then trampling on the laws, and invading the liberties of his people, he reduced them to a state of the most laborious slavery. Great numbers he sent to dig stones in the quarries among the mountains in Arabia, and to transport them into Egypt^o; and harrassed them in the end in raising the largest of the three great pyramids^p. By this, and other vain-glorious works of the same kind, he was reduced so low, that he exposed his daughter to common prostitution; telling her, in general terms, to earn what she could. She obeyed, and, by her father's example, desiring to perpetuate her memory, required each of her gallants to contribute a stone towards a building she had in view. With the stones, so collected, she built a small pyramid^q. This tyrant reigned fifty years.

*Builds the
largest py-
ramid.
Prostitutes
his daugh-
ter.*

*Cephrenes,
Cephren, or
Chabryis,
a tyrant.*

He was succeeded by Cephrenes, Cephren, or Chabryis. It is doubted whether Cephren and Chabryis were one and the same person; some saying that Cephren was the brother, and that Chabryis was the son of Cheops. But leaving this obscure controversy undetermined, we shall observe that this king trod in the footsteps of his predecessor, and particularly in building a pyramid; but it fell much short of the former. He reigned fifty-six years. Though both he and his predecessor designed these pyramids for their eternal mansions, to use the Egyptian phrase, yet neither were deposited there after death; their friends dreading the rage of the multitude, buried them where their bodies could never be found.

*Builds a
pyramid.*

*Mycerinus,
or Cheri-
nus, a good
prince.*

After Egypt had been thus afflicted by tyranny for one hundred and six years, Mycerinus, or Cherinus (N), the son of Cheops, a good and merciful prince, ascended the

^o Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 124.
Diod. ubi supra.

^p Idem. ibid. cap. 125. &
^q Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 126.

(M) Sir Isaac Newton suspects, that he intended to be worshipped himself after death: and supposes, that he was also called Chemmis, Phiöps, Apathus, Apappus, Suphis, Sa-

ophis, Syphoas, Syphaosis, Soiphis, Syphuris, Anoiphis, and Anoifis.

(N) The last cited chronologer calls him also Cheres, Bickers, Moscheres, Mencheres.

throne.

throne. Abhorring the impiety and injustice of his father and his uncle, he opened the temples, restored the sacrifices, and allowed the people to pursue their private affairs. His generosity and good nature are reported to have been such, that if at any time complaint was made to him of a hard sentence pronounced in matter of property, he would satisfy the party aggrieved to the amount of the loss out of his own treasure¹. Whilst he was thus intent on the happiness of his people, a heavy misfortune fell upon him in the death of his daughter. He mourned for her with great bitterness, and honoured her with an extraordinary funeral, causing a hollow wooden image of a cow to be made and richly gilt, he therein deposited her body. This cow was never interred, but exposed in a magnificent chamber of the palace, in the city of Sais, where they burnt the most exquisite odours by day, and illuminated the place by night. In a contiguous room were twenty images of naked women, which the priests of Sais reported to have been the concubines of Mycerinus. But, as it generally happens in cases of remote antiquity, this was not the only report spread concerning this cow and the statues. It was said that Mycerinus forced and deflowered his own daughter, who, thus violated, fell into a deep melancholy, and laid violent hands on herself. The twenty statues in the next room were her women, who had been instrumental in betraying her to her father's unnatural lust, and therefore were deprived of their hands by the queen. They appeared indeed without hands; but our author, who was an eyewitness of these things, tells us they had dropped off with age, and lay scattered upon the floor. He tells us also, that the cow was in a kneeling posture, and as big as the largest cow living. Her neck and head were richly plated with gold; between the horns was a golden circle, in imitation of the sun, and her body was covered with a fine Tyrian carpet. This sepulchral image was removed once a year from the apartment where it stood, and exposed to the open day, in pursuance of a request the deceased had made to her father, that she might behold the sun once every year.

His daughter dies, and he buries her in an extraordinary manner.

The death of his daughter was not the only misfortune that befel Mycerinus; a more dreadful disaster ensued: it was denounced against him from the oracle at Butus, that he had but six years more to live; at this prediction

The oracle at Butus declares him to be short-lived.

¹ Herodot. *ibid.* cap. 119.

he was greatly troubled, and sent to expostulate with the oracle, remonstrating, that, since his father and uncle, who were monsters of impiety and cruelty, had been blessed with length of days, it would be ungrateful to requite his piety and humanity with the execution of so rigid a sentence. The oracle answered, that his father and uncle knew the decree of fate, which had condemned the Egyptians to one hundred and fifty years of bondage and misery, and acted conformably thereto; but his having interrupted the course of their misery, as not being acquainted with that decree, was the cause he was so suddenly to be cut off. Finding therefore that his doom was irreversible, he consulted how to make the most of the small remainder of life, and commanding a great number of lamps to be lighted up every night, spent his whole time in drinking and revelling; thenceforward, making no distinction between day and night, he roved about among the groves and meadows, and wherever he heard of the most gay and chearful company: finally, he is said to have built a pyramid, which, from the basis to the middle, was of Ethiopian stone, and on the northern front of it he inscribed his own name. This pyramid the Greeks, by a gross mistake, attributed to the courtesan Rhodopis, who flourished in the days of Amasis, several reigns lower.

*Forbids all
luxury,
and curses
Menes.*

We now proceed to Gnephactus, the father of Bocchoris the Wise, who is also named Technatis by Plutarch¹, and Nechoabis by Alexis. What interval there was between him and Mycerinus does no where plainly appear. This king is famed for his abstinence, and for the execration he denounced against Menes; for it is recorded of him, that leading an army into Arabia, and marching through the vast and barren deserts, his provisions failed, when, being one day obliged to take up with the poor and slender diet he met with, he afterwards fell into a profound sleep; this so delighted him, that he forbade all excess and luxury, and cursed Menes, who first introduced them; and so earnestly did he persecute the memory of this his predecessor, that by consent of the priests, he engraved his curse upon a pillar, which was seen in the temple of Thebes.

Bocchoris.

Bocchoris, the son of Gnephactus, was surnamed the Wise. Though despicable in his person, he, in prudence and wisdom, far surpassed any of his predecessors.

¹ Idem *ibid.* cap. 133, 134.

² De *Isid.* & *Osir.*

He is reckoned the fourth Egyptian law-giver; but his laws seem not to have concerned any thing except commerce, and the regulation of the public revenue. His decisions were, for their excellence, retained many generations after his death; but his great qualities were somewhat debased by his avarice¹. So high was the veneration his subjects paid him, that they fabled Isis to have sent an asp to deprive him of his sight, that he might judge righteously². Nevertheless, he drew a general odium upon himself, by letting in a wild bull to the sacred beast called Mnevis; but this last got the better, and killed his antagonist. At last, notwithstanding all the equity of his judgment³, and the purity of his mind, he is said to have been taken by Sabbaco the Ethiopian, and burnt alive⁴.

Afychis is, by Herodotus, placed next in order to Mycerinus; but in compliance with Diodorus, we have put two reigns between them, notwithstanding our full persuasion that Bocchoris and Afychis were the same. It is recorded of Afychis, that he built the eastern portico to the temple of Vulcan, with a magnificence that eclipsed the others. Finding that the riches of Egypt were lodged in a few hands, and that credit was decayed, he enacted a law, whereby a man might borrow money upon the sepulchre of his father, depositing the body, as a pledge, in the hands of the creditor; and till it was redeemed, the debtor might neither be buried in the sepulchre of his father, nor in any other, nor put any of his descendents therein. This king, in order to surpass all his predecessors, built a pyramid of brick, on which appeared a very vaunting inscription⁵.

After Afychis, a blind man, named Anyfis, from a city of the same name, became king. In his reign Sabbaco, king of Ethiopia, broke into Egypt with a powerful army, and Anyfis fled for shelter to the fens, leaving his kingdom to the invader⁶.

Before we enter upon the reign of Sabbaco, let us take a cursory retrospect of these three last reigns, and perhaps we may find reason to think that Bocchoris and Afychis are different names for one king, and that the blind man Anyfis was his contemporary; for the law, said to have been instituted by Afychis, favours so much of Boccho-

Afychis.

Builds the eastern portico to the temple of Vulcan;

and a brick pyramid.

Anyfis.

Bocchoris and Afychis the same king, and contemporary to Anyfis, and Eus the father of Psammethichus,

¹ Diod. lib. i. p. 59. 85.

² Ælian. de Anim. lib. xi. cap. 11.

lib. ii. cap. 136.

³ Plut. *in* *Demetrius*, p. 529.

⁴ Syncel. p. 74.

⁵ Herodot. ubi *supra*, cap. 137.

ris's genius, as might incline us to think them but one man. And if it be true, that Boëchoris was burnt alive by Sabbaco, they must not only have been so, but Anyfis must also have been king of another part of Egypt at the same time. Furthermore, it is declared by Herodotus, that Ecus, the father of Psammetichus was slain by the same Ethiopian^b. Here we have three kings, if we may suppose Ecus to have been of royal dignity, subdued by one and same enemy, and all in Egypt. From hence it may appear, that many of the kings of Egypt who were contemporary, are placed in order of succession, merely out of ostentation, and in order to support the pretensions the priests made to the excessive antiquity of their kingdom.

Sabbaco the Ethiopian.

We now return to Sabbaco, from whose cruelty to Bocchoris we should conclude him to have begun his reign with the like barbarity towards others, were we not assured, that he no sooner found himself firmly established on the throne, than he became a new man; so that he is highly extolled for his mercy, clemency, and policy. He is thought to have been the So in Scripture, and to have entered into a league with Hoshea, king of Samaria, against Shalmanassar, king of Assyria. He was excited to the invasion of Egypt by a dream or vision, which assured him he should hold Egypt fifty years; and when that term was expired, he voluntarily retired into Ethiopia again, resigning his conquered kingdom. But whilst he was in Egypt, he exhibited the highest proofs of his wisdom and piety, and yielded to none of his Egyptian predecessors in the art of governing. He never would consent to the death of any criminal, though capitally condemned, commuting the punishment into hard labour, which consisted in raising mounts, and digging canals; so that the cities of Egypt were raised higher, and rendered more commodious, than they had been by Sesostris; and particularly the city of Bubastis, where stood a most magnificent temple, consecrated to the goddess of the same name.

His first vision.

His policy.

His second vision.

At length Sabbaco had a vision in his sleep, wherein the tutelar god of Thebes admonished him, that he could not hold the kingdom of Egypt with safety and happiness, except he massacred the priests as he passed through them with his guards. Being haunted by this vision, and his heart abhorring so dreadful an undertaking, he sent for the priests, and declaring to them what the gods

^b Idem ibid. cap. 152.

prompted him to, he thence concluded that it was their pleasure he should remain no longer in Egypt; he therefore declared he was determined to return to his native country, and resign a crown which he could not preserve without so general a slaughter. It had been foretold that he should reign fifty years; these were now expired; so that looking upon the vision as a command to quit Egypt, he readily complied with it, and returned into Ethiopia^e.

As soon as Sabbaco had departed the kingdom, Anyfis came forth from his hiding-place, and re-assumed the government. He had been absent fifty years, and in that time had formed an island for his habitation, composed of ashes and earth; for, when any Egyptian came to him with provision, he always desired, that ashes might be brought, unknown to the Ethiopian. This island was called Elbo^f.

Anyfis again.

After him reigned Sethon, who was both king and priest of Vulcan. He not only neglected the military class or order, but injuriously divested them of their privileges and lands. They were so incensed at this usage, that, thinking themselves absolved from their allegiance, they entered into a combination not to bear arms under his command. Regardless of their threats and murmurs, he gave himself wholly up to contemplation, and the functions of religion. This was the state of affairs, when Sennacherib king of Assyria drew near Pelusium, designing to enter Egypt. Sethon, perceiving his danger, had now recourse to the military order, whom he had so unjustly treated. But they obstinately persisted in refusing to march under his banner. The priest, now destitute of all other advice and support, repaired to his god, and, in the utmost dejection of mind, implored his aid. Whilst he was yet in the temple, he fell into a deep sleep; during which it seemed to him, that the god, standing at his side, exhorted him to take courage, and promised, that if he would march against the Assyrians, he should obtain a complete victory. Impelled by this vision, he assembled together a body of artificers, traders, and labourers; and with this unexperienced multitude, directed his march towards Pelusium. The very night after his arrival at that place, an infinite number of field-rats, entering the enemies camp, gnawed their quivers, bow-strings, and shield-

Sethon king and priest.

^e Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 137—139.

^f Idem ibid. cap. 140.

straps to pieces^g. However, archbishop Usher^h and Dr. Prideauxⁱ are of opinion, that Sennacherib, what loss soever he might have sustained at Pelusium, entered Egypt; and, having destroyed the famous city of No, carried with him, on his return into Assyria, a great multitude of Egyptian captives: for it was, according to them, on this occasion, that the prophecy of Nahum was fulfilled: "Yet was she (the populous No) carried away; she went into captivity; her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honourable men; and all her great men were bound in chains^k." When Sethon next morning found the enemy thus disarmed, and moving off, he pursued them with great slaughter. In memory of this miraculous event, a statue of stone was erected to this king, in the temple of Vulcan, holding a rat in one hand, with an inscription, importing; "Whosoever beholdeth me, let him be pious^l."

*The twelve
kings.*

Soon after the death of Sethon, Egypt was divided into twelve kingdoms, and as many of the Egyptian lords were appointed rulers or sovereigns. These twelve entered into the strictest association for the public welfare. It had been foretold by an oracle, upon their assuming the government, that he of their number who should perform a libation in a brazen cup, should, in time, be king of all Egypt. This new regulation was attended with peace and happiness; and the twelve kings resolved to raise a monument, which might perpetuate their names to the latest ages: accordingly they built the famous labyrinth near the lake Mœris. At length they all met together, to sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan; and, being to offer a libation, the high priest, through mistake, brought out only eleven of the twelve gold bowls, which were reserved for the use of the twelve princes: Psammetichus, standing the last in order, and being unprovided for the ceremony, took off his helmet, which was of brass, in which he performed his libation. This action he performed inadvertently; but, it being observed by the rest, they called to mind the oracle, which promised the whole kingdom of Egypt to him who should happen to perform a libation in this place with a brass bowl. Wherefore they unanimously resolved to confine him to the marshy country, divesting

^g Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 141.

^h Ush. ad A. M. 3292.

ⁱ Prid. Connect. part i. book i. p. 23. octavo.

^k Nahum

iii. 10.

^l Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 141.

him of the greatest part of his district, and forbidding him to concern himself with the affairs of the public^m. The reason of this discord is differently told by others; and the whole is attributed to envy; for, at the division of the country into twelve provinces, the sea coasts fell to the lot of Psammetichus; and he, encouraging commerce with the Grecians and Phœnicians, not only accumulated great wealth, but acquired also the favour and friendship of several foreign kings and nations; which drew on him the envy of his colleagues; who, fearing he should grow too formidable, and affect to rule over them, resolved to reduce him betimes. Wherefore they all declared war against him. Finding himself unequal to the conflict, he hired an army of mercenaries, consisting chiefly of Ionians, Carians, and Arabians, repelled force with force, and in the end, subdued the other kings, and put an end to the duodecemvirateⁿ. On the other hand it is related, that, in pursuance of his sentence, he retreated to the fens; but, resenting the severity of his fate, he sent to the oracle of Latona, at the city of Butus, to know how, and when, he might hope for redress. The answer he received was, that brazen men would suddenly rise out of the sea, and avenge his cause. This declaration he received as a flat absurdity: but, not long after, some Ionian and Carian pirates landed in brass armour: an Egyptian, who had never seen men armed in that manner before, going up to Psammetichus, and acquainting him, that certain brazen men had risen out of the sea, and were pillaging the land near the sea shore, he perceived that the oracle was come to pass. He therefore persuaded them to stay, by large promises, and joining to them such Egyptians as were well affected to his cause, he subdued and dethroned the eleven kings, and seized on the whole kingdom for himself^o. It is said, the decisive battle was fought at Monemphis; that some of the kings were slain, and that others took refuge in Africa. Thus was the government by twelve dissolved, after it had subsisted fifteen years^p.

Hitherto the Egyptian history hath been covered with an impenetrable mist, which now begins to clear up. Psammetichus, of the tribe of Sais, thus possessed of the whole kingdom of Egypt, reigned with as much wisdom, magnanimity, and splendor, as any of his predecessors

Yr. of Fl.
1678.
Ante Chr.
670.

Psammetichus gives great encouragement to the Greeks.

^m Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 151.

ⁿ Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 152.

^o Diod. Sic. ubi supra, p. 59.

^p Diod. p. 60.

had ever displayed. He was the son of Ecus, whom Satabaco put to death when he conquered Egypt; and, had he not fled into Syria, would have shared in his father's fate. He made good his engagements with his allies, and over and above presented them with certain lands on each side of the Nile, and called their settlements the Camp. He also put several children under their tuition, that they might be instructed in the Greek language. They had their situation near the sea, below the city of Bubastis, by the Pelusian mouth of the Nile; and there they continued till Amasis removed them to Memphis. These Grecians are said to have been the first foreigners who were permitted to dwell in Egypt: and, from the intercourse and correspondence which was constantly kept up between them and their countrymen in Greece, we are well assured of the truth and exactness of the Egyptian history from the days of Psammetichus ¹.

*His public
buildings.*

Concerning the public edifices he erected, there is some disagreement among authors: Herodotus says, he added the southern, and Diodorus, that he built the eastern portico to the temple of Vulcan. The former writes, that he raised a spacious edifice opposite to this portico, for the reception of the god Apis, whenever he should appear; and that it was enriched with sculpture, and surrounded by gigantic statues, twelve cubits high, instead of pillars.

His wars.

In consideration of the fidelity and warlike experience of the foreigners, who had placed him on the throne, he always kept some of their countrymen in pay, and went so far as to compliment them with the post of honour when he marched into Syria; where he warred many years. This partiality so incensed the Egyptians, that upwards of two hundred thousand of them deserted, and marched off in a body. Perceiving his error in thus affronting his own subjects, he at first sent some of the chief officers after them, to excuse the matter; but, finding that their persuasions had no effect, he took shipping, with some of his friends, and overtook them on the banks of the Nile: there, intreating them to halt, in consideration of all the natural obligations that could endear their country to them, and their gods; they unanimously struck their spears upon their shields, and cried out, that, as long as they had arms, they did not doubt but they should find a country to settle in; and, discovering their

¹ Herodot. ubi ~~supra~~. cap. 154.

1 nakedness, added, that they should never want wives and children. They then prosecuted their march, till they arrived in the territories of Ethiopia; where they chose a fertile spot for their habitation.

In order to repair this loss, Psammetichus earnestly applied himself to the advancement of commerce, and opened his ports to all strangers, whom he caressed, contrary to the cruel and reserved maxims of his predecessors. At the same time he was thus intent upon his affairs at home, he entered into an alliance with the Athenians, and other Greek nations¹. But his reign is for nothing more remarkable, than for the long and tedious siege he laid to Azotus in Syria, which held out against the whole power of Egypt for the space of twenty-nine years². His conduct towards the Scythians, who, about this time, possessed themselves of Asia, and were marching with a design to invade Egypt, is highly commended; for, instead of opposing them, he met them in Syria, where by presents and intreaties he prevailed on them to desist and return³. After a reign of fifty-four years⁴, he died, and was buried in the temple of Bubastis, or Minerva, at Sais, the place where all the Saitic kings were deposited. He is reported to have been the first king of Egypt that drank wine⁵, to have sent persons to discover the springs of the Nile⁶, and to have made the experiment we have already recorded, to find out which was the most ancient nation in the world.

Opens the ports of Egypt to strangers.

His siege of Azotus, and transaction with the Scythians.

Nechus the son and successor of Psammetichus, was the Pharaoh Necho of Scripture, a prince of a magnificent and warlike genius, great both at land and sea. In the beginning of his reign he attempted to cut a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea⁷; but, after the loss of one hundred and twenty thousand of those employed on this work, he was warned by an oracle to desist, and leave the finishing of it to a barbarian or foreigner. He obeyed the oracle; and thenceforth turning his thoughts to warlike enterprizes, built a fleet of galleys in the northern (Mediterranean) sea, and another in the streights of the Arabian gulph⁸. He sent some of the most expert Phœnician mariners he could procure, upon a discovery of the

Yr. of Fl.
1732.
Ante Chr.
600.

Nechus.

Affairs: the empire of the sea.

¹ Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 153. ² Idem, lib. ii. cap. 157.
³ Idem, lib. i. cap. 105. ⁴ Idem, lib. ii. cap. 157. ⁵ Eudox.
apud Plutarch. de Iside & Osiride, p. 333. ⁶ Athenæus, lib.
vi. p. 345. ⁷ Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 158. ⁸ Idem ibid.
cap. 159.

African coasts. These, sailing out of the Red Sea through the streights of Babelmandel, they steered down the eastern shores of Africa; and, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, coasted up northward, till they came to the streights of Gibraltar; by which they entered the Mediterranean, and so returned into Egypt: this voyage they performed in three years ^b.

*His wars
at land.*

He was not only great at sea, but also formidable by land. Josephus, following Ctesias, says, that he made war upon the Medes and Babylonians, who had just then dissolved the Assyrian monarchy, and were grown dreadful to the nations far and near^c: but the Scripture expressly says, that he went out against the king of Assyria, who was then on the river Euphrates, perhaps at Babylon: in his march thither, Josiah king of Judah refused him a passage through Judæa, and drew up an army to prevent his design, which was to besiege Carchemish^d. Finding therefore that Josiah opposed him, he sent messengers to him to remonstrate, that his arms were not taken up with a design to do Josiah the least prejudice; that the war he was going to engage in, was undertaken by the express command of God; wherefore he would do well not to incur the wrath of heaven by withstanding its decree. Finding Josiah gave no ear to his remonstrances, he resolved to give him battle; and both armies being drawn up in the valley of Megiddo (or Magdolus, as Herodotus has it^e), Josiah was wounded mortally with an arrow, as he was driving his chariot up and down the ranks: perceiving his end to be near, he commanded his army to retreat, and Necho prosecuted his march^f. Arriving on the banks of the Euphrates, he took the great city of Carchemish; where he lodged a sufficient garrison, and, after three months, returned towards Egypt^g. As he drew near to Jerusalem, hearing that Jehoahaz had raised himself to the throne, he sent him an order to meet him at Riblah in Syria, where he bound him in chains, and sent him away prisoner to Egypt. He went afterwards to Jerusalem, and made Eliakim, whose name he changed into Jehoiakim, king over Judah, imposing on him at the same time a tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold^h. Thus he became master of

^b Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 42.

^c Josephus Antiq. lib. x. cap. 6.

^d 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

^e Herodot. lib. ii.

cap. 159.

^f 2 Chron. xxxv. 24. Josephus Antiq. ubi supra,

^g Idem ibid.

^h 2 Kings xxiii. 33.

Judæa and Syria. Herodotus says that he took the great and mountainous city of Cadytis in Palestine, that is, as some understand him, Jerusalem. It is plain Nechus was there; but it is almost as plain, that he entered it in a peaceable manner^l. Hitherto he was successful in his wars, and weakened the declining power of Assyria, which very soon after ceased to give name to a monarchy. In commemoration of his good fortune, or in gratitude to the god, he is said to have consecrated the garments he wore in these actions to Apollo, and to have sent them to the oracle of the Branchidæ in the land of the Milesians^k.

But he did not long enjoy his new acquisitions; for, in a few years, Nebuchadnezzar came from Babylon, with design to drive the Egyptians from Carchemish, and recover the Syrian and Phœnician provinces^l. Nechus, no way daunted at the formidable power of this newly-erected monarchy, marched towards the Euphrates, with a very numerous army, against Nebuchadnezzar; but was routed with terrible slaughter, and lost Carchemish, with all Syria and Judæa, quite to Pelusium^m. He afterwards entered into a confederacy with Jehoiakim, and pretended an inclination to renew the war against the Babylonians, but he did nothing of moment, nor stirred out of Egyptⁿ. He died about eight years after he had been defeated by Nebuchadnezzar, having reigned sixteen, and left his son Psammis to succeed him in the kingdom^o.

His turn of fortune.

In the reign of Psammis, the son of Necho, ambassadors came into Egypt from the Eleans, to know if the most sage Egyptians could perceive any defect in their regulation concerning the Olympic games. When the king was informed of their business, he called a council of the wisest men in the nation; and, sending for the ambassadors, asked them, if their own citizens were allowed to contend at their games. The Eleans answered, they were. Then the Egyptians pronounced, that they erred from all the rules of hospitality; since it was natural for them to favour their fellow citizens more than strangers; that if they were come to be informed concerning what ought, or ought not, to be done in the matter they had proposed, the most equitable law they could make, would be to exclude their own countrymen, and admit none but strangers

Yr. of Fl.
1748.
Ante Chr.
600.

Psammis.

^l Prideaux Connect. p. 56, 57. Herodot. ubi supra. * Idem ibid. cap. 159.

¹ Jerem. xlv. 1, 2. ² Kings xxiv. 7.

^m Josephus ubi supra.

ⁿ 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Josephus ubi supra.

^o Herodot. ubi supra.

to contend for the prizes. Psammis reigned six years, and died in an expedition against the Ethiopians, leaving his son Apries to succeed him on the throne.

Yr. of Fl.
1754.
Ante Chr.
594.

*Apries.
His affairs
with the
Jews.*

Apries is the Pharaoh Hophra of Scripture. The first part of his reign was great and prosperous, the last, insolent and miserable. In the year of his accession, he received ambassadors from Zedekiah king of Judah, with whom he entered into a league against the king of Babylon. About two years after this transaction, he marched out of Egypt with design to relieve Jerusalem, then closely besieged by Nebuchadnezzar; who no sooner heard of his motions than he raised the siege, and resolved to give him battle; but, the Egyptians, afraid of hazarding an action, retreated as fast as the Babylonians approached, until they reached their own country, leaving the Jews to the merciless rage of their enemy. For this breach of faith, Ezekiel denounced the heavy doom against them, that they should be confounded and desolate for forty years; and that afterwards they should degenerate to such a degree, as not to have it in their power to set up a king of their own; a prediction which will be seen accomplished in the course of this history. The Scriptures paint Apries in very disadvantageous colours, and in the end threaten him with a violent death; which was his fate. In the mean time it may not be amiss to take notice, that Herodotus gives this king twenty-five years of greater prosperity than any of his predecessors, except Psammeticus, had enjoyed: though Diodorus allows his whole reign no more than twenty-two years. However, they both agree in giving him the character of a martial prince; and speak of successful wars which he waged both by sea and land, against the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Cypriots. The city of Sidon he took by storm; and, having vanquished both the Phœnicians and Cypriots in a sea-fight, returned with immense spoil into Egypt.

His victories.

*The cause
of his ruin.*

Even the profane historians acquaint us, how these predictions were fulfilled. The Cyreneans, being greatly strengthened by a numerous supply of their countrymen, under their third king Battus the Happy, and encouraged by the Pythian oracle, began to expel the Libyans their neighbours, and share their possessions among themselves. Andican, king of the injured Libyans, sent an embassy of submission to Apries, and implored his protection from

P Ezek. xvii. 15. 1 Jerem. xxxvii. 5. 2 Ezek. xix. 8—12.
3 Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 161. Diod. ubi supra, p. 62.

the violence of the new comers. Apries, complying with his request, sent a powerful army to his relief: but the Egyptians being defeated with great slaughter by the Cyreneans, the few who escaped were highly incensed against the king, as if he had sent them to certain destruction, in hopes that they being cut off, he might tyrannize without controul over the remainder of his subjects. What ground there was for this suspicion, does not appear; but it prevailed to such a degree among the giddy multitude, that almost an universal defection ensued. Upon intelligence that they were assembled in a tumultuous manner, and talking loud of a revolution, Apries sent Amasis, a trusty friend, as he thought, and much respected by the people, to appease them. But he, instead of reconciling them with Apries, made interest with them for himself: as he pretended to reproach, and recall them to their allegiance, one of them came behind him, put an helmet on his head, and saluted him king of Egypt; and from that instant he prepared to war against his master. Apries, finding himself thus betrayed, commanded one Patarbemis, the most considerable of all the Egyptians, who as yet adhered to him, to go to the rebellious camp, and bring Amasis to him alive. This man went accordingly, and charged Amasis to come and give his attendance at court. Amasis, who was on horseback, lifted up his thigh with the utmost scorn, and, breaking wind, bid him carry that back to his master. Patarbemis still pressing him to obey the royal summons, he returned this final answer, that he had been some time preparing to visit the king; but, that he might do it in a proper manner, he would bring a suitable equipage along with him. Patarbemis had now heard and seen too much to imagine he should succeed in the business he was charged with, and began to think, that the best service he could do for Apries, at this conjuncture, would be to give him the most early notice of the posture and temper of the rebels. He therefore hastened back to the king, who no sooner saw him without Amasis, than he ordered his ears and nose to be cut off. This insolent and tyrannical behaviour completed his ruin: for, when the rest of the Egyptians, who had continued faithful to him, beheld the inhuman mutilation of so worthy and noble a person, they all withdrew from him, and went over to Amasis. And now the tyrant on the one hand, and the usurper on the other,

*Is betrayed
by Amasis.*

* Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 161, 162. Diod. ubi supra.

prepared for war; the last having the whole body of the natives under his banner; the other only such Carians, Ionians, and other mercenaries and foreigners as he could engage in his service¹.

Nebuchadnezzar wastes and plunders Egypt.

During these intestine broils, which must have greatly weakened Egypt, it is probable that Nebuchadnezzar, who much about this time broke up his thirteen years siege of Tyre, took advantage of the troubled state of this kingdom, in hopes to acquire such spoil as might make amends for what he missed at Tyre, according to the Scripture, where it is said, "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus—yet had he no wages nor his army for Tyrus—Therefore, saith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon—and it shall be the wages for his army²." Nebuchadnezzar invading Egypt, miserably harassed the country, slew and led away great numbers of its inhabitants. At length he retired; but whether he appointed Amasis for his lieutenant, or what terms he made with him, is what we do not take upon us to explain; no more than whether Amasis and Apries stood their ground, and made head against the enemy, or left him to act at his pleasure in Egypt. This alone is certain, that the Babylonian carried away an immense booty.

Civil war between Apries and Amasis.

But to return to the civil war: Apries marched from Sais at the head of thirty thousand Carians and Ionians; and Amasis, on the other hand, was in motion with an army of Egyptians³. They met in the fields near Memphis, and Apries was so far from doubting of victory, that he is said to have entertained a notion, that it was not in the power even of any god to divest him of his kingdom⁴, as he is upbraided by the prophet, "The river is mine, and I have made it." But his confidence availed him nothing, though the foreigners did wonders in the battle; yet being overpowered by numbers, they were utterly defeated, and Apries himself was taken prisoner.

Yr. of Fl.

1779.
Ante Chr.
569.

Amasis.

Amasis, of the tribe of Sais, having thus usurped the kingdom, confined Apries in the palace of Sais, formerly his own, and treated him with great care and respect. But the people were implacable, and could not rest whilst Apries enjoyed his life⁵; therefore, murmuring against

¹ Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 163.

² Ezek. xxix. 18, 19,

³ Herodot. ubi supra, cap. 169. Diod. ubi supra.

⁴ Herodot.

ubi supra.

⁵ Plato in Tim.

Amasis, and remonstrating that his lenity was wrong applied in extending it to his and their common enemy, he found himself under a necessity of delivering the unhappy prince into their hands. They forthwith strangled him, and laid his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, which was in the temple of Minerva, adjoining to the palace. Here all the princes of the tribe of Sais were intombed².

Apries is strangled.

According to other accounts Amasis did not thus usurp the throne, nor succeed Apries; but one Partamis, whom Amasis succeeded, and that by the following incident: Partamis celebrating his birth-day, Amasis, as yet a private person, presented him with a most beautiful and elegant garland of flowers; whereupon being invited to his table as a guest, and thenceforward added to the number of the king's friends, he was at last sent at the head of an army to reduce the Egyptians who had rebelled: but the army made him king, out of the hatred they bore to Partamis¹. We are inclined to think that the Partamis here, and the Patarbemis above, are the same man; and if so, he was rather the idol of the people's affections, than the object of their hatred.

Whoever Amasis succeeded, and which way soever he came to the crown, it is commonly allowed that he was of plebeian extraction. Perceiving at first that it was with reluctance the people payed him the respect due to the sublimity of his station, he took a golden cistern, in which his guests were used to wash their feet, and ordered it to be melted down, and cast in the shape of a god. This precious idol was set up in the most frequented part of the city; and all paid due reverence and honour to it: He then called an assembly of the Egyptians, and acquainted them that the god they now worshipped was made of the vessel which had served for the meanest uses; that his own case was the same; formerly he was a mean person, but being now their king, he expected and required to be honoured and obeyed as such. It was a rule with him to attend closely to business every morning, and to divert himself with his friends during the remainder of the day, drinking and making merry: but his mirth was somewhat of too low an alloy for a king; at which some of his friends were scandalized, and assured him that such forgetfulness of his dignity would draw upon him the

² Herodot. ubi supra.
lib. xv. p 68o.

¹ Hellanic. apud Athenæ Deipnos.

contempt of all his subjects. To this remonstrance he replied, that as a bow always bent would undoubtedly lose much of its spring and energy, and in the end be wholly useless; so a man who should uninterruptedly attend upon serious matters, would grow stupid, and lose his senses. Being perfectly convinced of this truth, he was determined to divide his time between business and diversion. Indeed it is said of him that, when a private man, he delighted in his cup and his jest; and was so averse to business, that he supported himself in his riot and luxury by thieving. Being oftentimes accused, and continually denying his guilt, they were used to carry him to the oracle of the place, wherever he was, by which he was sometimes convicted, and sometimes acquitted. When he came to the throne, he recollected the former transactions of his life, and calling to mind the deceitfulness and ignorance of the oracles, which had pronounced him innocent, he slighted the temples of such gods, abstained from their sacrifices, and refused to present them with any donations. On the contrary, he highly revered those for veracity and omniscience who had detected his guilt^b.

*The public
works of
Amasis.*

He built a portico to the temple of Minerva at Sais, which was of the utmost magnificence, both in the vastness of its proportion, and the massiveness of the materials, adorning it with colossal images of androsphynges. But what is most to be admired, he removed a house, all of one stone, from the same city to Sais. The exterior dimensions of it were twenty-one cubits in front, fourteen deep, and eight high; the interior measures were eighteen cubits, twelve, and five. Two thousand mariners were employed three years in transporting this extraordinary edifice. It stood near the entrance of the temple, and was never wholly admitted. The chief engineer sighed one day, as if he was tired out with the work; and Amasis, who stood by, taking offence, would never suffer him thenceforth to have any concern in its transportation; besides, he was discouraged by an accident; one of the men who were rolling it into the temple, being crushed to death. He was very magnificent in the gifts and ornaments he bestowed upon the other celebrated temples, particularly on that at Memphis, where, before the temple of Vulcan, he caused a colossus to be made seventy-five feet in length, lying on its back; on the same basis, or pave-

^b Herodot. *ibid.* cap. 173—175.

ent, he erected two statues, each twenty feet high, cut out of the same stone. The great temple of Isis, at Memphis, was built by this monarch ^a.

Egypt is said to have been happy during his reign, in the fecundation of the Nile, and to have contained no less than twenty thousand populous cities. That good order might the better subsist in the midst of so vast a multitude, Amasis enacted a law, whereby every Egyptian was bound to inform the governor of the province once a year, by what means he earned his living, and, in default thereof, to suffer death; which was also the punishment now ordained for those, who were not able to give a satisfactory account of themselves ^a; and for this, and the other laws he enacted, he is stiled the fifth law-giver of Egypt ^b.

The State of Egypt under him; and his laws.

He was a great friend to the Greeks, and had a visit from Solon ^c. Besides the favours he conferred on particular persons and cities of that nation, he gave full liberty to the Greeks in general to come into Egypt, and to settle, either in the most celebrated mart of Naucratis, or traffic upon the sea-coasts; granting them places where they might erect altars and temples to their own deities. Accordingly they erected several temples, the most frequented and noted of which was called the Grecian temple, being built at the joint charge of the Ionian cities of Chio, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis; and of the Æolians in the city of Mitylene. Those of Ægina also built a temple to Jupiter at their own expence; the Samians raised another to Juno, and the Milesians a third to Apollo. The Greeks elected officers to preside over their commercial affairs, and their religion; and thenceforward became a considerable body in Egypt.

Is very favourable to all the Greeks.

So great was the fame of Amasis for his generosity and humanity, that when the Delphians, whose temple had been burnt, were going about from city to city to raise such a contribution as might enable them to pay that part of the expence which was imposed on them, they applied not only to the Greeks in Egypt, but also to Amasis himself, who gave them a thousand talents of alum. He made an alliance with the Cyreneans, and, being desirous of a Grecian woman, or else willing to give an ample testimony of the affection he had for that people, he married Ladice, the daughter of Battus, according to

Marries a Greek.

^a Herodot. *ibid.* cap. 176, 177.

^b Diodorus, *ubi supra*, p. 85.

^c Herodot. *ubi sup.* cap. 178.

^c Herodotus, *lib. i.* cap. 30.

some; and, according to others, the daughter of Arcelaus, or Critobulus, a person of high authority among the Cyreneans. This marriage was very extraordinary in its beginning, and could not be consummated without the intervention of a deity: for Amasis, though he found no impediment in himself with respect to other women, was at the same time sensible of a total inability in regard to his wife. Suspecting some secret charm, he told her one night, that, how deeply soever she was versed in supernatural contrivances, she could not escape the vengeance he intended to take on her for her ingratitude. She denied the charge, and applying with sighs and tears to Venus, vowed to send a statue of her to Cyrene, and erect it there, if she delivered her from her present distress. The goddess heard her prayer, the impediment was removed; and the king thenceforth used her with all the kindness of a tender husband. Ladice performed her vow to the goddess, whose statue, set up by her, was seen without the gates of Cyrene some ages afterwards. This supposed miracle brought the gods of Greece into as much credit with Amasis as with the Greeks themselves; and his regard appeared in his consecrated donations to that country. To the city of Cyrene he sent a gilt statue of Minerva, and his own picture done to the life. To the city of Lindus he gave two stone statues of the same goddess, with a linen pectoral or stomacher wonderfully wrought and adorned. To Samos he sent two wooden images of himself, which were seen standing several ages afterwards, behind the gates of the great temple of Juno. This donation he made to Samos for the sake of Polycrates, with whom he was in especial alliance. As for Lindus, it was reported, that the daughters of Danaus founded the temple of Minerva there, when they fled from the sons of Ægyptus. To all the great things which have been hitherto said of him, we may add, that he was the first who subdued Cyprus, and extorted tribute from the Cypriots, its inhabitants^d.

A miracle.

His consecrated donations to Greece.

Conquers Cyprus.

Hitherto we have represented this reign in the majestic colours the Egyptian priests bestowed on it; and under so prudent a prince as Amasis, the greatest part of what they said may be true enough; but they dwelt so much on the glory of this reign, as to forget all the ignominy that was mixed with it. Xenophon writes, that Cyrus

^d Herodotus, ubi supra, cap. 181, 182. Diodorus, ubi supra.

conquered Egypt*, and if so, it must have been during his long reign; and Herodotus says, that Amasis and Croesus were leagued together against Cyrus†. It is certain, that Nebuchadnezzar almost ruined the whole kingdom; but no mention is made of this by profane authors, who, so far as they have touched upon the Egyptian affairs, have copied the ancient records of that nation, or depended upon the oral traditions of their priests. But now that it was no longer in their power to conceal their dishonour, they frankly confessed it. For, according to their accounts, the latter days of Amasis were darkened by a dreadful storm, which threatened the utter ruin of Egypt; and though he died just soon enough to escape the rage of it, yet his dead body was so cruelly abused and destroyed, that, could he have been sensible of the hard fate he was doomed to suffer, he, according to the Egyptian superstition, would have thought the loss of his kingdom a trifle.

His latter days unhappy;

By some means or other, Amasis had incensed Camby- ses the Persian to such a degree, as has scarce its parallel in history. The seeds from whence this enmity sprang are not certainly known. On one hand it is said, that Amasis sending an Egyptian oculist to Cyrus king of Persia, who had desired to have the best in his kingdom; the man, who was chosen by the king for this purpose, took it much at heart, that he should be thus exiled, as it were, from his wife and children, and sent into Persia. The angry Egyptian, continuing in Persia, and plainly perceiving the turbulent genius of Cambyses, prevailed on him to send an herald to Amasis, to demand his daughter to wife, assured, that whether Amasis complied with this request or not, he should have his full measure of revenge. Cambyses hearkened to this man, and did as he had suggested. When the Persian herald came to Amasis, he knew not what to resolve on; he dreaded the Persian power, if he refused; and was ashamed of the dishonour which must be reflected on his family, if he complied, knowing that, instead of being a wife, his daughter could be no better than the Persian's concubine. At last he bethought him, that his predecessor had left behind him an only daughter, of great beauty, and majestic deportment, called Nitetis. Her therefore he sent with all the pomp and splendor becoming his own daughter, to Cambyses in Persia; who, when he saw her, saluted her by the title

and why.

* Cyropædia, sub fin. & in proleg. † Herodot. lib. i. cap. 77.

of daughter to Amasis. She immediately answered, ~~that~~ Amasis had deceived him, that she was not his daughter, but the unhappy child of the unfortunate Apries, whom Amasis had put to death, and whose throne he had ungratefully usurped. Cambyfes, fired with indignation, vowed the destruction of Amasis. This was the story the Persians told; but we look upon the whole account as fabulous. It is more likely, that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, refused, upon the death of that great conqueror, to pay his successor the same homage and tribute. But whatever was the cause of this war, we leave Cambyfes preparing for it, and return to Amasis.

*Amasis is
betrayed by
Phanes of
Halicar-
nassus.*

Whilst this cloud was gathering, Phanes of Halicarnassus, commander of the Grecian auxiliaries in the pay of Amasis, took some private disgust, and, leaving Egypt, embarked for Persia. He was a prudent counsellor, a valiant captain, perfectly well acquainted with every thing that related to Egypt; and, besides, had great credit with the Greeks in that country. Amasis was immediately sensible how great a loss he should sustain in this man's defection, and how much Phanes had it in his power to strengthen the hands of Cambyfes, or any prince, who should undertake to invade him; and therefore in all haste he sent a trusty eunuch with a swift galley to pursue him, who overtook him in Lycia. However, he was not brought back to Egypt; for, making his guard drunk, he continued his way to Persia, and presented himself to Cambyfes, as he was meditating the downfall of Egypt, which this fugitive forwarded by his counsel and discoveries.

*Makes Po-
lycrates his
enemy.*

We have already observed, that there had been an especial harmony between Amasis and Polycrates the tyrant of Samos; but a misunderstanding arising between them, Polycrates, when occasion offered, joined Cambyfes against his former Egyptian ally. Amasis, receiving continual accounts of the uninterrupted successes and depredations of this Samian, feared that, in the end, some heavy disaster would fall upon him, equal to the glory of his triumphs; and therefore sent him this letter, advising him as follows: "Amasis to Polycrates speaketh—It is with pleasure I hear of the happy state of my friend and ally. Nevertheless I dread thy great prosperity, knowing the unstableness of fortune. For my part, I should rather chuse, that my affairs, and those also of my friends,

should be sometimes prosperous, and sometimes unhappy, than see them proceed with continual success. Therefore hearken to my counsel, and do as I shall bid thee, to detract a little from thy happiness: consider then with thyself, what thou possessest of greatest value, and what would the most bitterly grieve thee, if lost: and when thou hast recollected what this object is, cast it away from thee, so that it may never more be beheld by man. If thy happiness, after this experiment, knoweth no mixture of evil, prepare thyself against the sorrow that may come upon thee, by repeating the remedy I have proposed." When Amasis heard that Polycrates had taken his advice, and thrown a very valuable signet into the sea; but that it was found, a few days afterwards, in the belly of a fish, and restored to him, he looked upon him as a person devoted to some terrible disaster. Dreading, therefore, some participation of his calamity, he dispatched an herald to Samos to renounce his alliance. Amasis, by thus dissolving the connexion, left Polycrates to act against him, if his inclination led him so to do; and accordingly he offered a fleet of ships to Cambyfes, to assist him in his invasion of Egypt. Thus we see Amasis in danger of an inexorable, cruel, and most powerful enemy, in concert with a disgusted and formidable friend. But before the dreaded day came, his life ended, after he had reigned forty-four years. His dead body was embalmed, and deposited in a sepulchre he had built for himself in the temple at Sais.

His death.

He was succeeded by his son Psammenitus, whose reign was short and calamitous. He was scarce seated on the throne when Cambyfes appeared, at the head of a powerful army, on the borders of Egypt. Psammenitus assembled a body of forces to prevent his penetrating into the kingdom. But in the mean time Cambyfes, laying siege to Pelusium, made himself master of that important place by the following stratagem: he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, and other animals, that were deemed sacred by the Egyptians, and then attacked the city, and took it without opposition, the garrison, which consisted entirely of Egyptians, not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow, that way, through fear of killing some of those animals¹.

Yr. of Fl.
1823.
Ante Chr.
525.

*Psammeni-
tus.*

Cambyfes had scarce taken possession of Pelusium, the key of Egypt on that side, when Psammenitus advanced

¹ Polyæn. lib. viii.

*He is over-
thrown by
Cambyfes.*

*Taken pri-
soner, and
losts his
kingdom.*

*The parti-
culars of
his capti-
vity;*

with a numerous army to stop his farther progress; and a bloody battle ensued. Before the two armies engaged, the Greeks, who served under Psammenitus, in order to express their indignation against their treacherous countryman Phanes, brought his children into the camp, killed them in the sight of their father, and, in the presence of the two armies, drank their blood. The Persians, enraged at this barbarity, fell upon the Egyptian army with such fury, that they soon put them to flight, and cut the greatest part of them into pieces. Those who escaped fled to Memphis, where they were soon after guilty of a horrid outrage towards an herald, whom Cambyfes sent to them in a ship of Mitylene; for they no sooner saw her come into the port, than they flocked down to the shore, destroyed the ship, and tore the Persian herald, and all the crew to pieces, carrying their mangled limbs in a barbarous triumph into the city. They were afterwards closely besieged by the Persians, and, in the end, obliged to surrender; and so fell the glory of Egypt.

Upon the tenth day after Memphis had been taken, Psammenitus, and the chief of the Egyptian nobility, were sent ignominiously into the suburbs of that city, to act a part in one of the most doleful tragedies that can be conceived: the king being there seated in a proper place, he saw his daughter coming along in the habit of a poor slave, with a pitcher to fetch water from the river, and followed by the daughters of the greatest families in Egypt, all in the same miserable garb, with pitchers in their hands, drenched in tears, and bemoaning, with loud lamentations, their unhappy condition. When the fathers saw their children in this distress, they burst into tears, all but Psammenitus, who, though ready to sink under his grief, only fixed his eyes on the ground. After the young women came the son of Psammenitus, and two thousand of the chief Egyptian youths, all with bridles in their mouths, and halters about their necks, led to execution, to expiate the murder of the Persian herald and the Mitylenean sailors. Cambyfes caused ten Egyptians of the first rank to be publicly executed for every one of those they had slain. But Psammenitus still behaved like one stupified and senseless, as they passed along, whilst the Egyptians about him uttered the most doleful lamentations. Afterwards, beholding an intimate friend and companion begging his bread from door to door in the suburbs, he wept bitterly, and calling out to him by his name,
struck

Struck himself on the head as if he had been frantic. Of this action the spies, who had been set over the captive king to observe his behaviour, gave immediate notice to Cambyfes, who sent a messenger to know what might be the cause of such immoderate grief. Psammenitus answered, "That the calamities of his own family concounded him, and were too great to be lamented by any outward signs of grief: but the extreme distress of a bosom friend gave him more room for reflection, and therefore extorted tears and lamentations." Cambyfes was so affected with this answer, that he sent to stop the execution of his son; but his orders were given too late; the young prince was already put to death. At the same time Psammenitus himself was sent for into the city, and restored to his liberty; and had he not betrayed a desire of revenge, he might have been entrusted with the administration of Egypt; but, being of a vindictive temper, he was seized, and condemned to drink bull's blood. Thus he ended his life, after a dismal reign of six months, and a short captivity; and with him died the ancient splendor and liberty of Egypt.

and death.

The Egyptians now felt the heavy pressure of subjection in a very extraordinary manner. They saw the body of their late king Amasis taken out of his tomb, shockingly mangled, and finally burnt. They saw their god Apis slain, and their priests ignominiously scourged; all which calamities made such dreadful impressions on the minds of the whole nation, that they ever afterwards bore an irreconcilable aversion to the Persians.

The dead body of Amasis burnt; and the god Apis slain.

At length they broke out into an open revolt, in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, and continued in a state of rebellion against the Persians all the first year of Xerxes^k; but, in the second year of the same prince, they were reduced to harder subjection than before, as is usually the case; and had one Achæmenes, brother to Xerxes, for their governor.

The Egyptians revolt from the Persians; but subdued again.

The more severity they suffered, the more they were exasperated. In the fifth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus they revolted again, chose Inarus, king of Lybia, to fill their throne, and called in the Athenians to their assistance, who cheerfully embraced this opportunity of expelling the Persians out of Egypt^l. The Egyptians almost succeeded in their project. The Athenians, falling on the Persian fleet at sea, took and destroyed fifty sail of their

Yr. of Fl. 4888. Ante Chr. 460.

Revolt a second time, and chuse Inarus for their king.

^k Herodotus, lib. vii. cap. 1.

^l Thucyd. lib. i.

ships; then, sailing up the Nile, landed, under the command of Charitimis, and joined the Egyptians and Lybians under Inarus. Thus united, they attacked Archæmenides the Persian general, though his army was three hundred thousand strong; of whom there fell one hundred thousand, together with the general himself. The rest betook themselves to flight, and returned to Memphis; but being pursued by the Egyptians, they took refuge in a very considerable, and by much the best fortified part of that city, called the White Wall. The Egyptians possessed the rest of it, and blocked up the Persians three years.

By this success the Egyptians hoped they had wrought a total deliverance for themselves and descendants; but their prosperity was of no long duration. They were, at the end of three years, obliged to raise the siege of the White Wall by the Persian army, under the command of Artabazus, governor of Cilicia, and Megabyzus, governor of Syria^m. In the mean time, when Inarus heard of the formidable preparations which were making by these Persian governors to relieve the besieged, he redoubled the attacks on the White Wall, and made the utmost efforts to carry it; but the Persians within defended themselves with such bravery, that the Egyptians made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the placeⁿ.

In the third year of this siege, and the ninth of Artaxerxes, Inarus and his auxiliaries were obliged to raise the siege of the White Wall, and defeated with great slaughter, which fell chiefly on the Egyptians. In this fight Inarus was wounded by Megabyzus; but nevertheless he retreated with his Athenian confederates, and such of the Egyptians as adhered to him, to the city of Byblus, in the island of Prosopitis; which being washed on each side by navigable branches of the Nile, the Athenian fleet was stationed in one of them, and here they held out a siege of a year and a half. The bulk of the Egyptians submitted to the conqueror, and acknowledged Artaxerxes for their sovereign; but Amyrtæus retreated, with a party, into the fens, where he ruled many years, not in the least molested by the Persians; the inaccessible nature of the place securing him against all their attempts.

^m Thucyd. ubi supra. Diod. Sic. lib. xi.
ⁿ supra, p. 281.

ⁿ Diod. ubi

Mean while Inarus, and his auxiliaries, on the island Propoitis, were busy in defending themselves against the Persians, who attacked them with great vigour; but finding that bare strength was not like to effectuate a reduction of the besieged, they had recourse to art and stratagem. Draining that branch of the Nile in which the Athenian fleet rode, they at once rendered their shipping useless, and made a passage by which the whole body of their army might march over to the island. Then Inarus, and all the Egyptians, with fifty of his Athenian auxiliaries, delivered themselves up to Megabyzus, on condition of being secured in their lives: the rest of the Athenians, six thousand in number, setting fire to their ships, resolved to die sword in hand; the Persians, perceiving their design, thought it advisable to offer them some reasonable terms, which were accepted^o. The Athenians had sent a fleet of fifty sail to relieve the island of Propoitis, but they arrived too late; and, as soon as they entered the river, were assaulted by the Persians, both on the river, and from the shore; so that they all perished^p. Thus ended the war between Inarus, king of Egypt, and Artaxerxes king of Persia, under whom the Egyptians ever after remained quiet, and made no attempts to recover their liberties. Sartamus was appointed governor of Egypt, and Inarus was carried prisoner to Susa, where he was crucified, notwithstanding the promise given him of his life when he surrendered^q.

Amyrtæus, the Saite, in the mean time, possessed the fens, and, in the fifteenth year of Artaxerxes, was joined by a fleet of sixty sail of Athenian ships^r; but nothing of moment was transacted at this time, to the prejudice of the Persians, in Egypt.

In the tenth year of Darius Notus, the Egyptians revolted once more from the Persians: Amyrtæus being apprised of their discontents, and that they were ripe for any attempts to regain their liberty, sallied out of his fens, and being joined by all the Egyptians, drove the Persians out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country of Egypt^s.

Amyrtæus thus possessed of the kingdom of Egypt, by the total expulsion of the Persians, resolved to attack them in Phœnicia also, having the Arabians in confe-

Yr. of Fl.
1895.
Ante Chr.
453.

Inarus taken prisoner, and Egypt reduced again by the Persians.

The Egyptians revolt a third time, and Amyrtæus heads them.

Yr. of Fl.
1934.
Ante Chr.
414.

Amyrtæus king.

^o Thucyd. ubi supra, Diod ubi supra, p. 282. ^p Thucyd. ubi supra.
^q Thucyd. lib. i. ^r Plutarch. in Vita Cimon.
^s Thucyd. ubi supra. Diod. ubi supra. ^t Eusebius in Chronico.

deracy with him in this undertaking^u. But he was engaged by Darius in person, and overthrown; and about this time he died, or was slain in battle.

Paufiris.

Paufiris, his son, succeeded him in the kingdom, with the consent of the Persians. And now the Egyptians, though perhaps tributary to the Persians, had a governor of their own nation to alleviate the burden they bore.

Pfammetichus, a barbarous and ungrateful man.

Pfammetichus succeeded Paufiris, descended from the famous Pfammetichus, whose history we have given above. He was a barbarous and ungrateful man, as appears by the only incident we have of his reign; for Tamus, who had been admiral in the Persian service, though he was a Memphite by birth, thinking it advisable, for reasons of state, to leave the Persian service, and confiding in the friendship of Pfammetichus, whom he had formerly obliged by many friendly offices, put all his family and effects on board his ships, and sailed for Egypt. But when Pfammetichus heard of his arrival, and that he had brought great riches with him, he, unmindful of what Tamus merited of him, and of all the laws of humanity and hospitality, fell upon him as an enemy; and, having slain him, his family, and his followers, seized on those treasures which Tamus hoped to have enjoyed in his native country^x. This is all we know concerning that cruel prince.

Murders his friend Tamus for his treasure.

Yr. of Fl.
1953.
Ante Chr.
395.

Nephereus.

He was succeeded by Nephereus, who being invited by the Lacedæmonians into a confederacy against the Persians, he sent them a squadron of a hundred galleys to carry on the war by sea, and six hundred thousand measures (bushels) of corn for the subsistence of their army; but the vessels which were laden with this valuable present, ignorantly putting into Rhodes, whose inhabitants had just then put themselves under the protection of the Persian fleet, which then rode at anchor there, under the command of Conon the Athenian, they fell a prey to him, and never reached the Lacedæmonians^y.

Yr. of Fl.
1950.
Ante Chr.
398.

Acoris.

Acoris, the successor of Nephereus, joined Euagoras king of Cyprus, and the Arabians, Tyrians, and Barceans, a people of Lybia, against the Persians^z. Acoris sent some forces to the assistance of Euagoras, the chief of this league, who, being defeated, came into Egypt to engage Acoris to assist him with his full strength; but Acoris

^u Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. p. 355.

^x Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. p. 415.

^y Idem, ubi supra, p. 438. Justin. lib. vi. cap. 2. Orosius, lib. iii.

^z Theopomp. in Excerpt. Photii. Diod. Sic. lib. xv. p. 459.

could not be prevailed on to come so totally into his measures, and only dismissed him, with a supply of money, by no means equal to the necessities of that prince. Soon after Gaus, the only survivor of the family of Tamus, whom Psammethichus had murdered for the sake of his wealth, and who, as well as his father, had been promoted to the degree of admiral in the Persian service, being disgusted at ill usage received from Tiribazus, the king of Persia's general, in the former part of the Cyprian war against Euagoras, revolted from the Persians: he was followed by a great part of the fleet and army, and entered into a league with Acoris and the Lacedæmonians. But next year Gaus was treacherously slain by some of his own people; and Tachos, who had undertaken to execute the same project, dying before it could be accomplished, it was dropped; so that the Persians were freed from the troublesome effects of this new alliance.

Thirty years had now elapsed since the Egyptians had shaken off the Persian yoke under Amyrtæus, and had all along, upon every occasion that offered, signalized their aversion to the Persian government. But Artaxerxes Mnemon being now at full leisure to chastise them, they once more were threatened with a cruel war. Great preparations were made on both sides: Acoris engaged a great number of Greeks, and other mercenaries, under the command of Chabrias the Athenian^a: but the Persians being dilatory in their proceedings, this prince died before hostilities commenced, and was succeeded by

Psammutis, who reigned only a year.

After him Nephrotès (who is called the last of the Mendesian race) reigned four months.

Then the kingdom devolved to Nectanebis, the first of the Sebennyitic race. In the second year of his reign the Persian army and fleet came upon his coasts and borders, and made their first attempt upon Pelusium; but Nectanebis having had time sufficient to make the necessary preparations, that city and the adjacent country were so well provided for the reception of an enemy, that no impression could be there made. The Persian commanders differing in their counsels, and entertaining jealousies of each other's glory, did nothing in this war; for, though they entered the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, possessed themselves of the fortrefs that guarded it, and struck the

Psammutis.
Nephrotès.

Yr. of Fl.
1973.
Ante Chr.
375.

Nectanebis.

^a Idem, ubi supra, p. 471.

Egyptians with the utmost consternation; yet they gave them time to recollect their courage; Nechtanebis lodged a sufficient garrison in Memphis, and taking the field, with the rest of his forces, so annoyed Pharnabazus the Persian general, that he could make no considerable progress; and the Nile, at the accustomed period, overflowing the land, the Persians were obliged to retreat^f. Thus ended this war.

About five years afterwards, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, came with the character of an ambassador to Nechtanebis, to solicit succours for the Lacedæmonians, then driven to great distress by the Thebans^g; and in seven years after this embassy Nechtanebis died.

Yr. of Fl.
1985.
Ante Chr.
363.

Tachos.

*His impo-
litic con-
duct to-
ward A-
gesilaus.*

Tachos succeeding him, collected all his strength in order to defend his country from the ambitious designs of the Persians; who, notwithstanding their many miscarriages, had not laid aside the thoughts of again subverting Egypt to their dominion. To strengthen himself the more, he sent to Greece to raise mercenaries; and succeeded so well in his application to the Lacedæmonians, that they dispatched a good number of forces to him, under the command of Agesilaus^h. Tachos had promised this king, that he should be generalissimo of all the forces; but, upon the first interview, he conceived such disadvantageous ideas of that monarch, that he thenceforward slighted his counsels, and despised his person. He expected to have seen a gay and magnificent prince, whose habit and train were equal to the fame and splendor of his exploits, and not a plain mean-looking old man. This hasty and ill-grounded impression may be well said to have been the ruin of Tachos. For he allowed Agesilaus to be nothing but general over the mercenaries at land. The command of the fleet he gave to Chabrias the Athenian, reserving to himself the supreme direction of the whole. Having joined his mercenaries and Egyptians together, he marched out of Egypt, designing to attack the Persians in Phœnicia, contrary to the advice of Agesilaus, who represented to him the unsettled state of Egypt, and remonstrated how much more it would be for his interest to manage the war by lieutenants, and stay himself in his kingdom. The event shewed, that Agesilaus's counsel was the result of a very prudent forecast; for while Tachos was in Phœnicia, the

Yr. of Fl.
1987.
Ante Chr.
361.

*Is driven
out of the
kingdom.*

^f Diod. ubi supra, p. 478, 479. Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrate.
^g Plutarch. in Agesilao. ^h Idem ibid. Diod. ubi supra, p. 506.

Egyptians revolted, and set up his kinsman Nectanebis in his stead. Agefilaus, taking this opportunity to vent his resentment against Tachos, for the contempt with which he had treated him at his first arrival, joined Nectanebis, and deprived the other of his kingdom, who fled through Arabia, and took refuge with the king of Persia ^b.

Nectanebis was scarce seated on the throne, when a Mendesian rose up in opposition to him, with a force consisting of one hundred thousand men. Agefilaus advised him to fall on them immediately, and disperse them before they had formed themselves into a regular body by discipline; but he, suspecting that the Lacedæmonian intended to betray him, as he had betrayed Tachos, gave no ear to his advice. In the mean time, the enemy encreased in strength and regular order every day, and became so formidable, that Nectanebis was constrained to shut himself up in one of his towns, and endure a siege. He now urged Agefilaus to make a sally upon the besiegers, that should throw them into disorder, while he himself might, in the mean time, march out and take the field; and because the Greek refused to comply, Nectanebis grew more and more jealous of him. The enemy having extended their lines almost round the town; Agefilaus told Nectanebis, that now was his time to make a sally; that, by the lines the besiegers had raised, they would not be able to encompass him; and the gap which was not yet filled up, was wide enough for him to march through with safety and convenience. The king followed his advice, and a battle ensued, in which the besiegers were defeated. The remaining part of the war being left to the management of Agefilaus, Nectanebis's competitor was every where driven out of the field, and at length taken prisoner. Thus was Nectanebis settled in the full and quiet possession of the kingdom of Egypt ¹.

In the twelfth year of his reign, the Sidonians and Phœnicians, revolting from the king of Persia, entered into a confederacy with him against that monarch. This alliance happened very opportunely for him; for, as the Persians had been in constant agitation against him, and were now making vast preparations to reclaim Egypt, he had a very good barrier, seeing the Persian forces could not approach his borders, but by marching through Phœ-

*Nectanebis
the last king
of Egypt.
A rebellion
against
him;*

*which is
quelled.*

*He is joined
by the Si-
donians,
Phœni-
cians,
and Cypri-
ots, against
the Per-
sians.*

^b Plutarch. & Xenophon. in Agefilao. Theopomp. & Lyceas Naucratis in Ægyptiacis apud Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 1. ¹ Plutarch. ibid. Polycen. Strat. lib. ii.

nicia. Therefore, to keep up their spirits, Nectanebis detached a body of four thousand Greek mercenaries, under the command of Mentor the Rhodian, to join them, in hopes to manage the war at a distance. The Phœnicians encouraged by this supply, drove the Persians out of their territories^k; and immediately after, the Cypriots entered into the alliance against Persia^l. Darius Ochus finding that his lieutenants made no progress in suppressing the rebels, resolved to head his troops in person, keeping his eye chiefly upon Egypt. Mentor the Rhodian, understanding his design, and being at the same time informed of the prodigious number of the Persian army, went over to the king of Persia, by whom he was kindly received, as one who might do him signal service by his knowledge of the country of Egypt. When Nectanebis found, that the king of Persia was resolved on his ruin, and was taking the most effectual measures to compass it, he assembled an army of one hundred thousand men, consisting of twenty thousand mercenaries from Greece, as many from Libya, and the rest Egyptians; but they did not altogether amount to a third part of the Persian army. With some of them he garrisoned his frontier towns, and with the others he guarded the passes through which the enemy were to march. The Persian detached three bodies from his army. The first, commanded by Lachares, the Theban, sat down before Pelusium, garrisoned by five thousand Greeks. The second, under the command of Nicostratus, the Argive, embarked on board a squadron of the Persian fleet, and sailing up the Nile, landed in the heart of the country, where he made a strong encampment. The whole kingdom being thus alarmed, Clinius, of the island of Cos, mustering all the neighbouring garrisons, undertook to dislodge Nicostratus from his entrenchments. A battle ensued, and was fought with great obstinacy; but at last the Egyptians giving way, after having lost Clinius and five thousand more of their number, were utterly broken and dispersed. The loss of this battle was the ruin of Egypt; for when Nectanebis heard it, he abandoned the passes, where he had very prudently posted himself, and marched for Memphis, to defend that city against Nicostratus, who, he feared, had a design upon that capital with his victorious fleet and army. When the Greek garrison in Pelusium heard that Nectanebis had deserted his post,

*Is invaded
by the Per-
sians;*

^k Diod. lib. xvi. p. 531, 532, 533.

^l Idem ubi supra, p. 532.
they

they thought there was no farther room for hope; and therefore came to a parley with Lachares, and delivered up the city to him, upon condition, that they and their effects should be safely conveyed to Greece. Mentor, the Rhodian, who commanded the third body of the Persian detachment, finding the passes unguarded, entered the country; and, declaring publicly that Ochus would graciously receive all that submitted, but cut off, without mercy, such as should resist, the Egyptians, and the Egyptian Greeks, strove which should make the most humble and ready submission. Nectanebis, thus driven to despair, fled with his treasures from his palace in Memphis into Ethiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the last native Egyptian who governed Egypt, which has ever since been under a foreign yoke. Nectanebis lost his kingdom by relying too much on himself. He was seated on the throne by Agesilaus; his wars against Persia (for the Persians were always attempting a reduction of Egypt) were managed by the prudence and valour of Diaphantus, the Athenian, and Lamius, the Lacedæmonian; but, arrogating to himself the merit of their successes, he took upon him to act from his own notions^m, and so brought ruin upon himself, and ignominy and slavery upon his subjects. For henceforward Egypt was a province of Persia, till Alexander subverted that monarchy, and was received by the Egyptians with open arms, as their deliverer from the Persian tyranny.

*and flies
into Ethio-
pia.*

*Egypt fi-
nally re-
duced by
the Per-
sians.
Yr. of Fl.
1998.
Ante Chr.
350.*

S E C T. VI.

The succession of the Kings of Egypt, according to the Oriental Historians.

AS the oriental historians differ entirely from the Greeks in their accounts of the Egyptian affairs, it might be deemed inexcusable in us to omit the series of the Egyptian kings, as delivered by them. We will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what we copy from them; but cannot help thinking their accounts, however fabulous, no less worthy of notice than the fables of the Phœnician and Greek writers (A).

In

^m Idem ubi supra, p. 534, 535.

(A) Khondemir wrote, in the history, under the title of "A Persian tongue, an universal Collection of the purest and most

In the first place we must take notice, that these authors divide the ancient Egyptian monarchs into three classes. The first of these are said to have ruled in this country before the creation of Adam, and amongst them they place Gian Ben Gian, to whom they ascribe the pyramids^c.

The second class of Egyptian kings are said to have reigned before the deluge. The account that is given of the people of this country, in these early times, stands thus: Kraus, who stood in the fifth degree from Adam, disliking the conduct of those who inhabited the country wherein he was born, assembled a company of seventy-eight persons, and removed into Egypt, which he cleared of its woods; and, finding it equally pleasant and fruitful, built the city of Mesr, so called from the name of his father, which he made the capital of his new kingdom. He is said to have reigned one hundred and eighty years; but in what year of the world he ascended the throne, is not mentioned. To him succeeded his son Tegar, or, as others call him, Natras, of whom we find nothing recorded that deserves notice.

Mefram, whom some call the son, others the brother of the last mentioned prince, inherited the kingdom: he was a great magician, and, dying, left both his skill and his crown to his son,

Gancam, who was a priest, a philosopher, and magician; in his reign it is said Enoch was translated. He had for his successor his son^d,

Aryak, who excelled all his predecessors in his skill in the occult sciences, by dint of which he is said to have

^c Tarikh al Thabari.

^d Ebn abd al Hokm. ap. Greaves, Pyramid. Khondemir in Khelassat Alakhaz. Mirabil. Pyramid.

most authentic Accounts of the most remarkable Events, drawn from the best ancient Historians;” and finished his work A. D. 1471. As to the particular histories of Egypt, we will mention only two; the first relating to the country, the latter to its monarchs. The first is that of Ahmed al Makrizi, who divided his work into seven parts. He wrote, besides, a copious history of all

that happened in this country from the time it fell under the dominion of the caliphs, to the year in which he died, viz. of the Hejra, 845, A. D. 1467. The other, Jousouf Ben Tagri Wirdi, who obtained the surname of Monazakh Mefr, i. e. the *historian of Egypt*, by a work he composed in four volumes, containing the entire history of this country to the year 1449.

done wonders. It is likewise pretended, that in the reign of this Egyptian monarch, the angels Harut and Marut descended from heaven, and conversed with men; whence it appears, that these fables are very ancient, and have been generally received, no doubt, because they were forged from some hint in the Mosaic writings^e.

His son Louchanam succeeded him, and performed nothing worthy of notice.

Chafalim, or, as some call him, Hafalim, the son of Louchanam, is celebrated for his invention of the nilometer; which, without question, passed for a wonderful effect of magic in those days.

Harsal, or according to others, Hufal, the son of Chafalim, reigned over his people with great lenity; and in his reign it is said the prophet Noah was born.

Jadonfac succeeded Harsal; of him we are told, that he first thought of rendering the Nile of greater use by cutting canals.

Semrond received the crown from his father Jadonfac; but of him we know nothing more, than that he transmitted it to his son,

Sariac, or Sarkak; who left it to

Sahaluc, or Sahlick, a famous monarch, of whom however, we hear no more but that his glory was eclipsed by that of his son and successor,

Saurid, a monarch equally renowned for wisdom, justice and power. He is said to have dreamed, that he saw the earth, with all its inhabitants, subverted; the men lying on their faces, the stars falling from heaven, and all things involved in discord and confusion. A year after, he had a second dream of the same nature, which so affrighted him, that he immediately summoned the most learned of the priests together, with all the wise men and professors of the occult sciences in Egypt. To them he related his dreams, and besought them to inform him what they portended. These sages, having consulted together, declared to him, that a mighty deluge would cover the earth, and that the effects thereof had been represented to him in his dreams. The king, in consequence of this interpretation, caused pyramids, and other prodigious structures, to be erected, to serve for places of refuge for himself and his domestics. He likewise designed to cover the roofs and the walls of these places with hieroglyphics,

^e Vide Lib. Enoch. ap Fabric. Pseudepigraph. Veter. Testament. Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Edris. Mirabil. Pyramid,

explanatory of all the various sciences known to the Egyptians, as invaluable treasures, set apart and consecrated to the service of posterity. Accordingly, he built the three great pyramids, which being finished, he caused them to be covered with silks of several colours; proclaiming on this occasion a general feast, which lasted a considerable time, and to which, all the inhabitants of Egypt resorted. Then he ordered thirty great vessels, made of a kind of artificial green stone, to be placed in the bottom of the eastern pyramid. These he filled with all kinds of jewels, and precious stones; and then, placing covers over them, he poured over these, melted lead, scattering on the floor a considerable number of pieces of gold, to delude the eyes of greedy intruders, and to hinder them from prying into the vessels. The second pyramid he made the receptacle of all that related to civil history, laying up the books and records in such vessels as he had before provided for his jewels. In the third pyramid he deposited whatsoever related to their ecclesiastical history, and to the sublime sciences. In all of them he laid up mighty treasures, and disposed in them all things fit for the reception of a prince who should fly thither for shelter, appointing also in the middle, convenient places for the interment of him and his domestics. These, and many other particulars, are said to be taken from the ancient books of the Copts; wherein also it is recorded, that Saurid reigned three hundred years before the deluge, and that he governed Egypt one hundred and seven years. When he found himself near the time of his dissolution, he sent for his son, and, having made him a long discourse on the duty of a king, and the regard which he owed to him as his father and his sovereign, he directed, that his corpse should be carried into his pyramid; that the room in which it should be laid, should be strewed with camphire and santal-wood; that his body should be embalmed with spices; and that his rich armour, with whatever valuable things he had used about this person, might be left in the same room. All which directions were punctually followed^f.

His son and successor Hargib, whom some writers call Augib, and represent as his brother, governed according to the instructions the deceased king Saurid had given him, being no less careful to engage the hearts of his subjects by a kind and gentle administration, than he was to se-

^f Ebn abd al Hokm. ubi supra, Mirabil. Pyramid.

cure their prosperity by ruling wisely and justly. He is said to have built the first of the pyramids of Dehasoura, into which he caused immense wealth, and a vast quantity of precious stones, to be brought, and there interred. His favourite science was chemistry; and it is reported, that he had the art of multiplying gold, whereby he filled his treasury after he had adorned his kingdom with many magnificent structures. He governed Egypt ninety-nine years, and after his death was interred in the pyramids. His successor was his son

Menaos, or, as others call him, Mankaus, a prince who deviated widely from the examples of his father and grandfather, being excessively proud, intolerably insolent, and outrageously cruel. Many women of quality he ravished, slew the most deserving of his subjects, and wasted in scandalous debauches a large proportion of that treasure which his ancestors had amassed, and set apart for public uses. At last, he arrived at such an height of folly and extravagance, that he built palaces of gold and silver. Into these he brought canals from the Nile, the bottoms of which were covered with precious stones, that glittered through the water, so as to dazzle the eyes of the spectators. To support this enormous expence, he had recourse to all the arts of tyranny and oppression; whereby he became excessively hated by his subjects, who were wonderfully rejoiced when his horse starting, threw him, and broke his neck: nevertheless they did not alter the succession, but raised to the throne his son

Ecros, of whom we have little or no account; only it is probable, that he was as great a tyrant as his father, by the course his subjects took to secure themselves; for, either on his death or deposition, they laid aside hereditary sovereigns, and made choice of a person who was of the royal family, on whom they bestowed the crown.

Ermelinous, whom some call Malinus, having thus attained the regal dignity, governed with lenity and justice; and, on his decease, the Egyptians submitted to

Firaoun, who was kinsman of the late king, and the last monarch in Egypt who ruled before the deluge. He proved a most tyrannical prince, and looked upon his subjects in no other light than that of slaves, destined to do whatever he thought fit to command. Religion and justice were almost forgotten under his base and luxurious administration. Being informed, that Noah had preached repentance and amendment of life, threatening the disobedient with destruction by water, he wrote to king Darnasfel,

masel, in whose dominions the prophet dwelt, to put Noah to death, and burn the ark which he was building. However, the high priest of Egypt, who had read and considered the sacred books carefully, persuaded in his mind, that what Noah had threatened would certainly come to pass, procured himself to be sent to enforce the counsel given to Darmasel; whereby he had an opportunity of joining himself to Noah, and of matching his daughter in his family. When the deluge began, Egypt was overspread with luxury, and the king was so excessively drunk, that he had not a perfect idea of his danger till the moment he was swallowed up and drowned. These writers affirm, that the waters continued upon the earth for eleven months; and that this event happened two thousand one hundred fifty-six years after the creation ^a.

The Kings of Egypt after the Deluge.

When Noah and those that were with him descended from the ark, the high priest of Egypt besought him to send their grandson Banfar, or Beifar, with him into Egypt, and Noah granted his request. Banfar, by the direction of this priest, settled himself in this country, which he wonderfully improved, or rather retrieved, building for the place of his residence, and the capital of his dominions, a large and beautiful city, which was afterwards called Memphis; but had then no other name than that of Masar, or Mesr, which signifies *the great city*. A son being born to him while he was employed in this work, he called him Masar, or Mesr, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and was the great restorer of Egypt ¹.

Some oriental writers vary in their account of this matter, attributing the settlement of Egypt entirely to Masar, to whom they say it was solemnly assigned by his sovereign ancestor Noah, to whom he was dear, on account of his great capacity, and the innocency of his manners; insomuch, that Noah having cursed Cham his grandfather, and breathed out many bitter execrations against him and his posterity, on Masar's interposition, retracted them with regard to him; and in a pathetic address to God, besought him to bless and preserve this young man, and to give him all the riches of the land of the river. However this might be, Masar certainly established the form of government which afterwards

^a Tarikh al Thabari. Mirabil. Pyramid, Al Soyuti.
 rabil. Pyramid. Tarikh al Thabari.

¹ Mi-

subsisted in Egypt, built various cities, and amassed together great treasures. When he found himself near his end, he, by his will, divided the kingdom into several little sovereignties: one district he gave his son Coptim, or rather Kibt, whose descendents are called Copts; to his son Asmounous, whom some call Ashmun, he bequeathed the Upper Egypt; on his son Abribus, or Athrib, he bestowed the flat country, and the fens beyond Barod, directing each of them to erect a fair city in his territory for the place of his residence, and to take all imaginable pains to improve and fertilize the adjacent country. He likewise gave orders about the manner of his own burial; pursuant to which, when he expired, his sons laid his body in a cave one hundred and fifty cubits long, which cave they filled with treasures and precious stones, causing this inscription to be engraven on a plate of gold, which was placed upon the marble monument within which the body lay: "Mafar, the son of Banfar, the son of Chaus, the son of Noah, died, aged seven hundred years, from the days of the deluge." Of this king they report, that he was a most wise, just, and pious person, having never done the least wrong to any of his subjects, or bent his knee to any idol, but living without care, sorrow, or sickness, till by the course of nature he was removed from this into another state; having first seen a multitude of people descended from his own loins, and leaving several flourishing kingdoms to his children^k.

To Mafar succeeded his son Coptim; but how long he governed, or what he performed, is not known. He was succeeded by his son,

Coptarim, of whom likewise we have no memoirs, and therefore we shall only say, that his son Budesir succeeded him, as he was succeeded by his son Gad, or Gadim; after whom Sedeth his son ascended the throne, whose son and successor was Mancaous, whose son Casaous reigned after him; and on his decease, his son Marbis, in whose stead reigned Asmar, then Citin, whose son Elfabas was his successor, who left the throne to Sa. This monarch built the city of Sais, and settled the Egyptian constitution. He was succeeded by his son Malil, after whom reigned Hadares; then his son Cheribas, to whom succeeded Calcan.

Totis, or, as he is generally called, Tulis, succeeded his father Calcan. He it was who governed the kingdom of

^k Khondemir ubi supra. Mirabil Pyramid. Al Soyuti.

Egypt, when Ibrahim went thither with his wife Sarah, whose beauty, even after she was past her bloom, struck all beholders with wonder. On their arrival at Mefr, the capital of the kingdom, notice was presently given to Tulis that a stranger was come, who had with him a woman the most beautiful that had ever been beheld. The king presently sent for Ibrahim, and having demanded of him what relation the woman stood in towards him, the prophet answered, that she was his sister. Then Tulis directed that she should be brought to him; but when he put out his hand with an intent to touch her, he found it suddenly shrunk and withered; whereupon, apprehending that he was deceived, he besought Sarah to pray for him, that his hand might be restored; she did so, and the king drew back his hand sound and well. Tulis then demanded of her in what degree she was related to Ibrahim, "I am," said she, "his wife." "Why then," said he, "did he deceive me, in saying you was his sister?" "He did not deceive thee, O king," replied she, "for in that I am of the same religion, I am his sister in God, and the sister of every man who believes the unity of the Godhead." This answer was so agreeable to the king, that he sent for Ibrahim, and was instructed in his religion. We are farther informed, that this king of Egypt had an only daughter, a princess of great parts, and of a mild and pleasant temper; she was extremely delighted with the company of Sarah, and would have made her many and great presents, had she not declined them by the command of her husband. The princess, however, obliged her to accept a female slave called Hagar, who was afterwards the mother of Ishmael. After the departure of Ibrahim and his wife, Tulis became a most intolerable tyrant, inasmuch that his daughter, perceiving his subjects hated him extremely, and that there was some danger of their changing the succession, poisoned him when he had reigned seventy years, and after a short interregnum, ascended the throne.

This princess, whose name was Juriak, though some writers call her Charoba, governed with great art, pretending to be alike the mother of all her subjects; but in fact balancing the power of the soldiery with that of the priests, and securing the quiet of her reign by a dextrous management of parties. In her time, or under the reign of her daughter, some historians affirm that the Amalekites entered Egypt, which they held in subjection for a considerable time; but we have a very imperfect account
of

of the monarchs of that dynasty, amongst whom, however, they reckon the following princes¹.

Riyan is said to have differed from all his predecessors, that is, from all the Amalekite kings of Egypt. For whereas they were idolaters in respect to religion, and tyrants with regard to their administration, this Riyan was, on the contrary, a worshipper of the true God, and a very just and good prince. In his time it is affirmed that Joseph came into Egypt, and very probably it was from this Israelite that he received instructions, which wrought upon him so powerfully, as to make him act in quite a different manner from his ancestors. We have many long and fabulous stories concerning the administration of that patriarch; but as these are too prolix to be inserted here, we chuse to omit them, and to pass on to the successor of this monarch, who was his son

Darem, a person altogether unlike his father, was an impious person, who affected to despise and affront divine Providence, and therefore no wonder that in his government he was a tyrant and an oppressor. He did not however enjoy, or rather abuse, the regal dignity long, but by the just judgment of God, was drowned in the Nile. To him succeeded

Cathim, an Amalekite, a magnificent prince, who rendered himself famous by a variety of noble buildings, with which he adorned this country. Others allege that Riyan left no son, but a grandson, whose name was

Kabus, who succeeded him, and is said to have reigned in the time of Moses^m. His brother Walid, or Walid, comes next, who is by most of the Arabian authors said to have been king of Egypt, contemporary with Moses, and to have perished in the Red Sea. He was an Arab, of the tribe of Ad', though others say of Amlak, i. e. an Amalekite. Here it is necessary to take notice, that though Walid be truly a proper name, yet it is also used by the oriental writers to signify *such a one*. Hence, whenever they meet with the actions of a prince without finding his name, they presently substitute that of Walid. We must not therefore be surprised to find, that some authors have given this prince another denomination, because that will make no difference in the history, neither will it at all affect the credit of one relation, or the other. This prince is represented as a most cruel tyrant; but at

¹ Tarikh al Thabari, Mirabil. Pyramid.
Al Soyuti.

^m Khondemir.

the same time as a man of great abilities, and of much cunning. With respect to the Israelites, he pretended they were all his slaves, and thus he made out his title. "Joseph, said he, who brought them hither, was himself a slave, and purchased with the money of Egypt. He brought his kindred hither, who could not therefore be better than himself; consequently they and all their descendents were slaves." Upon this pretence he refused to set them at liberty when Moses demanded their release; but if he treated them harshly, he used his own subjects no better; for after having impoverished them by excessive taxes, and wasted them in many foolish expeditions, he at length pretended to exact divine honours from them; and though he was apparently one of the worst of men, would needs pass for a god. On this account, if we may believe those writers, the Almighty was pleased to punish him in so exemplary a manner as he did, by drowning him in the Red Sea, but not in the manner recorded in Scripture.

Daluka, the daughter of Walid, succeeded to the crown. She was a woman of great wisdom, and is said to have surrounded the city of Mesr with walls of an amazing extent, and of stupendous thickness. Some authors assert, that she was not the daughter of the last king, but a distant relation; and that upon her death she bequeathed the crown to a Coptish prince of the ancient blood royal. His name was ⁿ (C)

Darkun, a young man of an excellent disposition, who ruled mildly, and with great wisdom. After him, we find

ⁿ Al Soyuti. Khondemir. Tarikh al Thabari. Mirabil. Pyramid.

(C) The eastern historians are unanimous as to the invasion of Egypt by the Amalekites, but they differ extremely about the time when this conquest was made. Some say that it happened so early as in the days of Coptarim, the third king of Egypt after the deluge; and they give us a particular account both of their invasion and expulsion. Others again place this revolution as low as the times of Abraham, or rather lower; and according to these, Joseph was Wafir, or first minister, to an Amalekite king of Egypt. These variations are not, however, greater than the critics have observed in the ancient Greek historians, with respect to the shepherds who subdued Egypt. The truth therefore is most likely to be discovered by comparing the best historians of both sorts; and this might be easily done, if the Egyptian histories in the French king's library were printed.

in

In the oriental histories the names of five or six kings, but without any account of their actions, excepting only Ashyaf, who appears to have been the Shishak of the Scriptures; then follows another large chasm in the history, the last king mentioned being Feraoum al Araj, that is, Pharaoh the Lame. This prince, we are told, was invaded by Nebuchadnezzar, whom the eastern writers call Baltaknassar; after having sustained a long siege in his capital Mefr, he was taken by the conqueror, and put to death *. After this period the oriental agrees better with the western history of Egypt, as will appear in its proper place.



C H A P. IV.

The History of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, and Philistines.

S E C T. I.

The History of Moab.

DESIGNING, in this chapter, to write the histories of those nations with whom the children of Israel were concerned, before or upon their settling in the land of Canaan, we shall begin with that of the Moabites.

This people was descended from Moab the son of Lot, by his eldest daughter; but, before we mention the occasion of that incest, it may be proper to trace the history a little higher.

*The descent
of the Mo-
abites.*

Lot was the son of Haran, the brother of Abraham, and, after his father's death, was brought by his grandfather Terah, together with the rest of his family, from Ur of the Chaldees, their native city, to Haran in Mesopotamia; where Terah dying, Abraham afterwards took his nephew under his protection; and, as Josephus tells us, adopted him, despairing of any children of own. He therefore carried him with him into Canaan^r, where, after they had dwelt some time, they were obliged, by a

*The life of
Lot their
ancestor.*

• Khondemir, Tarickh al Thabari, Mirabil. Pyramid.

P Genes. xii. 4, &c.

famine, to go into Egypt^a; and soon after their return from thence they parted, their flocks and herds being so much increased, that they could not dwell together any longer, as the pasture and water were not sufficient for both: Abraham proposed that they should separate; and gave Lot the choice of removing to what part of the country he thought fit. Lot chose the plain of Jordan, lying eastward of Bethel and Ai, between which Abraham and he then dwelt, and which, at that time, before the terrible destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, was so fruitful and well watered, that it is compared to the land of Egypt, and even to Paradise itself^c. In this delightful plain Lot pitched his tent, not far from Sodom, infamous for the unnatural wickedness of its inhabitants; and he afterwards dwelt in the city itself^d. But that city, with others in the same plain, being taken by Chedorlaomer and his allies, Lot, who assisted the Sodomites, had the misfortune to be taken by the enemy, with his family and all his substance; and must have been carried into captivity, had he not been timely rescued by Abraham, who not only delivered him, but recovered all his effects^e. Notwithstanding this warning, and the abominable wickedness of the inhabitants, Lot still continued to live in Sodom, and would have perished in the catastrophe of that people, if he had not been miraculously preserved. Two angels, sent to destroy the place, came to Sodom in the evening, in the appearance of travellers; and Lot, sitting in the gate, invited them to be his guests, according to the hospitality of the eastern nations. They had scarce refreshed themselves, when the inhabitants of the city, informed that Lot had strangers with him, and, in all probability, tempted by the beautiful forms which the angels had assumed^f, encompassed the house, and demanded them to be delivered up, that they might abuse them. Lot endeavoured to dissuade them from their wicked purpose; and, rather than violate the rights of hospitality, offered to abandon his two virgin daughters to their lust, on condition they would not molest his guests; but, instead of accepting this offer, they proceeded to violence; whereupon the angels suddenly pulled Lot into the house, shut the door, and struck the riotous assembly with blindness.

^a Genes. xii. 10. and chap. xiii. 1.
xiv. 12.

^c Gen. xiv. 16, &c.

^d Gen. xiii. 10.

^e Gen.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 11.

In the mean time, the angels acquainted Lot with their commission, advising him, if he had any friends, for whose safety he was concerned, that he would immediately let them know their own danger, and warn them to depart. Whereupon Lot, before it was light, went to his sons-in-law, to whom his daughters were contracted (D),-and telling them what they must expect if they stayed longer in the city, earnestly exhorted them to leave it; but they, thinking he mocked them, rejected his advice*.

As soon as day appeared, the angels ordered Lot immediately to depart, with his wife and two daughters, lest they should be involved in the common ruin; but he being somewhat dilatory, intent, perhaps, on preserving some of his most valuable effects, the angel hastily laid hold of them, and brought them out of the city, commanding them to make a speedy escape, for that their lives were in danger; advising them, in particular, not to look behind them, nor to stay in the plain, but to hasten to the mountains. Lot, considering the mountains were at a good distance, began to fear he could not reach them time enough; and begged he might be permitted to escape to a small city not far from Sodom, then called Bela, but afterwards, from this accident, Zoar, or *the Little*. The angels not only granted his request, but assured him, that their commission should not be executed till he reached the place. Immediately after sun-rise ensued the threatened destruction of those cities; and Lot's wife, contrary to the express command of the angel,

* Genes. xix. 1-14.

(D). The Septuagint, Syriac, Arabic, and other translations, and some of the rabbins, suppose these were the husbands of other daughters of Lot, who were married and had left their father's house; which seems to be confirmed by the angels ordering Lot to take with him his wife and his two daughters, "which were there" present. But the original words, which in our Version are rendered

"his sons-in-law, which married his daughters," may be translated according to the interpretation of Onkelos, "his sons in law, which were to marry," &c. the contract being made, but the marriage not consummated. And there is no mention, in Scripture, of any daughters Lot had, except the two who were saved with him; but, if he had, they must have perished with their husbands.

looking back, was changed into a pillar of salt ^y (E), which Josephus ^z tells us, was remaining in his days

After this catastrophe, Lot stayed not long in Zoar, fearing some farther misfortune; but went, with his daughters, to the mountains on the east of the Dead Sea, where he dwelt in a cavern. In this solitude, the two young women, seeing no hopes of their ever being married, and being very desirous of having children, as it was a great reproach and scandal in those days to have none, plotted together to deceive their father, and have issue by him. Accordingly, they put their project in execution, in the manner we find related in holy writ; and from this incestuous commerce proceeded two sons. That of the eldest daughter was therefore named Moab, signifying (though not in pure Hebrew, yet, perhaps, in some dialect of that tongue) *of a father*; and was the progenitor of the people we are now to describe ^a.

^y Genes. xix. 15—26.
xix. 30—37.

^z Antiq. lib. i. cap. 11.

^a Genes.

(E) It is not agreed by commentators what the crime was for which Lot's wife was thus severely punished. Some are of opinion, she deserved it merely for disobeying the command of the angel, and expressing too much concern for a people who merited no compassion; which yet she might be the more apt to entertain, as she was probably a native of Sodom, and had near relations among them. Some late commentators, after all, think, that there was no miraculous metamorphosis at all in the case, but that she either turned back out of curiosity, to see the burning nearer, and so perished in the dreadful shower, or by some poisonous vapour; or else, that the horror of the sight, when she looked back, and plainly beheld the terrible destruction of a place she had

but just quitted, struck her stiff and motionless, like a statue, and that she died of the fright. As to what is urged from Josephus, and some books of travels, that this statue or pillar was many ages after, or is now, to be seen; it is answered, that Josephus might be deceived therein, as many others have been, and daily are, in things of this nature, which really seems to have been the case; because the more intelligent and credible travellers say, that they could never see it; and when they have asked the people of the country after it, they either assured them there was no such thing, or pretend it stands somewhere in the mountains, where the access to it is very dangerous, because of the wild beasts and serpents; but more so on account of the Arabs,

The posterity of Lot settled in the country bordering on the mountain where he was born, which some authors make part of Cœlesyria¹, while others allege it belongs to Arabia²; and having driven out the old inhabitants, possessed a small tract, thence called Moabitis, or the land of Moab, the description of which we reserve to the geography of Judæa.

Of the country possessed by the Moabites.

We are but little acquainted with the customs and manners of the people. They were governed by kings, used circumcision³, and seem to have employed themselves, mostly, in pasturage, and breeding cattle, wherein their riches chiefly consisted. They were one of the nations whose goods the Jews were forbidden to seek⁴; nor were they to be admitted to intermarry with the Israelites, to the tenth generation. However, they appear to have cultivated a good understanding with that people, after their settlement in Canaan, as appears from the sojourning of Elimelech there, and the reception David met with in his troubles at Mispah. What language they used, we know not; but suppose, they spoke a dialect of the Canaanitish or Hebrew.

Their government, customs, &c.

That they had once the knowledge of the true God, we may not only conclude from the piety of their great ancestor, who, without doubt, instructed his offspring in their duty; but, likewise, from Scripture; for they retained this knowledge till the time of Moses, even after they had monstrously corrupted their religion, by introducing the worship of the false gods⁵.

Their religion.

The idols of the Moabites taken, notice of in Scripture, are Chemoth, and Baal-Peor; sometimes, simply, Peor; or, as the Septuagint writes the name, Phegor; but what gods these were, the learned have not yet unanimously determined. St. Jerom supposes, they were both names of one and the same idol⁶; and, from the debaucheries into which those fell who defiled themselves with their worship, several writers, both ancient and modern, have represented them as obscene deities, not much different from Priapus. This opinion they endeavour to support from the etymologies of the names, which they suppose imply some indecency (D). Others⁷, however, imagine, that

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 12. ² Stephan. de Urb. in Mœca.
³ Jerem. ix. 25, 26. ⁴ Deut. ii.
⁵ xxv. 17. ⁶ Hieronym. in Esai. lib. v. ⁷ See Numbers
 Syris, Syntag. i. cap. 5. Cleric. in Numer.

(D) Peor they derive from cause they used an indecent posture before the idol (dif-

that though the Israelites and Solomon were enticed, by the Moabitish women, to worship those idols; yet it does not thence follow, that any immodest ceremonies were used in their worship; nor are any such mentioned in the most ancient authors^z; and the etymologies, we think, are not much to be relied on. Peor was the name of a mountain, where the high places of Baal were situated^a; which word signifies no more than *lord*, and was a title of the sun, perhaps added to that name by way of distinction, to denote the deity adored in that place^b; though he had probably also a temple in Beth-Peor, which stood in the plain^c. Vossius^d supposes Baal-Peor to be Bacchus; and Dr. Cumberland^e says, he was properly called Meon. He takes him to be the same with Menes, Mizraim, and Osiris, who, according to his hypothesis, were all one and the same man. Chemos^f seems to have been a different idol. Nebo^g is thought, by some, to have been another deity of the Moabites. It was, without dispute, an idol, of the Babylonians, and possibly the same with Mercury; but whether the Moabites worshipped it, is not so certain. There was a town of this name in that part of the ancient dominions of Moab conquered by Sihon, which the Israelites rebuilt, and named anew^h; and a part of Mount Abarim, in the same tract, was also called Nebo.

Of their religious rites and ceremonies we can say very little. They sacrificed both in the open air, on mountains

^z Patrick's Commentary on Numb. xxv. xxiii. 38.

^b Theodoret. ad Psalm. cv.

^a Numb.

^c Josh. xiii. 17,

and 20.

^d De Idololatr. lib. ii. cap. 7.

^e On Sanchon. p. 67.

^f Isai. xv. 2.

Jerem. xlviii. 1—22.

^g Isai. xlv. 1. Psal. cvi. 28.

tentebant coram eo foramen podicis), and offered him dung, which, the Jews pretend, was the worship proper to this idol. If this derivation be true, it was, most probably, a name of contempt imposed by the Jews; and the ceremonies they mention, may have been invented to give some reason for the name.

Chemos^f, for want of a better etymology, they will have to come from the verb *mas-*

basb, to feel; but Dr. Hyde derives it from the Arabic *kha-mûsb*, which signifies gnats (though in the particular dialect of the tribe of Hodail), supposing it to have been an astrological talisman in the figure of a gnat, made to drive away those insects; and Le Clerk, who takes this idol for the sun, from *camosba*, a root in the same tongue signifying to be swift.

dedicated to that service^u, and in temples built to their idols in the cities: besides oxen and rams, on extraordinary occasions they offered human victims, according to the Phœnician custom.

The first inhabitants of the land were the Emims, a great and powerful people, of extraordinary strength and stature^x. They were, most probably, descendents of Ham, and of the same gigantic race with the Anakims and Rephaims; though the Moabites called them by the name of Emims, which, in Hebrew, signifies terrible. These, having been much weakened by the invasion of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and his allies^y, became the easier conquest to the Moabites, who drove them out, and took possession of their country; but about what time, is uncertain; however, they kept not their new dominions long entire; for, in the days of Moses, Sihon, king of the Amorites, who bordered on them eastward, fought against the king of Moab, the predecessor of Balak, and took from that nation all their land to the north of the river Arnon^z.

The Moabites drive out the Emims;

but lose part of their acquisitions to the Amorites.

Balak, the son of Zippor, sat on the throne of Moab when the Israelites, having subdued Sihon, were encamped in part of their new acquisitions called the Plains of Moab, because they had lately belonged to that nation. This prince, dismayed at the approach of the victorious people, whom he was not in a condition to resist, and not knowing that God had forbidden them to attempt the conquest of his remaining territories, assembled the nobles, and also the princes of the Midianites (a branch of which nation dwelt within the borders of Moab); and expressed to them his apprehension, that the Israelites "would lick up all that were round about them, as the ox licketh up the grafs of the field." Having consulted together, and not daring trust to their arms alone, the assembly agreed to send for Balaam, the son of Beor, a famous prophet (E), or diviner, of that time, in whose prayers and imprecations they had great confidence, that he might curse the people, who gave them so much un-

Yr. of Fl. 897. Ante Chr. 1451.

Balak sends for Balaam to curse the Israelites.

^u Numb. xxii. 41.
^z Numb. xxi. 26.

^x Deut. ii, 10.

^y Genes. xiv. 5.

(E) Balaam was a man of to God, it seems apparent, no great probity, and might, that he was no common forcer, or magician. but, by the free access he had

easiness (F). Accordingly, ambassadors of both nations were sent with presents to Balaam, who dwelt at Pethor, a city of Mesopotamia, on the Euphrates^c; and told him the occasion of their coming. The prophet desired them to stay with him that night, that he might enquire of God whether he should go with them, and curse the Israelites, or not; but, being commanded not to go, nor curse a people whom God had determined to bless, the next morning he told them, he could not disobey the divine command, and so dismissed them. On their return with this answer, Balak, whose sole hopes lay in the prophet, sent a second embassy to him, consisting of persons of more distinguished quality, and in greater number, with promises of great riches and preferment, if he would comply with his request. Balaam told them, that no wealth could tempt him to act contrary to the Divine directions. However, being willing to gratify Balak, he consulted the oracle once more; and had then leave to go, provided he said nothing but what God should put in his mouth. Balaam therefore went with the ambassadors, resolving, it seems, with himself, to do his utmost for the service of those who had employed him. But his intentions being displeasing to God, an angel was sent to withstand him on the road. His ass, seeing the angel with a drawn sword in his hand, attempted three times to turn out of the way; and, being thereupon as often struck by him, God miraculously opened her mouth (G), and she expostulated with him for his unseasonable severity. Balaam, in the heat of his passion, gave no attention to the prodigy; but when he saw the angel, he fell prostrate on his face, and offered to return home. But the angel bid him only take care to say no more than what God should suggest^d.

^c Numb. xxii. 5. Deuter. xxiii. 4. ^d Numb. xxii. 20, 35.

(F) It was a received opinion among the heathen nations, that imprecations might be made, which would have effect, not only on private persons, but even whole armies and nations; and there were particular forms and ceremonies for that purpose (1).

(G) This was so extraordinary an event, that some Jews,

as great lovers of miracles as they were, have not been able to persuade themselves, that it really came to pass. Philo, in relating the story of Balaam, wholly omits this circumstance; and Maimonides pretends it happened to Balaam in a prophetic vision. The sensible reader needs no comment upon this transaction,

(1) Macrob. Saturn. lib. iii. cap. 9. Plut. in. Vit. Crass. p. 553.

On

On the borders of Moab, Balak went out to meet him; and, after some expostulations for not coming on the first message, brought him to Kirjathhuzzoth, where the king offered sacrifices, and feasted him and the princes. Next day Balak brought the prophet up into the high-places of Baal on mount Abarim, where he might have a full prospect of the camp of the Israelites, whom he had hired him to curse. There Balak, by the prophet's direction, built seven altars, in which number there might, perhaps, be some superstition; but the altars, as it appears, were erected to the true God, to whom they offered a bullock and a ram on each altar; and the same ceremony they performed afterwards in two other places of the mountain. The two first times Balaam sought for enchantments, or used such means as he knew to obtain leave of God to curse the children of Israel, but without success; for, on the contrary, he was commanded to bless them, fore against his inclination, and to the great mortification of Balak; wherefore, the third time, finding that no enchantments could prevail against Jacob, nor any divination against Israel, he omitted his former arts, and not only blessed them a third time, but pronounced those accursed who should utter any imprecations against that people. Balak, enraged at this disappointment, ordered him to depart immediately; but Balaam, before he went, pronounced, in Balak's presence, a prophecy of the future successes of the Israelites. As to Moab, in particular, he foretold, that "a star should come out of Jacob, and a scepter should arise out of Israel, which should smite the corners" (or, as it may be better translated, *the princes*) "of Moab, and destroy all the children of Seth." Which prophecy interpreters take to be primarily spoken of David, and fulfilled by his victories over that nation; though it be allowed also secondarily, and in a typical sense, to refer to the Messiah. Balaam returned home, but not without giving a most wicked counsel (H) to Balak and the Midianites;

(H) Though Moses mentions not this circumstance, where he describes the interview between Balaam and Balak, yet, in another place, he lays the whole blame on Balaam, saying, that the Israelites trespassed through his counsel. Josephus is very par-

ticular in relating this circumstance, and tells us, that Balaam bethought himself of it when he came to the Euphrates, and thence sent to beg a conference with Balak, and the princes of Midian. The Targum of Jonathan, and that of Jerusalem, suppose, he gave this

ites; which proved very pernicious to the children of Israel; for he told them, that it was in vain to expect, that God would ever desert that nation, so long as they continued in their duty; and therefore the only way to hurt and distress them would be, to tempt them to idolatry and disobedience, which he knew no means so proper to effect, as by enticing them to debaucheries with the Moabitish and Midianitish women. He therefore, advised them to send the most beautiful virgins they could find to the Israelitish camp, with proper instructions^l.

This expedient was practised; the chief men among them made no scruple to prostitute their daughters on this occasion^m; and the stratagem succeeded but too well; for the Israelites were immediately captivated with the charms of these fair idolatresses; and, abandoning themselves to them, were easily seduced to worship their false gods. This idolatry occasioned a dreadful plague, which destroyed twenty-four thousand of them, besides those who were put to death by the order of Mosesⁿ.

Their hiring Balaam to curse Israel was the reason why the Moabites were not to be admitted to mix or intermarry with that people; but the Midianites, who seem to have been more particularly the instruments of seducing them to idolatry, were more severely punished; and Balaam himself had his due reward, being slain by the Israelites when they took their revenge on Midian.

Er. of Fl.
1005.
Ante Chr.
1343.

The next action which is recorded of the Moabites, is, that they were the instruments of the second oppression of the Israelites after their settlement in the land of Canaan; for that people, on the death of Othniel the son of Kenaz, being without a head, returned again to idolatry; whereupon God raised up Eglon king of Moab to punish them. This prince, entering into an alliance with the Ammonites and Amalekites, invaded Israel; and, having made himself master of the city of palm-trees, that is, as interpreters generally understand it, of Jericho (1), kept the Israelites in subjection eighteen years.

But

^l Josephus Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 6.
ⁿ Numb. ver. 1—5.

^m Numb. xxv. 15.

this counsel just before he pronounced the last prophecy; and that the same is intimated by these words, "I will advise or counsel thee (1)."

(1) Jericho was famous among other things for the great numbers of palm-trees of different kinds, which grew in its neighbourhood. Josephus says,

(1) Numb. xxiv. 14.

But God, upon their recurring to him, raised them up a deliverer, a Benjaminite, named Ehud; who, being appointed by his countrymen to carry a present to Eglon, resolved to lay hold of that opportunity, to deliver his people from the oppression they had so long groaned under. Accordingly, having delivered the present to the king, and accompanied those that had brought it as far as the quarries near Gilgal (K), on their way home, he returned from thence, pretending he had something to impart to Eglon in private. Being admitted to the king's presence, and the rest ordered to withdraw, he told him, that he had a message to him from God; which Eglon rising from his seat to receive, Ehud stabbed him in the belly with a dagger, which he had prepared, and concealed under his garment, for that purpose (L). The wound was given with such violence, that the haft went in after the blade; so that the fat closing upon it (for Eglon was very corpulent), Ehud was obliged to leave the dagger in his body. The servants after Ehud was gone, having waited a long time at the door, which they found locked, opened it last, and saw their master lying breathless on the floor. Ehud, in the mean time, escaped beyond Jordan; and assembling a body of forces, attacked the Moabites that were garrisoned on the west of the river within the land of Canaan, and slew ten thousand of their best men; a calamity which utterly broke the power of Moab, and freed the Israelites from the yoke of that nation.

says, that Eglon removed his court to this city; but he seems to have been mistaken; for, after it had been burnt by Joshua, who cursed the person that should rebuild it, it lay in ruins till the days of Ahab. However, the place might serve for a garrison to keep the country in awe, for which use it was very well situated.

(K) The word *pefilim*, which, in our version, is rendered the *quarries*, is, by the Septuagint, translated *τά γλῶττ' ἰδωλῶν*, and, in the Vulgate, *the idols*,

the sculptures, which some suppose to have been set up there by Eglon.

(L) This action of Ehud some justify, by supposing he had God's express command for it (1). But, as the Scripture intimates no such thing, others think he might lawfully rid his country of a tyrant, who had unjustly enslaved it (2); a position which may encourage assassinations in every case, where the actor judges the cause he engages in to be righteous.

(1) Patrick's Commentary, in loc.

(2) Cleric. in loc.

We hear no more of the Moabites after this disaster, till the time of Saul, who warred against them with success. The enmity, which subsisted between him and this nation, probably induced David, when persecuted by that prince, to ask the king of Moab's protection for his parents, till his affairs should be in a better posture; which the Moabite readily granted, and treated them with great hospitality, while David lay in the cave of Adullam. However, when he came to the crown, the Moabites entered into a confederacy against him with several of the neighbouring nations: whereupon he declared war against them; and, having obtained a signal victory, put two thirds of them to the sword (M), and made the rest his vassals and tributaries ^u.

Yr. of Fl.
1451.
Ante Chr.
897.

From this time they continued subject to Solomon and Rehoboam, till the revolt of the ten tribes; upon which, it seems, they became tributaries to the kings of Israel, though they had all along kings of their own, who were little better than viceroys. Mesha, one of them, paid Ahab a yearly tribute of one hundred thousand lambs, and as many wethers, with the wool; his riches consisting chiefly in sheep. But, when Ahab was dead, Mesha rebelled against his son Ahaziah, whose short reign not permitting any attempt to reduce him, his brother and successor Jehoram, assisted by Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and the king of Edom his tributary, made an expedition for that purpose, and took a compass of seven days march through the desert of Edom, in order to surprise the enemy. Having reached the land of Moab, the army was distressed for want of water, and must have perished, had not the prophet Elisha obtained a sudden and large supply for them by a land flood. The Moabites, being by this time alarmed, assembled all that were able to bear arms. Early in the morning, seeing the water to the westward look red, like blood, by reason of the reflexion of the sun, and never suspecting it to be water in that dry desert, and

^u 2 Sam. viii. 2. 1 Chron. xviii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 5.

(M) This is the meaning of the sacred historian, when he says, "That David measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he, to put to death; and with one full

line to keep alive." It seems to have been a custom in the East to order the prisoners of war to lie down, and to measure by a line such of them as they designed to put to death.

In so great a quantity, they immediately took it to be blood; and, supposing the confederated princes had fallen out, and turned their arms against each other, concluded, they had no more to do than to take the spoil. In this imagination, they ran in confusion to the camp of Israel, but soon found their mistake: for, not being able to sustain the first attack of the Israelites, they presently turned their backs, and great numbers of them were slain by the enemy, who pursued them into the very heart of their country, wasted their lands and demolished their cities, except Kir-Hareseth, where the king of Moab shut himself up. Mesha, being besieged, and closely pressed, made a sally with seven hundred chosen men, and endeavoured to escape, by breaking through the quarters of the Edomites, which were the weakest; but failing in his attempt, in the height of despair, he took his eldest son, who should have succeeded him in the throne, and offered him for a burnt-sacrifice on the wall (N): which barbarous act raised such horror and indignation in his enemies, that they immediately raised the siege, and returned home.

It was not long before the Moabites, entering into an alliance with the Ammonites, the Edomites of mount Seir, and other neighbouring nations, attempted to revenge the losses they had sustained in this invasion on Jehoshaphat king of Judah, by whose assistance, chiefly, Jehoram had been enabled to undertake it. But, though they had advanced within thirty miles of his capital, before he had any advice of their motions, their attempt proved unsuccessful, and ended in their total ruin; for, upon Jehoshaphat's recurring to God, the enemy, seized with a kind of panic and phrenzy, fell upon each other,

(N) Several writers suppose Mesha did not sacrifice his own son, but the son of the king of Edom, whom, they say, he took in the sally; and that this is the same action with that mentioned by the prophet Amos, who threatened Moab, "because he burnt the bones of the king of Edom into lime:" but they seem to be different

actions; for, not to insist on the strict acceptance of the two passages, one speaking of a king of Edom, and the other of a king's son, it was a known custom in ancient times, for princes, in extreme calamities of the public, to offer a beloved child as an expiatory sacrifice, to avert the impending vengeance of the gods (1).

(1) Vide Porphy. de Abst. lib. ii. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 28. Justin. lib. xviii. cap. 6. Plut. in Pelopida, &c.

and continued the slaughter with incredible fury, till they were all cut off^x.

After this period, we do not find, that the Moabites disturbed Israel for many years. However, between this, and the reign of Uzziah king of Judah, they had invaded their neighbours of Edom; and, having overcome them, inhumanly burnt their king, and reduced his bones to ashes: for which cruelty God denounced severe judgments against them by the prophet Amos^y. On the declension of the kingdom of Israel, they also seem to have retaken from the tribes of Reuben and Gad, great part of the land which had formerly belonged to them, before the invasion of Sihon; for, in the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah against Moab, several cities in those territories are mentioned as then in the possession of that nation, or of the Ammonites, who were probably their confederates in oppressing the Israelites. These successes elated the Moabites so much, that, for their pride and insolence, God threatened them with utter destruction, by several of his prophets; and Isaiah, in particular, foretold, that, within three years, Ar and Kir-Harasheth, two of their principal cities, should be destroyed, and the rest of their country brought to contempt and desolation^z.

After the dreadful destruction of the army of Sennacherib the son of Shalmenefer, the Moabites often revolted from his successors, and were as often reduced, till they were entirely subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, into whose hands their king was given, according to a prediction of Jeremiah: for the Babylonish yoke sat so uneasy on them, that though they took advantage of the low condition of Judah, and missed few or no opportunities of harassing that nation, yet, on Nebuchadnezzar's departure from Judæa and Syria, after his second expedition into those parts, they, with the other neighbouring nations, proposed to Zedekiah to enter into a league against the Chaldeans; which that prince, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Jeremiah to the contrary, consenting to, on the accession of the Egyptians to their confederacy, it became the occasion of his utter ruin: for his new allies deserted him in his distress.

From this period, history makes very little mention of the Moabites, who were henceforward subject to the great empires, and, at length, became one people with the

^x 2 Chron. xx. 1—25. Joseph. ubi supra.
^y 2, 3.

^z Isa. xv. 1. xvi. 7.

^y Amos ii.

neighbouring nations which inhabit the deserts of Syria: so that though Josephus mentions the Moabites as a distinct nation long after, saying they were subdued by Alexander Jannæus king of the Jews², and tells us, they were a numerous nation, even in his time; yet, in the third century after Christ, they had lost their ancient name, and were comprehended under the more general denomination of Arabians³.

S E C T. II.

The History of Ammon.

THIS people were the posterity of Ammon, otherwise called Ben Ammi, signifying *the son of my people, our kindred*; the offspring of Lot and his younger daughter.

They possessed themselves of the country, called after their own name, Ammonitis, bordering on the northern part of Moabitis, after having driven out the Zamzumims, who were giants, and the ancient inhabitants of the land. This country, as well as Moabitis, is, by some, reckoned a part of Cœle-Syria, and, by others, of Arabia.

Of the country possessed by the Ammonites.

We are almost utterly unacquainted with the manners and customs of this people. They had kings, and were circumcised, and seem to have been principally addicted to husbandry. They, as well as the Moabites, were among the nations, whose peace or prosperity the Israelites were not to disturb: neither the one nor the other were to be admitted into the congregation to the tenth generation, because they did not come out to relieve them in the wilderness; and were concerned in hiring Balaam to curse them. However, we find there was afterwards a very good understanding between their king Nahash and David.

Their chief and peculiar deity is, in Scripture, called Moloch, or Moloch. He is also thought to be understood under the names of Baal, Milcom, Melech, Adramelech, and Anamelech. These names, or titles, signify no more than *lord*, or *king*; and sometimes have an epithet prefixed to them, as in the two last, where he is styled the Mighty and Rich Melech, Moloch, or King: these two were the gods of the Sepharvites. We shall only

Their religion.

² Joseph. de Bello Jud. lib. i. cap. 4.

³ Orig. in Job. lib. i.

ſpeak of the Ammonitiſh Moloch in this place. The learned are not agreed in what relates to him: but it is on all hands allowed, that they addreſſed him under the title of King, or Moloch. His image is ſaid to have been hollow, and divided into ſeven receptacles. The firſt was opened for an offering of fine flour; the ſecond for an offering of turtles; the third for a ſheep; the fourth for a ram; the fifth for a calf; the ſixth for an ox; the ſeventh for a child. It had the head of an ox, and the arms of a man, ſtretched out in aſt to receive^b. Theſe ſeven receptacles are alſo called ſeven chapels; and, inſtead of being within the image itſelf, are ſaid to have been placed orderly before it^c. Whatever was the diſpoſition of theſe ſeven places, their number, correſponding with that of the ſun, moon, and five other planets, has given room to ſuppoſe, that the Ammonites worſhipped the ſun^d; and the rather, as the oblations ſeem to riſe in ſuch proportion, as might better answer the degree of each of theſe heavenly bodies. But it were endleſs to expatiate on conjectures upon ſo obſcure a ſubject. Some farther accounts there are concerning this idol, but very doubtful. Chemosh alſo was a god of the Ammonites, concerning whom we have ſaid already all we know.

As to the ſuperſtitious paid to Moloch, there is great diſagreement among authors. By the Scripture it is often ſaid, that the “Ammonites paſſed their ſeed through fire to Moloch.” This expreſſion is taken in a literal ſenſe by ſome, in a figurative ſenſe by others. The firſt ſentiment is embraced by the Jewiſh writers, who, for the moſt part, hold, that the children were barely carried or led between two fires, by way of purification. The latter is adopted by the Chriſtian writers chiefly, who think, that they actually burnt their children, by way of ſacrifice to this grim idol. There was a place near Jeruſalem, where this horrid cuſtom was obſerved. It was called the Valley of the ſons of Hinnom (O), ſo named from

^b Voſſ. de Idololat. & Selden. de Diis Syr. ſyntag. i. cap. 6. Paul. Faſt. apud eund. ^c Bedford's Script. Chronol. p. 259.

^d Vide Voſſ. ubi ſupra.

(O) This valley was a delightful place, watered by the ſprings of Siloah. It was commonly choſe ſountain-ſhady, and beautified with gar- dens. And indeed, it is remarkable, that the heathens choſe fountain-heads, and ſolemn groves, for the

from the shrieks of the children sacrificed; as also Topheth, from a Hebrew word *toph*, signifying a *drum*, or *tabret*, which they used, among other instruments, to drown the dreadful outcries of the unhappy victims.

As the Moabites drove out the Emims, and possessed themselves of their country, so the Ammonites forced the Zuzims, or Zamzummims, as they called them, from their habitations. These Zamzummims, as well as the Emims, are styled Giants, and were, doubtless, both derived from the same stock. They had been invaded by Chedorlaomer king of Elam; and, perhaps, his having destroyed great numbers of them, rendered it more easy for the children of Ammon to dislodge the rest. When this expulsion was effected, or in what manner, we know not. However, the Ammonites themselves underwent the same fate in the days of Moses. They were dispossessed by Sihon the Amorite, who drove them to the mountains.

They drive out the Zamzummims.

The names of their first kings do not occur. They joined Eglon king of Moab against Israel, and shared in the successes of that war.

Their history.

About a hundred and fifty years after this period, we find the Ammonites engaged as principals in a war, under an anonymous king, against the Israelites. This prince, resolved to attempt the recovery of the ancient country of the Ammonites, made a sudden irruption into it; and, bearing all down before him, reduced the land, and kept the inhabitants eighteen years in subjection. Encouraged by his first success, he crossed the Jordan (E), in order to fall upon the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim. But, in the mean time, the Israelites, turning to God, were inspired with courage to oppose the insulting invader. Accordingly they assembled at Mizpeh; whence Jephthah, whom they had chosen for their general, sent an expostulatory message to the king of the Ammonites. The king answered, that those lands be-

Yr. of Fl.
1160.
Ante Chr.
1188.

They war with the Israelites under an anonymous king.

the scenes of homage they paid to their deities. This custom, our author supposes, they borrowed from the Ammonites (1).

(E) There is a very considerable difference here between the Scripture and Josephus. He says, the Ammonites and

the Philistines had only prepared to cross the river Jordan. The Scripture says, the Ammonites did actually cross over to fight with Judah, and Benjamin, and Ephraim; so that the Israelites were in great distress.

(1) Hieron. in Jerem. cap. vii. 31.

longed to the Ammonites, who had been unjustly dispossessed of them by the Israelites, when they came out of Egypt; he therefore exhorted him to restore them peaceably to the lawful owners. Jephthah sent him a second message, endeavouring to convince him of the injustice of his claim, by an historical account of what had passed on the occasion the Ammonite had mentioned. But, finding him bent, at all events, upon war, he fell upon him near Aroer; and, having put his army to flight, pursued the fugitives, with great slaughter, as far as the Plain of the Vineyards. The Ammonites lost, on this occasion, twenty cities. And thus, after eighteen years bondage, an end was put to the tyranny of Ammon over the Israelites beyond the Jordan^v.

Yr. of Fl.

1253.

Ante Chr.

1095.

Nahash
king.

The next of their kings, we find mentioned, is called Nahash. He flourished in the days of Saul, from whom he received the just reward of his great insolence and barbarity; for, reviving the old claim upon the territory inhabited by the Israelites on the other side of Jordan, he waged war with them, and, being at first attended with great success, even laid siege to the city of Jabesh. The terror of his arms was so great, that the inhabitants were at once for throwing themselves at his feet, and acknowledging him for their lord and king. This submission, which would have mollified a generous heart, served only to harden his. He would hearken to them upon no other condition, than their consenting every one to the loss of his right eye, that, in them, he might stigmatize the whole body of Israel. The inhabitants answered: that if he would allow them but seven days to endeavour at a deliverance from him, they would submit to his terms after the expiration of that time, if none were found to deliver them. This request he granted, and, secure within himself, waited for the cruel satisfaction he proposed shortly to enjoy; but he was assaulted in three several parts of his camp by Saul, very early on the eighth morning, when he expected to see the inhabitants coming forth to submit, as they had promised the night before; and his army was thrown into such confusion, that the Israelites had little else to do but to put them to the sword. Instead of a battle, it is termed a slaughter, which lasted till the heat of the day; at which time the surviving remnant of Nahash's army was so dispersed, that no where two of them were to be seen together^z,

^v Judg. x. 8. xi. 33. Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 9. ^z 1 Sam. xi. 11.

Thus ended the war. We are informed that Nahash did some kindnesses to king David.

Hanun succeeded his father Nahash in the kingdom ; but whether this Nahash was the very same who was defeated by Saul at Jabesh, we are not told. We are informed, that Nahash, the father of Hanun, lived in friendship with David, who no sooner heard that Nahash was dead, and that his son had succeeded him, than, for his father's sake, he sent ambassadors to the young king, to condole with him for his loss, to congratulate him upon his accession, and to offer a continuance of the friendship which had been cultivated between the late king and him. Hanun seems to have been a weak prince, and to have had very ignorant counsellors about him. For when he received these compliments from king David, by the mouth of his ambassadors, instead of improving them to advantage, he took a false step, which he never could recover. He was so far from entertaining them with the hospitality and decency due to their character, that he suffered himself to be persuaded they were no better than spies, and treated them accordingly: he caused half of their beards to be shaved, part of their garments to be cut away, and in that shameful disguise, sent them back to their master. This contempt of David, in open defiance of the law of nations, hospitality, and gratitude, occasioned a war^a, which brought destruction upon Hanun and his kingdom.

Hanun
king.

Perceiving himself on the brink of a war, to which he, singly, was unequal, he dispatched ambassadors to the neighbouring princes, to hire and solicit the assistance of troops from them, to enable him to withstand the invasion which threatened his kingdom. What the troops he procured were, either in quality or number, is not certainly known, since the Scripture seems to vary concerning them (H). First, we are told, that Hanun sent to the Syrians of Beth-Rehob, and to the Syrians of Zobah, from whom he had twenty thousand footmen; to the king of Maachab, who furnished one thousand men; and to the king of Ishtob, who sent twelve thousand

Yr. of Fl.
1313.
Ante Chr.
1035.

^a 2 Sam. x. 2—4. 2 Chron. xix. 2—4. Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 6.

(H) This we cannot pretend to account for, nor do we know that it was ever cleared by any one in a satisfactory manner. Hederezer is in Scripture mentioned as the chief prince of the Syrian nations. Josephus speaks of one Syrus as chief, and calls him king of Mesopotamia.

men. With this account Josephus agrees pretty well in respect to number, retrenching only the one thousand men supplied by the king of Maachah, and allowing him and the king of Iſhtob to have contributed twelve thousand men between them^c. Whence, instead of making the number of these mercenaries thirty-three thousand, as the Scripture does, he gives them at thirty-two thousand. Again, we are told, that Hanun sent a thousand talents of silver to hire chariots and horsemen out of Mesopotamia, and out of Syria Maachah, and out of Zobah; and that he actually hired thirty-two (I) thousand chariots, besides the king of Maachah's men^d. Between Josephus, and this passage of Scripture, there is a more material difference than before: he says, those who came out of Mesopotamia were footmen. Here also we see the Scripture keeps to the number of thirty-three thousand. However, though the number be the same as before, the difference is very great.

Hanun, having thus drawn a considerable force from the neighbouring countries, and raised an army of his own subjects, marched out of Rabbah to fight Joab, whom David had sent at the head of his army. The Ammonites, and their auxiliaries, drew up in two distinct bodies; the Ammonites under the walls of their city, and the auxiliaries at some distance on the plain. By this disposition they thought to have charged Joab's front, and, at the same time, to have fallen upon his rear; but their design was frustrated. For the Ammonites were attacked by Abishai, Joab's brother, whilst Joab himself charged the Syrians. The Ammonites sustained Abishai's charge with great resolution and intrepidity, till, perceiving their Syrian friends give ground, they thought it adviseable to return into their city.

In the following year their Syrian allies, ashamed of their last defeat, made head again; but being utterly routed by David in person, the Ammonites were left to defend themselves against the violent, but just resentment of their injured enemy^e, which fell heavy upon them; for the very next year, the third of this war, the country was entered by Joab, who harassed and wasted it far and

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 6,

^d 1 Chron. xix. 6, 7.

^e 2 Sam. x. Joseph. Antiq. ubi supra.

(I) There is not a plain in sand chariots could act together.
Europe where thirty-two thou-

wide;

wide; and at length besieged Hanun in Rabbah, the capital of his kingdom: the place held out about two years, during which Hanun made one desperate sally, and cut off many of the besiegers, and, among the rest, Uriah, the husband of Bathsheba. At length the city was reduced to the utmost extremities of famine, and stormed by David in person, who came to have the honour of completing the work. In the assault Hanun was slain, and his crown, weighing a talent of gold (K), adorned with precious stones, was taken from off his head by David. What other spoil was found in this metropolis is no where specified. The inhabitants were treated with extraordinary severity, being led out, and put to death with the most exquisite torments; harrowed, fawn, hacked with axes, and passed through the brick-kiln. This dreadful usage extended to the rest of the cities of Ammon which held out against the conqueror; all such sharing in the fate of the city of Rabbah, which was destroyed and laid level with the ground ^f.

After this dreadful execution, which exceeds in barbarity every thing recorded in the annals of mankind, it is no wonder we hear nothing of a king of Ammon, nor indeed of the nation itself, till the reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah. At this time we find them united with their brethren the Moabites, and the inhabitants of Mount Seir, against that king of Judah. The particulars of this war we have given in the history of Moab.

They were afterwards overthrown by, and made tributary to Uzziah king of Judah ^g.

The Ammonites bore this yoke as long as Uzziah lived, but in the reign of his son Jotham they rebelled, under the auspices of a king whose name we do not know. The event, however, was unhappy; they were overthrown in battle, and obliged to compound for their peace with Jotham, by paying a tribute of one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and as many of barley; in all, about one hundred and sixty thousand of our bushels.

At length, when the Babylonians grew mighty, and threatened all the kingdoms of this part of Asia with sub-

^f 2 Sam. xii. 29. 31. Joseph. ubi supra, cap. 7. 1 Chron. xx.

^g 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8. Joseph. Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 11.

(K) The talent, according to Arbuthnot, was equal to sixteen pounds ten ounces; so that this prince's head must have been strangely loaded.

jection, they perhaps entertained thoughts of withstanding the common enemy with their joint force; and hence might arise a good understanding between Baalis the last king of Ammon, and Zedekiah the last king of Judah. But when destruction came upon Zedekiah and Jerusalem, the Ammonites exulted over the ruins of that unhappy city, for which they were severely threatened by the prophet. Nevertheless, Baalis received all the Jews that fled into his dominions to avoid the captivity, and, among those, one Ishmael, of the royal blood, whose interest he pretended to have much at heart; he even advised him to go back into his own country and assassinate Gedaliah, whom the Babylonians had set over the poor remnant of the Jews. His counsel was put in execution, but the assassin was obliged to fly back again to Baalis, who received him into his protection. Baalis lived not long unpunished for having been accessory to the murder of the innocent Gedaliah, for he was attacked by Nebuzaradan, the Babylonian general, who ravaged his country with fire and sword, destroyed his chief city Rabbah, and carried him, with most of the nobles of Ammon, into captivity. They are mentioned as being conjoined with the Arabians, Moabites, and Samaritans, in giving disturbance to the re-building of the temple of Jerusalem, which they endeavoured to prevent as much as in them lay. One Tobiah, called the Servant, is said to have been then at their head.

As they lived in peace and quietness under the great monarchies, in process of time they grew to be more considerable; and, in the days of Judas Maccabeus, were assembled against that general in a very great army under their governor Timotheus. A battle ensued, wherein Timotheus and the Ammonites were worsted, and the same ill fortune attended them in other subsequent conflicts under the same leader, and against the same enemy. In the end, their city Jaser, and the neighbouring towns, fell a prey to the Jews, who smote the men, carried their wives and children into captivity, and plundered and burnt the city. Thus ended this, as it seems, their last warfare with the descendants of Israel^b.

Nevertheless, about the beginning of the second century of the Christian æra, they were thought worthy of being called a numerous nation; but, towards the end of that period, their name vanished, and they were blended with the Arabians; as were also the Moabites, Edomites, and others.

^b 1 Macc. v. 6—8. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xli. cap. 11. Prideaux Connect. part ii. book iv. p. 212.

S E C T. III.

The History of Midian, or Madian.

IT is generally agreed that this people drew their origin from Midian, the fourth son of Abraham by Keturah, from whom they were called Midianites. He received large gifts from his father, as did the rest of his brethren, and was, as well as they, sent into the east country, to be at a proper distance from Isaac. The sons of Midian were Ephah, and Epher, and Henoah, and Abidah, and Eldaah. *Their descent.*

The Midianites were, in their most early times, evidently confounded with the Ishmaelites; and many ages afterwards they are mentioned in conjunction with the Nabateans and Kaderenes, the posterity of Nabioth and Kedar, the sons of Ishmael. Doubtless, remembering their kindred, they adhered to each other, and were blended together. On the other hand, we find them so incorporated, as it were, with the Moabites, that Moses almost considered them as but one nation. Their religion was the same, and they acted in the strictest concert together against him and the Israelites. The ties of blood united them likewise, as on the one side they were descended from Abraham, and on the other from Lot. So just as they happened to live in the northern or southern parts of their country, they joined either the Moabites or the Ishmaelites.

The Midianites were a very numerous race, and may be distinguished into two classes, shepherds and merchants. *Their manners.* The shepherds moved up and down in tents, and drove their cattle before them, even when they went to war. The merchants also travelled from place to place in companies, or caravans, as the merchants of those parts do at this day, and left the care of their cattle to the women, as appears by the story of Jethro's daughters. The shepherds, it is likely, had no fixed habitations, except some strong holds near their borders; the merchants probably had few or none but marts and stations, in places convenient for their trade. These by exchanging their gold and jewels with their brethren for their cattle, the shepherds became rich in precious ornaments. Their manners must have been in many respects as different as their way of life; however, they are in general represented to have been very sumptuous in their apparel. We read of their

their “jewels of gold, chains, bracelets, rings, ear-rings, tablets, the purple raiment of their kings, and the gold chains or collars round the necks of their camels.”

Their learning.

It appears very plain from Job, that the use of writing was very early known in those parts, among the descendants of Abraham^a; and the Midianites being also of the number, we cannot suppose them to have been unacquainted with it. Sir Isaac Newton allows them the honour of instructing Moses in writing^b. The merchants must also have been versed in some kind of arithmetic; and there being ships in the Mediterranean so early as the days of the patriarch Jacob^c, and these being themselves traders, and situated on the Red Sea, it cannot be supposed that they could refrain from ship-building, and viewing the shores of their own sea, and the contiguous coasts. From hence we may naturally enough extend the circle of their sciences beyond bare writing and arithmetic, and allow them a competent skill in geography, geometry, and astronomy.

Their religion.

It is plain that the Midianites varied as much from each other in matter of religion, as in their manner of life. At first they were, no doubt, pure and right in their way; how long they persevered in it, is not said. But in the days of Moses they wallowed in all the abominations of the Moabites; those we mean who were nearest to that idolatrous nation; nay, they exceeded them in their endeavours to pervert the children of Israel when they lay in the plains of Moab, in persuading them to bow down to Peor^d; but we are indeed told, that Peor was worshipped by the Midianitish women chiefly^e. Thus stood religion in the north of Midian. In the south we find them enlightened by a rational and sublime system, long after their brethren had fallen into the foulest corruption. As a proof of this, we need only mention Jethro, who is commonly styled the priest of Midian, and is said to have lived among^f, and by some thought to have presided over, the Midianites, near the Red Sea. His behaviour in the camp of Israel is a sufficient argument in favour of them; yet, though their religion was otherwise very pure, it is remarkable they could not bear circumcision. They offered up praises, thanksgivings, and sacrifices to God;

^a Judg. viii. 26. ^b Job xix. 23, 24. ^c Chron. of Ancient Kingdoms amended, p. 210. ^d Genes. xlix. 13. ^e Numb. xxv. 18. ^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 6. ^g Hieron. in Num. Mom. 20. ^h Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 11.

but their religious rites, or ceremonies were not explained.

We know not whether they were divided as much from each other in form of government as in occupation and religion; excepting the case of Jethro, their government is represented rather as aristocratical than monarchical. Their chiefs however are styled kings, and therefore we shall dignify them with the same title.

The most ancient account we find of this nation, after what has been already said, is that of their war with Hadad the Horite, when Midian was smitten by him in the field of Moab. *Their history.*

The next is their purchasing Joseph from his brethren for twenty pieces of silver, and carrying him away with them into Egypt, where they sold him to Potiphar, one of Pharaoh's chief officers.

Many years after lived in Madian, by the Red Sea, a priest, or prince, of the southern Midianites, called Ruel, or Jethro, or the Kenite. In his time Moses, flying from Pharaoh, arrived in Midian, and met with just such another adventure as Jacob had in Padam-Aram^a. For while he was taking some rest near a well, the daughters of Jethro, seven in number, coming to draw water for their father's flocks (G), were insulted and driven away by some shepherds; but Moses taking their part, obliged the shepherds to retire, and assisted the damsels in watering the flocks. On their return home, their father, surprised to see them come back sooner than usual, enquired into the cause of their dispatch, when they acquainted him with what had happened. Hereupon Jethro, upbraiding them for not bringing home with them the kind Egyptian (for so they called Moses), sent them back to invite him. Moses complied with the invitation; and Jethro, highly pleased with his behaviour and conduct, committed the care of his flocks to him, gave him, in process of time, his daughter Zipporah in marriage, and kept him with him forty years. At length, understanding that his son-in-law *Jethro.*

Exod. xxiii. 10—12. Genes. xxxvi. 36.

(G) This insult has given birth to a suspicion, that their father was so far from being chief, either as prince or priest, that he was only an inferior in the sacred order; and then no wonder they were abused. In-

deed, if we do not suppose these shepherds to have been strangers in this part, it must be acknowledged that it does not look as if Jethro was a man in any great repute or authority.

was commissioned by God to lead out the children of Israel from bondage, he consented to part with him, and his daughter, and his grand-children, who set out for Egypt; but a dispute arising between Moses and his wife; about circumcising a child upon the road^b, she was sent back by her husband, who pursued his journey.

When Jethro heard of the mighty things which the Lord had done through Moses, and how he had delivered his people, and brought them out of Egypt, he took his daughter Zipporah, and her two sons, and his son Hobab, and set out with them towards his son-in-law Moses, to congratulate him, and reconcile him with his daughter Zipporah. They were all received very affectionately by Moses; and Jethro hearing from him the wondrous works which had been done for Israel, he blessed God, acknowledged him to be far superior to all other gods, and made a burnt-offering and sacrifices. Aaron and all the elders of Israel came to assist at the solemnity, and to pay him the respect due to his venerable character.

Next day Jethro had an opportunity of displaying his great wisdom and skill in the due regulation of government. He observed that the people crowded about Moses all the day long; and asking him the meaning of it, Moses answered him, that he had been sitting in judgment. Then Jethro told him, he ought not to charge himself with so grievous a burden, too much for any one man to bear; that it would be enough for him to attend to the sublimer concerns only, to consult with God, to declare his holy laws and ordinances, to instruct the people in the right way, and commit the judging and well-ordering of the people to a select number of the most righteous men among the multitude, who should, according to their abilities, be appointed over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens; abstaining from every business himself that was not of the highest moment. Jethro gave not this counsel in vain, and thereby administered great ease to his son-in-law Moses^c.

This is all that we know concerning Jethro, except that Moses dismissed him, and that he left his son Hobab behind him, with a friendly intent that he should serve as a guide through the wilderness; but it was with reluctance he went through with them, nor was he prevailed on to do it without very large promises. We read farther concerning the descendents of Jethro, that they were called Kenites; and that they joined the children of Judah, and

The Kenites.

^b Exod. ii. iii. iv.

^c Exod. xviii. 3, 4, 5, 6, & seq.

marched

marched with them from the city of Palm-trees (Jericho) into the wilderness of Judah⁴; that upon the taking of Hebron, they were rewarded with a large portion of ground, in consideration of their having forsaken their native place, and suffered with the Israelites all the toils of their wars, and all the distresses in the wilderness⁵; that Heber, the husband of Jael, who killed Sisera, was of this family; that on the aforesaid consideration also, the Kenites were many years afterwards warned by Saul to move off from the Amalekites, when he had it in charge to extirpate that nation, that they might be no way prejudiced thereby. Thus were they preserved, and fixing their seat upon a rock, and there possessing a strong hold, they grew wanton and presumptuous; but were in the end carried into captivity by the Assyrians, together with the ten tribes of Israel, as Balaam had prophesied long before: "And he (Balaam) looked on the Kenites—and said, Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest on a rock. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Ashur shall carry thee away captive⁶."

The Midianites, whom we shall have now occasion to mention as at enmity with Israel, we apprehend to have been chiefly those who bordered upon, or lived, as it were, in common with the Moabites. Evi, Rekem, Hur, Zur, and Rebah, were all kings or dukes of Midian, when Moses overcame Sihon the Amorite; and greatly fearing for themselves, they consulted with Balak king of Moab, what measures they should take to avoid the dangers which hung over their heads. We shall not repeat here what we have already said on this subject in the history of Moab. Only it will be necessary to remark once more, that the Midianites seem to have signalized themselves in a most extraordinary manner, in their endeavours to turn the children of Israel from God. For it must be remembered, that Balaam had sent them word, either upon, or after, his return home, that it was in vain they hoped to hurt the darlings of heaven by any other way than enticing them to sin, the sole means whereby God could be brought to forsake them; and that, pursuant to his advice, they sent the most beautiful of their young women to the Israelites, who played their parts so well, as to bring many of them to bow down before Baal-Peor. It is observable, that Zur, one of the kings of Midian, did

Evi, Rekem, Hur, Zur, and Rebah.

⁴ Judg. i. 16.
iv. 11.

⁵ Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 2.

⁶ Judg.

not scruple to prostitute his daughter Cozbi on this occasion. But it proved fatal to her; for she and her paramour Zimri were killed at the same time, with the same weapon.

The Midianites enjoyed but a short-lived satisfaction; their forwardness upon this occasion, and treacherous practices, kindled the wrath of God against them, and Moses had positive orders to smite them in particular. When they heard that the divine command was on the point of being executed by twelve thousand Israelites, under the conduct of Phinehas, they made the best preparation they could to withstand the invasion, by fortifying their castles, and mustering their strength. But their castles, and the strength they mustered, availed them little. They were defeated, and all their cities and goodly castles laid in ashes. Not one male of any age or degree was spared; they were all put to the sword; and among the rest Balaam (H), as were all the females likewise that were not pure virgins. The country was laid waste, and all the cattle driven off before the conqueror, to the number of six hundred seventy-five thousand sheep, seventy-two thousand oxen, and sixty-one thousand asses. The virgins carried away into captivity were thirty-two thousand in number: and there is mention made of great riches in gold, and silver, and iron, and other metals, which were carried off in this general devastation.

Thus was a branch of the Midianites utterly exterminated; but in process of time this loss was supplied. About one hundred and fifty years after this slaughter of the Midianites, two kings appeared at their head, leading with them the Amalekites and Arabians.

Yr. of Fl.
1103.
Ante Chr:
1245.

*Zebah and
Zalmunna.*

These two princes, called Zebah and Zalmunna, waged so cruel a war against the Israelites, that, not daring to stay in the low country, they fled to the mountains, and there made caves and fortresses for their shelter. The Midianites, having therefore no enemy that withstood them, wasted the fruits of the earth, and drove off all the cattle. This destruction they continued for seven years together, marching every summer season in vast multitudes, with numberless camels, and herds of cattle, about

= Numb. xxv. 15—18. Joseph. Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 6.

(H) Balaam is positively said to have gone to his place, to have returned home; but how or when he came back we cannot determine.

the

the time the fruits were far advanced, all which they reaped for themselves; so that between them and their infinite flocks, there was scarce any sustenance left for the Israelites, who continually fled up to the mountains upon their approach ^f.

But God at length put a stop to these merciless incursions of Zebah and Zalmunna, who meant nothing less than to starve the inhabitants, and possess themselves of the land. Gideon was chosen by heaven for the delivery of his country on this occasion, and he did it so effectually, that the Midianites never dared afterwards to contend with Israel. Zebah and Zalmunna, and their confederates, marching into the country, according to their annual custom, pitched their tents in the valley of Jezreel, on this side Jordan. Here as they lay, covering a vast tract of ground, their camp was explored by Gideon in the night, who, overhearing one of them telling his dream to another, who interpreted it in favour of Gideon, was more than ever encouraged to put in execution a stratagem which he had formed for their destruction, with only three hundred men, each armed with no other weapons than a ram's horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other. Accordingly, about midnight, the Midianites were alarmed in three several quarters of their camp, by the sound of one hundred horns or trumpets in each; and starting from their sleep, perceived also as many lights breaking in upon them on three several sides. The sound of the horns, the glare of the lights, the gloom of the night, and the loud shouts they heard, struck them with horror and amazement, and having no time to recover from their first consternation, they fell into confusion; when, being of different languages, and attacking each other, a dreadful slaughter ensued. The kings Zebah and Zalmunna however found means to make their escape, with a body of about fifteen thousand men; as did Oreb and Zeb, two princes of Midian: but the latter immediately fell into the hands of the Ephraimites, who put them to death; and by the slaughter which happened on this occasion, there fell one hundred and twenty thousand men. The kings Zebah and Zalmunna, with their party, passed the river to Karkor, where they thought themselves safe, but were soon obliged to abandon that place, and continue their flight, closely pursued by Gideon, who overtook them at last, dispersed

^f Judg. vi. 1—6. Joseph. Antiq. lib. v. cap. 7.

their party, consisting of fifteen thousand men^g, and made them both prisoners^h. Having brought Zebah and Zalmunna home with him, he asked them what kind of men they were whom they had formerly slain at Tabor, and they answering they were just such as himself, of majestic deportment, he replied they were his brethren, and therefore he could not spare their lives. Accordingly he ordered his son to kill them; but they perceiving the youth to be but weak and fearful, requested it of Gideon, as a favour, that he would dispatch them with his own hand: a request with which he complied, and the ornaments were taken from the necks of their camels. Thus were the Midianites slaughtered a second time, and plundered of immense wealth in cattle, gold, jewels, and rich attire: the very ear-rings only, taken from them, weighed seventeen hundred shekelsⁱ.

They were, however, a powerful nation many ages after this event, famous for their industry, riches^k, and the magnificence of their tents^l; but in the first century their name was disused, and swallowed up by the more powerful people of Arabia. Between three and four hundred years ago, there was a ruined city which bore the ancient name (I), in the neighbourhood of which they pretend to shew the place where Moses watered his father-in-law's cattle.

S E C T. IV.

The History of Edom.

Their ancestor.

E S A U, called also Edom, the progenitor of this people, was the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, by Rebekah, and born at a birth with Jacob, being his twin-brother, and the elder of the two. These twins contended while yet in their mother's womb; an early preface of the strife which was to arise between them, and be transmitted to their descendents. Esau was born with

^g Judg. vi. 10, 12, 13. & seq. vii. viii. 1—18.
lib. v. cap. 8.

^h Judg. viii. 18, 26.

^k Joseph.

^l Isai. lx. 6.

ⁱ Habak. iii. 7.

(I) Abu'lfeda calls it Madyan, and Moses's father-in-law, Shoaib; and the place is still one of the stations in the pilgrimage from Egypt to Mecca, under the name of Shoaib's cave.

red hair, all over him; and, as he grew up, he proved to be very strong and active, and delighting in the chase; by which means providing plentifully and deliciously for his father's table, he won his particular affection. On the other hand, being of a very masculine turn of mind, and much absent from home, he retained not the kind inclinations of his mother Rebekah, who prided herself wholly in Jacob, who was gentle spirited, and more frequently in her eye. It happened that Esau came home one day quite spent with fasting and exercise; and perceiving that his brother Jacob had cooked some pottage, begged a share of his mess. Jacob, taking advantage of his brother's distress, offered to relieve him, provided he would make over to him his birth-right. To this ungenerous motion Esau consented, thinking himself at the point of death; and thus he is said to have "despised his birth-right." Upon this occasion he was called Edom, which signifies *red*; for such was the colour of the pottage which he bought so dearly of Jacob^a. At the age of forty, he gave great trouble and sorrow to his parents by marrying among the daughters of Heth; he took two of them, namely, Judith the daughter of Beer, and Basemath the daughter of Elon^b; but this vexation wore off in time, and his father received him into favour again. Isaac, who was now grown old and dim-sighted, calling Esau to him, told him, that he knew not how near he might be to his end; and therefore should be glad if he would hunt venison, and dress it for him in a savoury manner, as he had often done, that "his soul might bless him before he died." Esau obeyed; but while he was absent, his mother, who heard the words which passed between his father and him, dressed her son Jacob in Esau's cloaths, and, preparing a dish of savoury meat, sent him in with it to his father, who pronounced the irrevocable blessing over Jacob. Thus was Isaac deceived, and Esau supplanted; who, coming in with his venison just after Jacob was gone, Isaac, in great agony, told him, he had been circumvented by his brother, and that he neither could nor would recall the blessing. Esau wept bitterly, and upbraided his brother with thus deceitfully extorting first his birth-right from him, and now robbing him of his blessing. However, Esau did so far prevail with his tears, and pressing entreaties, that his father blessed him also to this effect: that "his dwelling should be the fatness of the

Yr. of Fl.
552.
Ante-Chr.
1796.

Yr. of Fl.
589.
Ante-Chr.
1759.

^a Genes. xxv. 24—34.

^b Genes. xxvi. 34, 35.

earth, and of the dew of heaven from above (F); that he should live by the sword, and serve his brother; but that he should shake off the yoke at last." It was with a discontented mind that he heard his lot, and his resentment wrought so strongly upon him, that at first he determined to kill Jacob as soon as their father should die; which design coming to the knowledge of Rebekah, she sent Jacob away to Padan-Aram, under pretence of getting him a wife from among her own kindred. But Esau cooled again, generously forgot all that had past, and, finding that Isaac and Rebekah had a great aversion to the daughters of Canaan, he went over to Ishmael, and took his daughter Mahalath the sister of Nebaioth, adding her to the wives he had before; and removed with his family to Mount Seir, not so much with a design to settle there, as to serve a present conveniency. The spot he occupied in this country took his name, and was called the field of Edom, and in a few years he became a very considerable person^c.

Yr. of Fl.
609.
Ante Chr.
1739.

Understanding that his brother Jacob was on his return from Padan-Aram, he went out to meet him with a train of four hundred followers, in order to do him honour. The interview was very tender on both sides: Esau, especially, unmindful of what most men would ever have remembered, accosted Jacob with tears of joy, and the most tender and brotherly affection: he nobly refused the presents wherewith his brother would have bribed him to a reconciliation, and pressed him to hold on his way to Mount Seir, that they might be neighbours, and live together. When Jacob artfully waved this invitation, under pretence of his short marches for the sake of the children and cattle, and promised to follow him, Esau desired he would let him at least leave some of his followers behind, to assist and conduct him on his way; but this

^c Genes. xxviii. 6—9.

(F) Some give this part of Esau's blessing a quite contrary turn, and will have it, that his lot was to be in a barren land; and that his living should be by rapine and violence; and say accordingly that Edom was an ungrateful soil, not refreshed with timely rains. The interpretation of the LXX. with

a small variation of *ἀντ*, by making it either a preposition, or an adverb, may be taken both ways.—After all, this adventure of the blessing has proved a great stumbling block to many who have presumed to judge events by the standard of human reason.

offer

offer being rejected, he with reluctance left Jacob, and took the presents which had been forced upon him by his timorous brother; who being now no less afraid to follow him, than he had been before to give him a positive denial, went and dwelt in Shechem. As for Esau, he remained in Seir, till he heard, that his father Isaac was either dead, or at the point of death, when he went to Mamre, assisted Jacob at the funeral of their deceased parent, and took possession of his inheritance; for it seems, Jacob's birth-right was a spiritual prerogative, and no ways related to his father's temporal estate. Enriched by this addition to his former store, and Jacob being also wealthy and master of much cattle, they perceived it would be next to impossible to enjoy such large possessions together in a country where they were both strangers; and therefore, as Abraham and Lot had done before, they parted. Esau, returning to the country of Seir, at the age of an hundred and twenty years, married Aholibamah, originally of Canaan; and henceforward took such measures as might be most conducive to the good and peaceable settlement of his descendants in this country, which was designed by God for the inheritance of his line^d, as that of Canaan was for the line of Jacob. But the description of this land we reserve to the general description of Palestine.

Seir was originally inhabited by a people called Horites^e, who were first, in all likelihood, governed by patriarchs or heads of families, that being the most ancient form of government. They were afterwards ruled by kings, who were elected into that office. In process of time the ancient form of government took place again, the governors being styled dukes, and succeeding, it seems, in right of birth. As to the Edomites, or descendants of Esau, they were first governed, like the Horites, by dukes, and afterwards by kings, as will be seen in the course of this section.

The character we have of the Edomites, is, that they were a bold and daring people, fond of broils and tumults, which they as much delighted in, as others did in the softening pleasures of luxury^f. But this was more peculiarly the character of the latter Edomites, who migrated into Judæa; nor should we have inserted it here, but that it seems to be agreeable to the genius of the

^d Deut. ii. 5. Josh. xxiv. 4.
^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiii.

^e Genes. xxxvi. 24, 30.

whole people, as their great ancestor Isaac foretold. Josephus represents them as a race of robbers and incendiaries; but this character seems applicable to them only when they had degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, who seem to have been a warlike people, and at the same time addicted to commerce.

*Arts and
Sciences.*

Their arts and sciences were doubtless considerable. The invention and use of constellations appear by the book of Job ^e to have been known to the Edomites, among whom he dwelt ^f; a rare instance of the early progress of astronomy, if we allow his book to be of such ancient date as many suppose. Writing is there mentioned also, and ships ^g; and many hints given, sufficient to confirm us in a belief, that the secrets and beauties of nature, morality, and much sublime and truly-useful knowledge, were cultivated among them.

Religion.

Concerning their religion we are much in the dark: Descended from Isaac, they at first followed the right path; but by degrees they erred into idolatry, and quite laid aside circumcision; till Hyrcan incorporated them with the Jews, from which time they were considered as but one nation with them in respect to religion.

History.

We now resume the history of Esau the father of this people. The number of his family and domestics, when he fixed his dwelling here, is uncertain; though, probably, very numerous. According to the hypothesis, which in this very obscure case we think ourselves obliged to adopt, he settled under one of the Horite kings; lived in a private manner; and was never considered any more than as the chief of his own house. The Horites themselves seem to have been at first ruled by several independent chiefs or patriarchs, till they were overpowered by Chedorlaomer king of Elam, who swept them before him, with the neighbouring nations. To secure themselves, therefore, from so great an evil for the time to come, they united under a more stable and perfect kind of government, and formed themselves into an elective kingdom. Their kings were,

Bela, the son of Beor; the name of whose city was Dinhabah:

Jobab, the son of Zerah, of Bozrah. From a similitude of names he has been taken for the holy and patient

^e Chap. ix. 9.

ix. 26.

^f St. August. de Civitate Dei.

^g Job

Job, whose history we shall find a more proper place to enlarge upon, when we come to that of the Jews.

Huham of the land of Temani.

Hadaß, the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab, and the name of his city was Avith.

Samlah of Mareska : in his reign, or in that of his successor, came Esau into this country.

Saul of Rehoboth.

Baal-Hanan, the son of Achbor.

Hadar: the name of his city was Pau, and his wife was called Mehetabel.

Under the three, or four last of these kings, did Esau and his family live, as sojourners in a strange land. This monarchy, which was plainly elective, came, we know not how, to be interrupted and broken into several petty independent principalities or dukedoms; and seeing that the posterity of Esau exceed in the number of their dukes, it cannot be very incongruous to suppose, that they had the largest share in bringing about this revolution. The dukes in the land of Edom were, 1. duke Teman; 2. duke Omar; 3. duke Zepho; 4. duke Kenaz; 5. duke Korah; 6. duke Gatam; 7. duke Amalek: these seven were the sons of Eliphaz the first-born of Esau. 8. Duke Nabath; 9. duke Zerah; 10. duke Hammah; 11. duke Mizzah: these four were the sons of Reuel, the second son of Esau. 12. Duke Ieush; 13. duke Jaalam; 14. duke Korah: these three were the sons of Esau himself, begot by him after he was an hundred and twenty years old, on Aholibamah, his last wife. All these were the dukes in the land of Edom; that is, in that part possessed by the Edomites, and thence called after them. At the same time were seven dukes over the possession of the descendents of Seir: 1. duke Lotan; 2. duke Shobal; 3. duke Zibeon; 4. duke Anah, who found mules (G) in the wilderness, as he fed the

(G) Concerning this remarkable event there is some variety of judgment and interpretation. The Hebrew word is *bayyemim*, which the LXX. not knowing how to render, have retained. And from St. Jerom we have several traditions of the Jews concerning this matter. Some thought,

that by the above word must be understood *seas*, or *large waters*: for the same letters are used for the word which bears that import: and will have it, that while he fed his father's asses in the wilderness, he found a collection of waters, or seas, according to the Hebrew idiom, an uncommon discovery

the asses of Zibeon his father; 5. duke Dishon; 6. duke Ezer; 7. duke Dishan^h. Now, seeing that the dukes of Esau's line, in the land of Edom, being more in number, may have been greater in might, than those of the Horites in the land of Seir, it seems not unnatural to suppose, that the latter were expelled by the former, who

^h Genes. xxxvi. 20, 21.

in a desert, and therefore worthy of notice. Some will have it to mean *hot waters* in the Phœnician tongue. Some again, suppose he suffered wild asses to cover his tame asses, and that the swiftest breed of those creatures, called yamim, sprang from thence. And most of the rabbins teach, that he, first of all men, suffered asses to cover the mares in the wilderness; whence the unnatural breed of mules were shewn to the world. Now these interpretations, or suppositions, are thus combated. 1. To make the Hebrew word mean *seas*, it must be altered in the reading, contrary to all authority and likelihood: and besides, as the Hebrews call great ponds, or lakes, *seas*, it is no wonder, that he found out such congregations of water; but there is nothing of that kind in those parts, except the lake Asphaltites, which was made afterwards. 2. Those who render the word *bot-batbs*, as the Vulgate, according to the Phœnician signification, seem to have read *bbemim*, and to have believed, that it is synonymous with *bhammim*, which signifies *bot-batbs*; but this is countenanced by no reading or interpretation. 3. Those who will have him to

have first found out the breed of mules, are confuted by Bochart, with the following arguments: 1. Because mules were never called by that name. 2. Because the word, *matza*, which Moses uses, imports the finding what exists already, and not the invention of what never had been before. 3. Because they were asses which Anah fed, and not horses. 4. Because in Scripture there is no mention made of mules to the time of David. But, to conclude, it is thought by a learned interpreter to be the proper name of a people, the Emim, whom Moses mentions as a famous nation, dwelling in the neighbourhood of Seir. And this is farther confirmed by the Samaritan reading, which has it, that "he found them suddenly;" that is, fell on them by surprize, and discomfited them; and this is the most likely meaning of the Hebrew text in this place, it having the very same signification in several other places. However, the word is also thought to have been the name of some useful plant or herb, which Anah first discovered (1). In a word, here is a world of conjecture, and nothing ascertained.

(1) Vide Cleric. Comm. in Genes. chap. xxxvi. ver. 24. Vide Wagen. Annot. in tit. Talm. Sot.

seized on the land by the pre-ordained distribution of God^v. At the same time Amalek, or his spurious offspring, may have been driven out also.

Accordingly, the next generation of these princes are styled dukes of Edom, and had no rivals in any other part of the country, which now we suppose to have been all called Edom. The dukes of this second race were, 1. duke Timnah; 2. duke Alvah; 3. duke Jetheth; 4. duke Aholibamah; 5. duke Elah; 6. duke Pinon; 7. duke Kenaz; 8. duke Teman; 9. duke Mibzar; 10. duke Magdiel; 11. duke Iram. These eleven were dukes of Edom when the children of Israel came into the wilderness; and, being dismayed at the approach of so formidable a body, as yet unprovided with a feat, dreaded an invasion, not knowing that the Israelites were under a strict injunction, by no means to molest them. Wherefore, sensible of the imperfection of their present constitution, they united under one head, or king, and prepared to maintain their ground against all foreign attempts.

To this nameless king, or, perhaps, his successor, came messengers from Moses, then drawing near the end of his days, to entreat a passage through his country for him and his people; and though it was remonstrated to him, that the Israelites were his brethren; and as he could not but know how they and their fathers had wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation; how they had been oppressed in Egypt; how God had now delivered them from their bondage; and that they had reached his borders, being in, or near the town of Kadesh; it was to be hoped, he would let them pass freely through his country, in their way to the land of Canaan; that, if he was willing to befriend them, they would keep the highway, and not offer to turn to the right or the left, to hurt the fields, or the vineyards, or drain the wells of water, until they had quite crossed his territories. To this proposal the jealous king of Edom answered, that he would by no means grant them a passage; and advised them not to make the least attempt towards it; that, if they did, they might expect to be opposed by the whole strength of his kingdom. When these ambassadors, or, perhaps, those of a second embassy, urged him still farther upon this important business, and made a renewal of promises, and assurances of the most peaceable behaviour,

if they might have the passage they solicited; protesting, that they would pay for every thing they might have occasion for on the way; and that they would be as expeditious in their marches as their feet would permit; he was highly provoked at their reiterated instances. Fearing the Israelites might make some desperate attempt to force the passage, he took the field, and marched towards them, to intimidate them from proceeding^a. However, his enmity did not run to the pitch of distressing them in matters wherein he could relieve them without danger to himself; and, perhaps, to prevent their growing desperate, he furnished them, for money, with what his country afforded^a.

After this transaction; there is scarce any history so obscure and interrupted, as that of Edom: we find no farther mention made of them till the reign of king David; however, we will supply this chasm, in part, by observing, that, in the mean time, the Edomites extended their dominion, and applied themselves to trade and navigation, and seized on the empire of the sea, at least in the Arabian gulph. They dealt in very rich commodities; pure gold, gold of Ophir, the topaz of Ethiopia, coral, and pearls^b; and became a very considerable kingdom.

Yr. of Fl.
1308.
Ante Chr.
1040.

But in the height of their prosperity their country was invaded by the conquering arms of Israel, and Edom began to feel the effects of Isaac's prophecy, that "the elder should serve the younger." For David, having gained very considerable victories over the Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, finished his conquests with Idumæa. What drew upon them so dreadful a war, is hard to guess, the sacred historians being quite silent upon the subject: it is only recorded, that eighteen thousand of them were cut off in the Valley of Salt^c; and that the rest were either brought under the yoke by Joab, or forced to retire into foreign countries. Hadad their king, as yet a minor, and a party with him, took the way of Midian, thinking, perhaps, to cross the Red Sea; but understanding that they would be favourably received by Pharaoh, they carried their young prince thither. Hadad was accordingly received, and supported by Pharaoh with all the dignity becoming his royal rank; and, to complete all the favours and kindnesses which were unsparingly heaped on him, he had the queen's (Taphenes's)

^a Numb. xx. 14, 21.
15—20.

^b Deut. ij. 28, 29.

^c Job xxviii.

^d 2 Sam. viii. 13. 1 Chron. xviii. 12.

sister given to him in marriage ^d. But at the same time that Hadad made his way towards Egypt, others took different routes; some, flying to the Philistines, fortified Azoth, or Azotus, for them; thus proving a considerable accession of power, and of very singular benefit, to that people (U); others, that dealt in shipping, taking a longer way to escape the rage of the conqueror, went towards the Persian gulph ^e; in a word, they were dispersed into all parts, as there was no safety for them in their native country.

Hadad, though he lived in great ease and splendor in the Egyptian court, yet, being conscious of his birth, unwilling to live in dependence, and thirsting for his kingdom, waited only a favourable opportunity to recover it; especially when it was told him, that David, and the ter-

^d 1 Kings, xi. 15—20.

^e See Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended, p. 104, 105.

(U) Sir Isaac Newton in his Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended, is of opinion that some of them, flying to the Philistines and the sea-ports, improved the inhabitants there in the arts of navigation and commerce; and, indeed, it is more than once said, that the Phœnicians came from the Red Sea. Herodotus tells us so; and Stephanus relates, that Azotus was built by the fugitives which fled from the Red Sea. "The Phœnicians, therefore, came from the Red Sea, in the days of Io, and her brother Phoroneus, king of Argos; and, by consequence, at that time, when David conquered the Edomites, and made them fly every way from the Red Sea.—And this flight gave occasion to the Philistines to call many places Erythra, in memory of their being Erythreans or Edomites, and of their coming from the Erythrean Sea; for Erythra was the name of a city in

Ionis; of another in Libya; of another in Locris; of another in Boeotia; of another in Cyprus; of another in Ætolia; of another in Asia, near Chius; and Erythia Acra was a promontory in Libya, and Erythreum a promontory in Crete, and Erythros a place near Tibur, and Erythini a city or country in Paphlagonia; and the name Erythea, or Erythræ, was given to the island of Gades, peopled by Phœnicians.—Edöm, Erythra, and Phœnicia, are names of the same signification, the words denoting a red colour; which makes it probable, that the Erythreans who fled from David, settled in great numbers in Phœnicia; that is, in all the sea coasts of Syria, from Egypt to Zidon; and by calling themselves Phœnicians in the language of Syria, instead of Erythreans, gave the name of Phœnicia to all that sea coast, and to that only.

rible Joab, were both dead. At length the time came, when Solomon wallowed in all kinds of impurity; and, thinking this a proper season to take his revenge, he disclosed his mind to his brother-in-law Pharaoh. The wife king of Egypt, perceiving the great troubles and dangers which he must be exposed to in executing his design, endeavoured to divert him from so dangerous an undertaking; but Hadad, in the end, obtained a dismissal, and returning to Idumæa, made several attempts to recover his dominions, but without success, his subjects being overawed by the garrisons, which David had set over them. He had a son by his Egyptian wife, named Genubath, who had a princely education in the palace of Pharaoh; but Hadad, failing in his view upon his own kingdom, probably established himself in Syria, where we find the royal family bore the name of Hadad.

In the mean time, the kingdom of Edom continued under the house of David till the days of Jehoshaphat, being governed by deputies or viceroys, appointed by the kings of Judah.

We have described the time when Esau was to be a servant to his brother; and now we come to that wherein he was to shake off the yoke, and be subject to him no more; for the Edomites finding a fair opportunity to recover their ancient liberty, embraced it, and succeeded. They had already shewn how ill they were disposed, even towards Jehoshaphat, when part of them joined the Moabites and Ammonites in an attempt to surprise him, when he was unprepared for the assault; but they fell into such confusion, that they were all cut off by the Ammonites and the Moabites, who afterwards butchered each other. But in the days of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, the whole nation of Edom arose, and assassinating or expelling their viceroy, made themselves a king after their own liking: then receiving advice that Jehoram was coming, with a formidable power, to reduce them, they marched towards him, and found means to surround him on all sides in the night; but, in the end, they were defeated with great slaughter, and forced to take shelter within their intrenchments.

Thus was the long-wished-for revolution brought about, after one hundred and fifty years of oppression; but who was their chief upon this occasion, or what he did farther, or who succeeded him, we are no where told.

Yr. of Fl.
1459.
Ante Chr.
889.

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2.

‡ 2 Chron. xxi. 8.

After this period, no attempts were made upon them by the kings of Judah for upwards of sixty years; in which time they must, in all likelihood, have recovered their ancient splendor; notwithstanding which, they suffered a signal overthrow from Amaziah king of Judah, in the Valley of Salt, where ten thousand of them fell in battle, and as many were taken prisoners; their capital, Selah, was taken by storm, and the ten thousand captives were, by Amaziah's orders, thrown down from the ragged precipices which stood about that city, and dashed in pieces. Selah was now, by the conqueror, called Joktheel ^b.

The Edomites also engaged in a war with their neighbours the Moabites, which proved unsuccessful; for their king fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt him, till his bones were reduced to ashes (X). Mean while, they became subject to the king of Babylon. When utter destruction fell upon the Jews, and they were carried away captive, then did the fury of the Edomites blaze out, so far as to cut off such of them as attempted to make their escape; and, as if they designed now to take full revenge for what they had suffered in the days of king David, they vented their rage on the sad remains of the temple, which they consumed with fire, as soon as the Chaldees or Babylonians were withdrawn. They even attempted to level the whole city with the ground, insulting the God of Israel with horrid blasphemies, butchering the few remains, who by his favour, had escaped the hands of the Babylonians, and flattering themselves with the pleasure of seeing shortly an utter end of the Jewish nation. For this cruelty they were threatened by the prophets with a severe retaliation, importing, that, for the devastations they had made in Judah, they should behold their land become desolate, when those of their now-oppressed enemies should flourish ^c.

Accordingly, they fell soon after into dreadful confusion, and violent intestine commotions and persecutions; insomuch that a great part of them left their own country, and settled in the empty land of Judæa, and, parti-

^b 2 Kings, xiv. 7.
Joel iii. Amos i. ix.

^c Ezek. xxy. xxxii. xxxv. xxxvi.

(X) It is doubted whether this be not the same war wherein Mesha king of Moab sacrificed his own son, or the son of the king or chief of Edom. Our translators of the Bible take them to be one and the same event.

cularly, in the south-western parts; and it was, perhaps, at this time they made an end of the temple of Jerusalem. Those who staid behind in Edom, joined the children of Nebaioth, and were called Nebateans ever afterwards; so that the ancient kingdom of Edom now lost its name, which was transferred to that part of the land of Judæa which the refugees occupied, and which had never been any part of their old kingdom, but the lot of the tribes of Simeon and Judah. This is the Idumæa, and these are the Idumæans, mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy, Strabo, and other ancient writers.

We have now pointed out the downfall of the ancient kingdom of Edom, and shall proceed to the interrupted affairs of those Edomites who settled in Judæa; concerning which we only know, that a decree was issued out against them by Darius Hystaspes, commanding them to deliver up all they had belonging to the Jews^k; but what effect this had, we find no where recorded. Upon the decline of the Persian monarchy, and after the days of Alexander, they were under the power of the Selucidæ, when the ancient aversion they had to the Jews being revived, they warred against that nation, under the conduct of Gorgias, their governor for Antiochus Epiphanes; but they were constantly worsted by Judas Maccabeus, who, at last, took and sacked their chief city Hebron^l. Their strong holds, wherewith they awed the Jews, were forced by that valorous commander, who cut off twenty thousand of them in several assaults; but a residue of nine thousand fled to two strong towers^m, where they were well prepared to sustain a siege; whence, by a bribe of seventy thousand drachmas, a good part of them were suffered to escape; but, when the treachery was discovered by the Jewish general, a stop was put to this outlet. These two strong castles were also forced, and no less than twenty thousand Idumæans again put to the sword.

Yr. of Fl.

1218.

Ante Chr.

130.

After these troublesome times, we know not how it fared with the Edomites in Idumæa, except that they seem to have been continually agitated by broils and wars, till they were conquered by John Hyrcanus, who reduced them to the fore necessity of embracing the Jewish religion, or of quitting their country. They chose the former part of the alternative, and submitting to be circumcised, became incorporated with the Jews; and,

^k 1 Esd. iv. 50.

^l 1 Maccab. v. 65, 68.

^m 2 Maccab. x. 18.

considering

considering their descent, as well as their conversion, they were, upon a double account, reckoned as natural Jews; accordingly in the first century after Christ, the name of Idumæan was lost, and quite disused². What farther relates to this people, we refer to the Jewish history.

S E C T. V.

The History of Amalek.

AMALEK was the father of this people, and from him were they called Amalekites, and their country Amalekitis. He was the son of Esau's first-born Eliphaz (A), by his concubine Timna. Notwithstanding his spurious birth, he is reckoned among the dukes in the land of Edom, and is said to have succeeded Gatam^a; which is all we know for certain concerning him. The early separation of his family from that of Edom is not easily accounted for. It might, indeed, be reasonably enough ascribed either to the spuriousness of his birth, or to some other intestine broils; but when we call to mind the previous wars of the Amalekites with Chedorlaomer; when we consider Balaam calling them the first, or beginning, of nations, as we shall see anon; when we reflect that Moses never styles them the brethren of Israel or Edom; that the latter never held any confederacy or friendly correspondence with them in all their wars, but suffered them to be invaded and butchered by Saul, without lending them any assistance; lastly, when we find them always mentioned with the Amorites, Philistines, and other Canaanitish nations, and with them involved in the same curse, we can scarce forbear looking upon them rather as a tribe of those nations, than as the descendants of Esau, contrary to the received opinion. Of the country they inhabited, we shall speak hereafter.

Their ancestor.

Of their religion and civil customs we can know nothing for certain, since we are in the dark about their de-

Their customs and religion.

² Prid. Connect. book v. p. 307, 308.
1 Chron. i. 36.

^a Genes. xxxvi. 12.

(A) The Arabians deduce his genealogy in a different manner, and make him some generations older than Abraham, as follows: Noah, Ham, Aram, Uz, Ad, Amalek.

They say also, that the Amalekites, in ancient times, possessed the country about Mecca; whence they were expelled by the Jorhamite kings.

scant.

scent. If from Esau we may suppose they used circumcision, and that the decree of their total excision was owing to the outrages they committed on the distressed Israelites^b; but if of a Canaanitish race, their horrid idolatries subjected them, without all doubt, to one common doom with the Canaanitish nation. If the former, they had, at least for some time, the same religion with their progenitors Abraham, Isaac, &c. if the latter, they gave, probably, into all the abominations of their neighbours. Josephus^c mentions their idols, but the Scripture terms them the idols of Mount Seir; so that they seem to have more properly belonged to the Edomites than to the Amalekites.

Their arts, &c. Their arts, sciences, and trade, we can only guess at from their situation; for it is probable they had the knowledge and commerce of those times pretty much in common with their neighbours: the Edomites, the Egyptians, and those of the sea coasts of Judæa; and this supposition is the less disputable, as their king is placed in so high a sphere of majesty, and themselves styled the first of the nations. The same estimate may be made of their manners, genius, and policy.

Their government. Concerning their government, it appears to have been monarchical; and that the first, or at least one of the first, of their kings was called Agag^d, as was also their last; from whence it has been imagined, that all their intermediate kings bore the same appellation.

Their history. The Amalekites reduced very early the country which they seized on, when driven out of the land of Edom by the descendents of Esau; and very remarkable it is, that they suddenly grew up to such a height of power and splendor, that their king is spoken of as far above all others; for Balaam, foretelling the future majesty of the Jewish state, expresses himself, that their king "shall be higher than Agag;" and styles them "the first of the nations;" a circumstance which seems to countenance the extraordinary things the Arabian historians have recorded concerning the Amalekites; as that they conquered Egypt, and possessed the throne of that kingdom for several generations (B).

But

^b Exod. xvii. 8. 14. 16. ^c Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 10. ^d Numb. xxiv. 7.

(B) What the Arabic history bears an affinity with what the Egyptian records report of the Phœni-

But, not to deviate from the authority we must rely on, it appears that this kingdom was haughty and insolent in its very infancy; they no sooner heard that the Israelites had crossed the Red Sea, than they resolved to cut them off. Josephus relates, that they had no less than five kings, who, consulting together, joined forces with this view. Be that as it will, the Amalekites fell on the rear of the Israelites; as they were in full march from Rephidim to Mount Horeb. Some havoc they made; but it was retorted severely upon themselves, as soon as Joshua could put the fighting men into order; by whom being, in their turn, assaulted, a long and bloody battle ensued; but in the end the Amalekites were put to a precipitate flight, with the heavy doom on their heads, that for this outrage "their name should be put out from under heaven."

In the mean time, however, it pleased God to make use of them, in conjunction with some of the Canaanites, as his instruments, to punish the disobedience of the Israelites, who attempted to enter the Land of Promise, in contradiction to the express decree of God, that not one of them, from twenty years and upwards, should set foot in it^f. The slaughter the Amalekites helped to make of the Israelites upon this occasion, will be described in the history of Canaan.

After this transaction, they seem to have missed no opportunity of harassing the Jewish nation, till they were ripe for the excision denounced against them. They confederated with Eglon king of Moab, and the Ammonites, and afterwards with the Midianites under Zebah and Zalmunna, to root out the Israelites, and possess themselves of the land, as they had vainly projected. But what success they had in the attempt, and how they in the end fell by their own swords, and those of their friends and allies, we have already related.

There is now a very wide chasm in the history of this people, which reaches even to the days of Saul. At this time their king was a very graceful person, and of noble

Yr. of Fl.
1003.
Ante Chr.
1245.

^e Exod. xvii. 8—16.

^f Numb. xiv. 29, 30.

Phœnician shepherds; for they were at length expelled by the natives (1), and are supposed, as is said by us of the Canaanites, to have fled into Africa; and

that the Amalekites were sometimes comprehended under the general denomination of Phœnicians, may be observed hereafter.

(1) Ex Libro Mirat. Cainat. Dicto, Illustr. p. 72.

presence and address, which stood him in good stead; for, on account of these personal accomplishments, was his life spared, it seems, in the general massacre of his subjects. But with all his specious outside, he is upbraided as an insolent and merciless tyrant; and in his reign the nation was grown ripe for the extirpation they had been threatened with, about four hundred years before; as a fore-runner of this judgment, the Kenites were warned to leave their country, and seek some other seat, lest they should be involved in the impending calamity. As soon as the Kenites had obeyed the summons, the Amalekites were invaded by Saul, at the head of two hundred and ten thousand men. Not being able to make head against so numerous an army, they were all cut off, except Agag, and some who had the good luck to make their escape, or conceal themselves in places where they were not discovered; neither mother nor sucking child was spared, and the whole country was laid waste. Agag and the best of the cattle only were suffered to live. However, Agag did not long enjoy this favour; for Samuel no sooner heard that he was alive, than he sent for him, and, notwithstanding his insinuating address, and the vain hopes with which he flattered himself, that the "bitterness of death was passed," he hewed him to pieces, or caused him to be slain, in Gilgal before the Lord^h.

The poor remnant of the Amalekites, who escaped the sword of Saul, returned to their desolate country, and lived there in peace, till such time as David, obliged to sue for protection to Achish king of the Philistines, against the hatred and jealousy of Saul, had Ziklag allotted to him for a retreat. At this time the Amalekites are mentioned as associated with the Geshurites, and Gezerites (C). After they had thus recovered strength, they were slaughtered once more by their new and near neighbour David, who thought it perhaps a duty incumbent on him to complete the work which Saul had left unfinished.

The Amalekites meditated revenge for this cruel injury, and, mustering their strength, went up to Ziklag, the

^g Joseph. Antiq. lib. vi. cap. 8.
Joseph. lib. vi. cap. 9.

^h 1 Sam. xv. 32, 33.

(C) Who these Geshurites and Gezerites were, is uncertain. They are taken for relics of the Canaanites; but by the words of the text it might be imagined they were originally of this country: for "those nations were, of old, the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt." 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

Yr. of Fl.
1293.
Ante Chr.
1055.

abode of David, who happened then to be absent with his small party, so that the town was left defenceless; wherefore they easily made themselves masters of the place, and consumed it with fire, but spared the inhabitants; which conduct, considering what they had suffered so lately from David, might pass for great moderation. Among their captives were David's two wives, Ahinoam the Jezreelite, and Abigail, who had been wife to Nabal the Carmelite. Having thus succeeded to their wish, they resolved to secure what they had got by an expeditious return, determined not to stop by the way, till they should reach some place equally safe and agreeable. Hurrying on with this precipitation, they left behind one of their number, an Egyptian by birth, who could not keep pace with the army. David, in the mean time, having notice of the revenge the Amalekites had taken on him, pursued them very eagerly, and in his way took this Egyptian, who informed him of the place where they intended to halt. The Amalekites arrived at the appointed place, and gave a loose to mirth and jollity, recreating themselves for several days together. In this careless posture they were discovered by David from the neighbouring hills, towards the close of the day; and after they had spent the whole night in debauchery, they were set upon by him and his men, and slaughtered from break of day till sun-set; so that not a soul of them escaped the edge of his sword, except four hundred young men, who rode upon dromedaries, and who, leaving all their companions and booty behind them, were burdened with nothing but the doleful news of so dreadful a misfortune, after such uncommon success in their attempt upon Ziklag¹.

Thus, by degrees, were the Amalekites reduced; and at last the fatal blow was given them in the days of Hezekiah by the Simeonites^k, who, having utterly destroyed and dispersed them, possessed themselves of their country. Such is the imperfect account we have of the destruction of the Amalekites, as Balaam had prophesied long before, "Amalek was the first of the nations; but his latter end shall be, that he perish for ever^l."

Nevertheless, a man of Amalekitish blood would have taken ample revenge on the Jews, had not God interposed, as it were, by a miracle; for Haman is called an Agagite, or Amalekite; and it is well known how near he was having the pleasure of seeing his bloody designs against the Jews put in execution.

¹ 1 Sam. xxx.

^k 1 Chron. iv. 40—43.

^l Numb. xxiv. 20.

S E C T. VI.

The History of Canaan.

WE have already given the history of the ancestors of this nation, and of their origin, and therefore shall not repeat it here.

Canaan, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, had eleven sons, Sidon or Zidon, Heth, Jebusi, Emori or Amori, Girgasi or Girgashi, Hivi or Hevii, Archi or Sini, Arvadi, Zemari, and Hamathi. These were the fathers of the following tribes or nations: the Sidonians or Zidonians, the Hettites or Hittites, the Jebusites, the Emorites or Amorites, the Girgasites or Girgashites, the Hivites or Hevites, the Arkites or Archites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hamathites. Five of these are known to have dwelt in the land of Canaan: the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Emorites, the Girgasites, and the Hivites. To these are added two others, the Perizzites, and Canaanites. But how the Perizzites came to be a distinct body, or whence the Canaanites are peculiarly so called, is a difficulty that cannot easily be surmounted. These seven nations laboured, in particular, under the evil influences of the curse denounced by Noah against their ancestor Ham, being doomed, in the end, to expulsion, extirpation, or subjection. Whether the six other nations we have mentioned, are to be reckoned among the inhabitants of the land of Canaan, by us commonly so called, is not yet determined among the learned: some think they were exempt from the ruin which was to fall on the other seven, considering the sentence which is observed concerning them in the wars the other Canaanites had with Joshua and his successors; for therein is no mention made of the Sidonians, the Arkites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zemarites, or the Hamathites. We therefore are of opinion, that they were not included, otherwise so many petty states or kingdoms could never have been particularized, and they passed over. We must therefore seek for these six original tribes elsewhere. It cannot well be doubted, but the seven nations were subdivided into many little kingdoms; we say little, since we must look for them all within the narrow limits of Joshua's conquests. Within that small compass we have no fewer than the following number of Canaanitish kings, said to be subdued by him; the king of Jericho, the king of

of Ai, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, the king of Gezer, the king of Debir, the king of Geder, the king of Hormah, the king of Arad, the king of Libnah, the king of Adullam, the king of Makkedah, the king of Bethel, the king of Jappuah, the king of Hopher, the king of Aphek, the king of Lasharon or Sharon, the king of Madon, the king of Hazor, the king of Shimron-meron, the king of Achishaph, the king of Taanach, the king of Megiddo, the king of Kedesh, the king of Jonkneam of Carmel, the king of Dor, the king of the nations of Gilgal, and the king of Tirzah; thirty-one in all ^c (A); who were either all, or most of them, comprehended under the primary denomination of the seven nations, the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgashites, the Hivites, Perizzites, or Canaanites (B), properly, or peculiarly so called. Nor were these all the branches of the Canaanites, possessed of the Land of Promise. But the description of this country, and its several divisions or cantons, we reserve to the general description of Palestine, where we shall assign a peculiar place to each, at least of the primary nations.

With respect to the customs, manners, arts, sciences, and language of these several nations, we may suppose that, in some points, they differed widely from each other, according as their situation led them into different courses of life. We need not say, that the Canaanites on the sea-side were merchants, in which capacity we shall consider them at large, when we come to speak of them as Phœnicians; for, by that name, it is commonly agreed they were afterwards known to the Greeks. Accordingly the Septuagint, instead of "the kings of the Canaanites, which were by the sea," have rendered it, "the

Their customs, &c.

^c Joshua xii. 9—24.

(A) But we must not, for this reason, suppose there were no more than thirty-one in the whole country, who bore the royal title. Those are only mentioned who were conquered by Joshua. The Scripture history acknowledges, that the Canaanites were never wholly subdued by him; whence we may infer that many had the

title of king who never received much hurt from Joshua.

(B) In these seven we may suppose the ten nations comprised, that were promised to Abraham: the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.

kings of the Phœnicians on the sea-coasts." And, by the same, the whole land of Canaan is called the country of the Phœnicians^d; though those only were properly so called, who inhabited the sea-coast; and these we shall dwell upon more particularly when we treat of the ancient Phœnicians. The other Canaanites, who had an inland situation, were employed in pasturage partly, and partly in tillage, and in the exercise of arms, in which they will be seen to have been well versed. Those who dwelt in the walled cities, and fixed abodes, cultivated the land; and those who wandered about, as particularly the Perizzites seem to have done, grazed cattle, or carried arms; so that it is easy to discern among them the several distinct classes of merchants, and consequently sea-men, of artificers, soldiers, shepherds, and husbandmen. As much as they were divided in interest and occupation, we shall perceive, by their history, that they were ready to join in the common cause; that they were very well appointed for war, whether offensive or defensive; that their towns were well fortified, and themselves well furnished with weapons to fight in the field; that they particularly had warlike chariots, the use of which they are thought to have borrowed from the Egyptians; that they were daring, obstinate, and almost invincible; and, in the example of the Gibeonites beneath, we shall see they wanted not craft and policy. The language they spoke was, it seems, well understood by Abraham; for, by what appears, he conversed very readily with them upon all occasions; but, for their manner of writing, whether they had any originally of their own, or whether they had it in common with the other nations then subsisting in that part of the world, who all spoke the same tongue, or very nearly the same, or whether they borrowed it at first from the Israelites, may be considered when we come to speak of the Hebrew language^e.

Their religion.

They retained the pure religion quite down to the days of Abraham, who acknowledged Melchisedek to be priest of the most high God; and Melchisedek was indisputably a Canaanite, or, at least, dwelt there at that time, in high esteem and veneration. They never offered to molest Abraham; on the contrary, they were ready to oblige him in every thing; a noble example of which humanity we have in the behaviour and good intentions of Ephron towards him in the affair of the cave of Machpelah. To

^d Jos. cap. v. com. i. 12.
of the Sacred and Profane Hist. vol. i. book ii. p. 190.

^e See Shuckford's Connec-

dwell no longer on this subject, we must hence allow, that there was not a general corruption of religion among the Canaanites at this day; but it must be granted, that the very Hittites, so seemingly commendable in the days of Abraham, degenerated apace, since they were become the aversion of Isaac and Rebekah, who could not endure the thoughts of their son Jacob's marrying among the daughters of Heth, as their son Esau had done, to their great grief; so that, about this time, we must date the rise of those abominations which subjected them to the wrath of God, and made them unworthy of the land which they possessed. In the days of Moses they were become incorrigible idolaters; for he commands the Israelites "to destroy their altars, and break down their images (statues or pillars), and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire." And, lest they should pervert the Israelites, the latter were strictly enjoined not to intermarry with them; but "to smite them, and utterly destroy them, nor shew mercy upon them."^f They are accused of the cruel custom of sacrificing men, and are said to have passed their seed through fire to Moloch^g. The practice of human sacrifice they are charged with, as being the ancestors of the Phœnicians; and therefore we shall not repeat what we have already said on that subject, nor anticipate what we may have to add in our Phœnician history. Their morals were as corrupt as their doctrine; adultery, bestiality of all sorts, profanation, incest, and all manner of uncleanness, are the sins laid to their charge^h.

Concerning their government, all we can say is, that they were comprehended in a great number of states, under subjection to limited chiefs or kings, as they are called; and transacted all their business in popular assemblies: so Abraham bowed not down to the king of the children of Heth, but to the children of Heth; so Ephron seems to have treated with Abraham with the participation of his whole tribe: so Hamor, king of Shechem, would not conclude upon what answer he should make to the proposals of the sons of Jacob, till he had consulted his citizens; and, throughout all their transactions, the same tenor of conduct in their princes will be observed by every attentive reader.

Their government.

The beginnings of their history are too dark for us to unveil, and too much encumbered with the hypotheses

Their history.

^f Deut. vii. 1—5.

^g Levit. xviii. 21.

^h Ibid.

of the learned, who have turned their thoughts towards their antiquities. Wherefore, we shall take the Scripture for our principal guide. When we consider the situation and distance of this country, we cannot but think it was at first peopled by Canaan and his descendents upon the first dispersion after the flood. What concerns they originally had with Egypt, are rather guessed at than ascertained, in respect of the time when they were transacted: but there was a settled aversion among the Egyptians, in the days of Jacob, to such as fed cattle, and it is thought the Phœnician shepherds or Canaanites may have warred upon, and oppressed the Egyptians, before Abraham removed into Canaan: though this opinion is liable to some objections. Therefore, we must here acknowledge our total ignorance in this matter. All the satisfaction we can give on this head is, to mark out the times in which antiquarians pretend to fix what Manetho tells us of the Phœnician strangers in Egypt. It is pretendedⁱ, that some of them, upon the increase of their families, being frightened for want of room, moved southwards, as Moses intimates, while others went northwards, such as the Hamathite and Arvadite, and that the former penetrated far into Egypt, or at least possessed themselves of the Arabian side of that country, which they suppose to be Goshen. Here did they settle, even under Mizraim himself, erected a separate kingdom, and, differing from the pure Egyptians in religious matters, and in way of life, fierce contentions arose between them, which ended in their total expulsion, in the manner we formerly related in the history of Egypt; and this event, say they, happened in the days of Abraham.

The vale of Siddim, where Sodom and Gomorrah stood, was within the bounds of the ancient country of Canaan; the scene of the first action we find, for certain, of this people. The inhabitants of this vale were invaded by Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and reduced to pay a tribute for twelve years successively; but, in the thirteenth, they rebelled, and this revolt drew on them a second war, of which we shall speak presently.

Yr. of Fl.
427.
Ante Chr.
1921.

In the mean time the other parts of the country received Abraham with great hospitality and veneration, two or three years after this invasion; but, soon after his arrival, the whole land was oppressed by famine, and the Canaan-

ⁱ See Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p. 351, 352. & seq. and Bedford's Scripture Chronol. p. 201, 202, 250, 251, 252, 253, 337.

ite is now expressly said to have been in the land. The dearth drove Abraham into Egypt; whence we learn, that the whole country, at this time, was in great want^b. The famine was of no long continuance, and Abraham, returning into his country, found that the Perizzite was also in the land; whence it is thought, they are spoken of as new-comers, and that they had lately been expelled from Egypt, or, dreading an expulsion, had voluntarily forsaken that kingdom. This opinion is the more plausible, as Abraham and Lot seem now to have been streightened for want of room, which caused their separation, as if the country was now become more populous than they at first found it (Q). It was at this time that the whole land was promised to Abrahamⁱ.

The five kings of the vale of Siddim, Bera king of Sodom, Birsba king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, Shemebar king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela or Zoar, rebelled in the thirteenth year after they had been subdued by Chedorlaomer, as we have already observed. Wherefore Chedorlaomer and his allies marched thither again in the fourteenth year, taking several other nations or tribes in his way; or rather he fetched a circuit in his routes, reducing, among others, the Horites, the Amalekites, and the Amorites of Hazezontamar. At last he fell on the five kings of Siddim, who were resolved to dispute their rights with him; but they fell under the pressure of the enemy once more; and all the inhabitants were either slain in battle, carried into captivity, or obliged to fly for shelter to their cities and mountains. Sodom and Gomorrah, and the rest, were pillaged with the utmost rigour; and among the prisoners was Lot; but he was soon rescued by Abraham^k.

At this time, Melchisedek, king of Salem, and priest of the most high God (R), as Abraham was returning from

Yr. of Fl.
436.
Ante Chr.
1912.

^b Genes. xii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 9.
xiii. 14, & seq.

^k Genes. xiv. 16.

ⁱ Genes.

(Q) If this was the case, how came such a weak prince as Hamor, king of Shechem, to have so much ground to spare, as he afterwards talks of, when he hoped to make an union with Jacob?

(R) Salem is by Josephus

called Solyma; who also says, that Melchisedek was the first founder of it: that he erected a temple in it, and officiated as a priest, calling it Jerusalem; whereas its former name was Solyma. But what he says in this case has no weight with the

from the war, presented him with bread and wine; and received from him tythes of all the spoil; having blessed him in the name of the most high God, possessor or creator of heaven and earth. The king of Sodom was at this remarkable interview, and seems to have acted a very generous and modest part, claiming nothing of all that Abraham had retaken from the enemy, except the persons of his subjects, leaving the rest to his discretion; but he met with as generous a return from Abraham, who, as far as in him lay, made him ample restitution of all that belonged to him, whether persons or goods; but Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, his Canaanitish confederates, who were all three Amorites, were left to do as they pleased¹; and how far they followed Abraham's example, is not said.

Yr. of Fl.

451.
Ante Chr.
1897.

For fifteen years there is an utter silence as to the affairs of this people; but at length a severe judgment was executed on the inhabitants of the vale of Siddim. Living in great ease and affluence, they were grown to such an height of impiety, that they left no room for mercy; which if it could have been obtained by the intercession of Abraham, they would have been delivered from the wrath of God now, as they had been formerly rescued by his arm out of the hands of their enemies. The sin they suffered for, already well known^m, has, from the chief city of that vale, Sodom, ever since borne the name of Sodom. The particulars of this catastrophe we have already given, in speaking of Lot; and shall now only say, that the four cities of this fertile and pleasant spot, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, were destroyed by brimstone and fire, or by thunder and lightning, and the whole vale was consumedⁿ; and thenceforward became the Dead or Salt Sea, or lake Asphaltites (S). Thus perished

¹ Genes. xiv. 21, & seq. ^m Genes. xix. 4, & seq. ⁿ Genes. ubi supra. Deut. xxix. 23.

the most accurate and learned of the Christian writers, who, for the most part, have a different notion. There is a Salem mentioned in the New Testament; which is supposed to have been the same where Melchisedek reigned. The Arabians assert, that Jerusalem was built by twelve neigh-

bouring kings, who, touched with a deep veneration for Melchisedek, built it in honour of him, or for his convenience; which when they had done, he called it Jerusalem.

(S) How this terrible subversion was effected, is thus accounted for. The vale being full of slime-pits, or places whence

perished a branch of the Canaanites with their whole territory; saving the city of Bela, henceforward called ~~Zoar~~.

The Hittites afterwards treated with Abraham, who desired to purchase the cave of Machpelah for a burial place; and their behaviour towards that patriarch well deserves our approbation. In public assembly they offered him the choicest of their sepulchres for his dead. But, when he signified his desire to have a separate place for his family, and had cast his eye upon the cave of Machpelah, belonging to one of their tribe, called Ephron the son of Zoar, with whom he desired them to intercede in his behalf; Ephron himself, who is supposed to have presided in this assembly, generously offered to make him a present, not only of the cave he wanted to purchase, but of the ground or field adjoining, and pressed him much to accept of the offer: but Abraham insisted upon purchasing it, and he was prevailed upon to sell the field and the cave to him for four hundred shekels, which he looked upon as a trifle between him and Abraham; so great was his desire of retaining the favour and friendship of that patriarch?

Nothing material occurs after this transaction for the space of about one hundred and twenty-eight years, when Hamor reigned in Shechem, a poor and weak kingdom; though Hamor himself seems to have been worthy of a better dominion, and a better fate than befel him. He sold a piece of ground to Jacob^p, and it happened that Dinah the daughter of that patriarch, coming to see and converse with the daughters of the land, she was observed by Shechem the son of Hamor, who, being taken with her charms, forced and deflowered her; but, having a real passion for her, and being sensibly affected with the wrong he had done her, he endeavoured to pacify and persuade her to be his wife. Speaking also to his father Hamor, he entreated him to use his endeavours, that he might have Dinah in marriage. According to Hamor

Yr. of Fl.
614.
Ante Chr.
1734.

^p Genes. xxiii. 11, & seq.

^p Gen. xxxiii. 18, & seqq.

whence naphtha and bitumen were extracted, it is supposed to have been universally impregnated with igneous matter; and the lightning, darting upon it, or flashing along the surface

of it, kindled the combustible parts, which had the dreadful effect of turning this once enchanting paradise into a loathsome lake,

went to Jacob, to communicate the ardent inclinations his son had for Dinah, and to ask his consent. But the injury and affront were highly resented by Jacob's sons, who were present at the interview. Shechem, finding the others were greatly exasperated at the violence he had committed on their sister, offered all the satisfaction they could wish for, if they would but forgive him, and grant him her in marriage. He thought he had gained his point, from the answer he received; which was, that if he, and all of his tribe or city, would consent to be circumcised, he should have his suit. Shechem willingly submitted to this painful proposal, and so did his father Hamor for his sake; for he had an especial love for him, above all his other children. Wherefore, returning to the city, they assembled the people in the gate, and harangued them on this subject: they observed, that seeing Jacob, and his family, dwelt with them in great harmony, and there was full room for all, it would be very prudent to unite with them by reciprocal marriages; that, indeed, there was an hard condition insisted on; namely, that they should be all circumcised; but that the pain of the operation, would be amply compensated by such an accession of wealth as must flow in upon them by being one people with Jacob. The men of the city, partly out of affection to Hamor and Shechem, and partly upon the last consideration, declared they were ready to comply, and were circumcised accordingly: but while they laboured under the inconveniencies of this operation, upon the third day they were all suddenly cut off by two of Jacob's sons, at the head of their servants; and their wives, children, cattle, household-goods, and all belonging to them, fell a prey to Simeon and Levi, the authors of this cruel and bloody massacre of an helpless, and, to all appearance, innocent people †.

In writing the history of this people, we are obliged to compile from incoherent fragments: there is no connection, no successive train of events, to be expected. When Moses drew towards the borders of the promised land, for the first time, the Canaanites in the south-eastern parts of the country were joined by the Amalekites †, who, we may suppose, were eager to take their revenge upon the Israelites. These, understanding that spies had been in the land from Moses, drew towards the frontiers; and the Israelites, attempting to enter their territory against the

† Genes. xxxiv. per tot.

† Numb. xiv. 43.

express decree of God, were by them repulsed with great slaughter, quite to Hormah.

Whether before or after this event, it is not precisely known, Sihon king of the Amorites invaded the children of Moab and Ammon, and dispossessed them of their country on the other side Jordan, and the Dead Sea: this conquest is celebrated by the most ancient poem¹ that is extant among profane writers.

Arad (T) was king in the south-east of Canaan, when Moses had a second time reached the borders of the Promised Land; and, being informed of their coming by the way of spies, he went out, attacked them, and took many of them prisoners; but, fortune changing, he was vanquished by them, and his country utterly destroyed. Arad.

Sihon the Amorite, residing in the ancient country of the Moabites and Ammonites, being entreated by messengers from Moses for a free passage through his country, in his way to Canaan, he rejected his request; and, instead of complying, marched out against him; but it proved a very unfortunate expedition. He sustained at Jaazer, a total overthrow, which was attended with the entire loss of all he possessed. Sihon.

Og king of Bashan is reckoned a sovereign of the Amorites, and was of the race of the giants, or Rephaim; and had an iron bedstead, nine cubits in length. He was a dreadful enemy¹. His kingdom took its name from the hill of Bashan, which is compared to God's Hill², and has since been called Batanea. In it were no less than sixty walled towns, besides villages³. This country afforded an excellent breed of cattle, and stately oaks⁴. In short, it was a plentiful and populous territory. Og's residence was at Ashtaroth⁵, and Edrei, at or near which place he was vanquished, as he was espousing the cause of Sihon, and attempting to stop the progress of Moses and his peo- Yr. of Fl.
856.
Ante Chr.
1452.
Og.

¹ Numb. xxi. 27. ² Vide Joseph. Antiq. lib. iv. cap. 5.
³ Psal. lxxviii. 15. ⁴ Deut. iii. 4, 5. ⁵ Isa. ii. 13. ⁶ Josh. xii. 4.

(T) It is doubted, whether this be the name of the king himself, or of his city. There was a city of this name, and one of Canaan's sons was so called, according to the LXX. and the Vulgate, who so translate the Hebrew of Arvad: who therefore may have given his name to this country, and the city may have been called after him (1).

(1) Vide Patrick & Cleric. in Num. xxi. 1.

ple. He fell in battle, and his whole kingdom was transferred to the Israelites ^u.

The news of what Moses had done on the other side the river Jordan, to Sihon and Og, kings of the Amorites, astonished the Canaanites of every denomination; but when they also heard how the waters of the river had been divided, to give the Israelites a passage, their surprize was changed into terror and consternation. Jericho was the first place that felt the fury of the impending storm. It was dismantled by the shouts of the Israelites, the sound of seven rams-horns, and the carrying the ark of the covenant round the walls. No soul was spared but the harlot Rahab, and her family, who had been instrumental in saving the spies who were sent by Joshua into this city; which was now reduced to ashes, and the man cursed that should ever attempt to rebuild it ^x.

Yr. of Fl.
897.
Ante Chr.
1491.

The tidings of these exploits, aroused the little state of Ai, whose king, in the first skirmish, gained some small advantage against Joshua: but he soon perceived, that the war was not to be decided by so slight a trial; and therefore sent to the men of Beth-el, who were his subjects, requiring them to join him against the common enemy. It was not long ere he had advice, that Joshua was moving towards him. He apprehended this general's intent was to besiege him; but he was not aware of a stratagem formed to ruin him, and destroy his city. He saw Joshua appear before his walls with no very formidable force, and at once resolved to engage him: he no sooner advanced, than the Israelites faced about, and fled; he then ordered every man to come out of the city and pursue the enemy. Thus the town being left destitute of defence, those who lay in ambush rushed in, and set the outskirts of it on fire. The king of Ai, looking back, saw the smoke of the city ascending up to heaven; and, in the midst of his consternation, the enemy stopped short, shouted, and faced about. His return to the city was intercepted by those who had set it on fire, and were now advancing to assist in cutting him off. The men of Ai, perceiving that their city must perish without resource, and that they were to be attacked on all sides, were quite disheartened, and all put to the sword, except their king, who was taken alive, and led to Joshua. After this slaughter of their army, their city was burnt by the victors, and all who were

^u Num. xxi. 33—35.

^x Josh. vi. 26.

found in it cut to pieces. There fell in the whole about twelve thousand souls: the city was reduced to a heap of ruins, and continued so ever after. The captive king was hung upon a tree till even-tide, when his body was taken down, and buried in one of the gates under a heap of stones ^r.

The sad catastrophe of these two, alarmed all the neighbouring kingdoms. Gibeon, a city of the Hivites ^a, but far stronger, and more considerable, than Ai ^a, was the only place that chose to avert the impending ruin by stratagem, rather than by joining the united forces of their neighbours. They came to the resolution of sending ambassadors to Joshua, who should be dressed in old tattered garments, with clouted shoes, a quantity of dry mouldy bread, and such a worn-out equipage, as might make them appear like men come from some far distant country. In this guise, arriving at Joshua's camp in Gilgal, they told him, they were come, from afar off to seek his friendship; that the fame of the Lord God, and what he had done for Israel in Egypt, and since, by the destruction of Sihon and Og, those mighty kings, were the inducements which had brought them so far from home, being sent by the unanimous vote of all their countrymen, that they might pay their homage, and desire to be admitted into a league with Israel; as a proof of their veracity, they produced their dry, mouldy bread, which they averred they had taken out from their houses the day they set out: "Our bottles of wine," said they, "were new; and see how they are rent: our garments and shoes were so too, but they are worn out by the long journey." They acted their parts with great address, and persuaded Joshua and the Israelites to make a league with them. At the end of three days the whole artifice was discovered; but they had already brought the Israelites under a solemn engagement to protect them as friends: however, they fared not so well, as they, perhaps, expected; for they were condemned to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water to their new allies ^b.

When Adonizedek king of Jerusalem heard that Jericho and Ai had been utterly destroyed; and, what was worse to the common cause, that the Gibeonites had submitted to Joshua, he was divided between terror and disdain. But resolving to make an example of the Gi-

Adonizedek.

^r Josh. vii. viii. ^a Josh. ix. compare verse 3. with 7.
^a Josh. x. 2. ^b Josh. ix.

beonites, to deter others from following so cowardly and dangerous a precedent, he called in Hoham king of Hebron, Piram king of Jarmuth, Japhia king of Lachish, and Debir king of Eglon, to join him against Gibeon; and accordingly they all joined, and besieged the place. The inhabitants in this distress dispatched notice to Joshua of what was befallen them, and begged his speedy succour to rescue them from their enraged countrymen. Joshua came accordingly, and, falling upon the confederate kings, as they were besieging the city, obliged them to retire with the utmost precipitation. As they were flying, and had almost reached Beth-Horon, there fell a dreadful tempest of hail-stones, of such enormous size, that they did more execution than the sword of Joshua. Thus persecuted by the heavens above, and pressed by the Israelites in the rear, they fled as chance directed them, not knowing whither they went. In so general a dispersion many might have escaped, had not the sun, at the command of Joshua, stopped his career, that the Israelites might see to overtake and destroy the scattered multitude. And now the five kings, seeing nothing but destruction before their eyes, made the best of their way to a cave near the city of Makkedah. Happily, as they thought, they reached this asylum; but, being discovered, and information thereof being carried to Joshua, they soon saw the mouth of their cave stopped up with great stones. Under this dismal confinement did they remain till the action of this miraculous day was concluded, when, being dragged out, they were thrown before the congregation of Israel, the chiefs of whom trod on their necks: they were afterwards all five put to death, and their dead bodies hung, each on a tree; and there they remained till the setting sun, when they were taken down, and thrown into the cave; which was again filled up with great stones, as a monument of their fall and unhappy end.

Jabin.

Jabin king of Azor, when he learned their fate, and knew that moreover Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir, had been subverted, and all their inhabitants put to the sword; and finally, that Horam king of Gezer, and his whole force, had perished in attempting to relieve Lachish; such a croud of calamities induced him to raise all the tribes of the Canaanites to prevent the destruction which alike threatened them all. He sent therefore to Jobab king of Madon, to the king of

Shimron, to the king of Achshaph, to the kings on the north of the mountains, to those in the plains south of Cinneroth, and in the valley, and on the borders of Dor on the west, and to the Canaanites, peculiarly so called, on the east and west, and to the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Pèrizzite, and the Jebusite in the mountains, and the Hivite under Hermon, in the land of Mizpeh. These all confederated together against Israel; they were as the sand on the sea-shore for numbers, and very strong in horse and chariots (U); a dreadful enemy for Joshua and his people to deal with, who were utterly unprovided with both. Being thus united, they encamped near the waters of Merom, since called the Lake Samachonitis. Here, as they lay consulting together, they were assaulted by surprise, driven out of their camp, and broken into as many distinct bodies, as they were tribes, each hastening homewards. But the main body fled towards Zidon the Great, westward, and Misrephoth-Maim; while another party took their route towards the valley of Mizpeh, eastwards. But they were every-where so closely pursued, that most of them fell by the way. Jabin himself had the luck to escape for the present; but he perished with his city in the sequel: it was not long before Hazer was taken, and her inhabitants being cut off, the place was burnt down to the ground. It was reckoned the chief of all the cities belonging to the kings of this confederacy, and therefore treated with the greatest rigour; but the rest of the cities of those princes, which also fell into the hands of Joshua, were suffered to stand, though none of the inhabitants were spared^d.

No losses, however great, could, for a considerable while, break the spirits of the Canaanites; they stood their ground, and kept Joshua employed six years^e: in the end,

^d Josh. xi.

^e Usser. Annal. ad A. M. 2554.

(U) This is all the account the text gives us of this numerous army. Josephus adds, that it consisted of three hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and twenty thousand armed chariots. That of Joshua was not only vastly inferior in number, but quite

desitute of chariots and horse; so that his success was chiefly owing to the sudden rapidity with which he fell upon them. For it is said, that he came in sight of them in five days; though Gilgal, whence he set out, was, at least, sixty miles off, and the country very rocky.

great numbers are supposed to have left their country, and, travelling towards Africa, to have settled there, erecting a monument in memory of the calamities which had driven them from their native place, and inveighing against Joshua by a very injurious appellation, as will be observed hereafter in the history of that continent. In their way thither they are supposed to have seized on the Lower Egypt, where they erected a monarchy, which subsisted under several of their own kings; but, being at last over-powered, they were obliged to retire farther westward into Africa; a circumstance which has induced some to think them the Phœnician pastors, who lorded it so long over Egypt.

After the Canaanites had been successively defeated, and at length dispersed and reduced, the Anakims (X), who also inhabited some of the mountains of the land, a fierce and barbarous race, of an origin distinct from the Canaanites, were invaded, and cut off; and thus by degrees the Israelites became masters of the greatest part of the land of Canaan.

But still the Canaanites of several denominations were strong and potent, and held no mean share of the country; and, for nineteen or twenty years, the remainder of Joshua's days, they were very little molested; being suffered to breathe, until the important business of dividing their country, by the conqueror, could be regulated and adjusted.

This division being made, the Canaanites were on all sides invaded again by the tribes of Israel, who wanted each to drive them out of their respective lots. The Canaanites and Perizzites in Bezek were accordingly invaded by the tribes of Simeon and Judah, and there fell of them ten thousand men. Being thus routed in the field, they retreated to the city of Bezek, where Adonibezek, the

(X) These are held to have been what we call giants, and are derived from one Arba, who seized on the city of Hebron, from whom it was called Kirjath-Arba, the city of Arba. From Arba descended Anak, who, it seems, had three sons, whom we shall mention hereafter. From Anak, the Anak-

ims derive their name; but whether they were only a more numerous and stout people, or really men of a larger size, has been disputed. As for the various etymons of their name, they are too uncertain and far-fetched to deserve the least regard.

king of that place, as his name imports, resided. This monarch is infamous for his singular cruelty and insolence; for, by his own confession, having taken seventy kings captive, he ordered the thumbs and great toes of each to be cut off; and obliged them to receive their meat under his table, like so many dogs. The city itself was now assaulted and carried; and all those within the walls were put to the sword. Adonibezek himself escaped: but, being afterwards overtaken in his flight, his thumbs and great toes were cut off; a just requital, as he himself acknowledged, for his former cruelty; but, his life being spared, he was carried alive to Jerusalem, where he died; for that city had been taken and burnt before; but whether by Joshua formerly, or the tribe of Judah now^f, is not very clear (Y).

Immediately after this expedition, the Canaanites were invaded in several other parts, and particularly in Hebron and Debir, two cities which had formerly been destroyed by Joshua, but were now in the hands of the Canaanites again; an instance, among many others, of the resolution of this people, and their reluctance to quit their possessions. In general, the Canaanites in the high lands or mountains were reduced; but those in the low country were able to keep their ground, because they had chariots of iron. Hebron, in this war, fell into the hands of Caleb, who thence expelled the three sons of Anak^g (Z).

The other tribes made also some vigorous, but unsuccessful attempts against those cities that had fallen to their

^f Judg. i. 3—8.

^g Judg. i. 9—20.

(Y) Jerusalem is mentioned as taken by Joshua; but the Canaanites retook several places which Joshua had torn from them: and this may have been the case with Jerusalem: for, though it is by most commentators imagined, that the Israelites held the town, and the Jebusites the fortress of Zion, ever afterwards: Josephus plainly enough tells us, they had both the fort, and the city, when David gave them their fatal blow;

and, it is not likely, that, while they possessed the citadel, they would suffer the Israelites to live quietly in the town.

(Z) Josephus draws a terrible picture of these inhabitants of Hebron: "Among the slain," says he, "were found some gigantic forms, who not only exceeded the ordinary size of men, but differed also from them in aspect and voice.—Some of their bones are exposed as a prodigy to this day."

lot. But Joseph was attended with better success against Beth-el, which was betrayed to them, and taken by surprise. Ashur, on the contrary, was so far from gaining any advantage against those of Accho, Zidon, Ahlah, Achzib, &c. that its settlement among them seems rather to have been confined to such places as were granted on certain conditions imposed by the old inhabitants. The Amorites pressed hard upon the children of Dan, and confined them to their mountains. Those of Aijalon and Shaalvim still kept the mountain of Heres in their own hands; but the Danites, being in time assisted by the house of Joseph, brought them at length under tribute, enlarged their own territories, and fixed those of their oppressive neighbours from "the going up to Akribim from the rock, and upwards".

Thus, upon the division of their country, and the attempts made by the several tribes to drive them out, the whole land was in a ferment of war, which ended with no great success on either side; and the adverse parties seem to have been pretty equally matched; so that although it is certain, that multitudes of this people were slain in the wars with Joshua, and that many of them fled the land in quest of more sure and quiet abodes; yet so considerable was their remaining number, valour, or superior skill in war, that, after all their calamities, they seem to have been but little inferior to the Israelites; nor, after this, do we miss one tribe of them, except the Girgashites (D).

The Canaanites, the Sidonians, and the Hivites of Mount Lebanon, from Baalhermon to Hamath, were left to prove Israel, to exercise them with temptation to idolatry and sin (E); and the more immediately devoted nations,

* Judges, i. 21—36.

(D) We are positively told, they fled into Africa, where they fixed their seat.

(E) Both religious and political reasons have been assigned for this mercy towards the Canaanites: that the Israelites might not grow sluggish for want of enemies to awaken and stir up their courage, and to keep up martial

discipline among them, and that they might always be in a more immediate state of dependence on God, or look constantly up to him for succour: that no part of the country, which was too extensive to be thoroughly inhabited by the Israelites, might lie desolate, so as to be left for a harbour to wild beasts, which

tions, the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, dwelt, as it were, in common with the children of Israel in their Promised Land. Being thus blended together, they, in time, wrought so upon the unstable minds of the Israelites, as to persuade them to inter-marry with them, and serve their gods^u, thereby captivating their minds, as they afterwards did their bodies.

For, in a very few years, Jabin, whom we may reckon the second of the name, seeing he resided at the very same place with the former, was employed by God to punish the Israelites, as the instrument of his wrath. This prince, it is likely, rebuilt Hazer, which had been destroyed by Joshua, re-established the royal seat there, was master of nine hundred chariots of iron (F), which, as well as the rest of his host, were under the command of Sisera, who dwelt in Heshboreth of the Gentiles (G). Jabin therefore reduced the Israelites to a state of slavery, and cruelly oppressed them for twenty years. But whether he held the whole nation under subjection, or the northern tribes only, is uncertain. News was brought to Sisera, that the Israelites had been stirred up to rebellion, and that they were actually in arms, consulting together, how they might shake off his master's yoke; whereupon he prepared the nine hundred chariots of iron, and issued a proclamation, requiring the men of war to assemble together, to march out against the Israelites, who were but ten thousand strong, with Deborah and Barak at their head. A battle ensuing, Sisera was routed, and pursued, with great slaughter, quite to the gates of Heshboreth of the Gentiles. That general, apprehending he might fall into the enemies hands, quitted his chariot,

Yr. of Fl.

1063.

Ante Chr.

1285.

Jabin II.

^u Judges, ii. 21—33. and iii. 1—7.

which might, by their increase, prove a more dreadful and pernicious enemy than the Canaanites.

(F) The number of these chariots, which are all along taken for the scythed fort, is much wondered at by the learned. Mithridates had but one hundred in his army, and Darius but two hundred,

(G) It is called *of the Gentiles*, from a confluence of all sorts of people, who came now to put themselves under the protection of Jabin's growing empire. Both cities were situated on the lake Smachon, or Samechon, through which the Jordan takes its course, and near the place where Seleucia was since built.

and, flying on foot, directed his steps to the tent of Heber the Kenite, who was at enmity with Jabin. He found Jael, Heber's wife, in the tent-door, who, perceiving his disorder, intreated him to step in, and fear nothing. Confiding in this declaration he entered, and was covered by her, that he might be concealed and take no harm while he reposed, after the fatigue of the battle and flight. He had not long remained in this situation when he complained he was thirsty, and begged a draught of water; instead whereof, his hostess presented him with a bowl of new-milk, of which when he had drank she covered him again. Then he called out, and desired her, if any one came to inquire if she had any man within, to answer no, and to stand at the tent-door for that purpose. Now being greatly fatigued, he fell into a deep sleep; then Jael, taking one of the tent-nails, and an hammer, drove the nail into his temples, and thus deprived him of life. By this time Barak having reached the tent in quest of Sisera, Jael, with a triumphant air, went out to him, and invited him to the sight of the man he sought, whom he here saw dead, with the nail driven into his temples. So fell Sisera; and with him Jabin's glory and oppression; an event which afforded the Israelites respite for forty years*.

Yr. of Fl.
1301.
Ante Chr.
1047.

*Zion taken
by David.*

What the Canaanites did, or what was done against them after this battle, for a long series of years, we are not informed. It appears, however, that they had been able to maintain their ground in several parts, and particularly in Jerusalem, till the reign of David. When the Jebusites, who held that city, or, at least, the fortrefs of Zion, saw David advance, to besiege them, they posted their lame and their blind (H) to defend them, saying, they were sufficient to keep off so mean an invader, relying wholly on the strength of their walls and situation. They were, however, disappointed, and the place was

* Judges, iv, per tot.

(H) The learned are divided in their opinions about these lame and blind men. Josephus understands the expression in the literal sense. Bochart supposes it was in derision of the besiegers, that the blind and cripples were placed

upon the walls; but Dr. Gregory has written a long dissertation, to prove that those lame and blind were no other than the gods of this people, who, according to the Psalmist, "had eyes and saw not, and feet and walked not."

carried

carried by storm ^y; but the circumstances of this event are left in the dark.

This, doubtless, was a very severe blow to the Canaanites in general, and must have perplexed them much; but, to complete their misfortunes, they were invaded in Gezer by Pharaoh; upon what provocation is utterly unknown. Their city was burnt, and they were all put to the sword. The town was afterwards rebuilt or repaired by Solomon, who received it in dower with his wife, Pharaoh's daughter ^z.

Thus, oppressed by the Israelites on one hand, and by the mighty power of Egypt on the other, the remnant of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebu-
sities, were reduced, in the reign of Solomon, to a state of slavery; whence it is concluded, that they were now brought to so low an ebb, as to be unable to answer the demands of a tribute: wherefore, being admitted into a covenant, as is very rationally supposed, with king Solomon, he would not cut them off, but employed them in the heavy labour of carrying on his vast and sumptuous works; and this servility was entailed on their posterity ^a; for, although it is very certain, that they, upon their first reduction, became proselytes to the Jewish religion, yet it is thought, they were distinguished from the Jews, and reckoned of a more ignoble blood, born to drudgery. And now it remains only for us to observe, that, among the tribes of the Canaanites, enumerated above, as subject to the yoke of Solomon, the Canaanites, peculiarly so called, are omitted. These, therefore, we may conclude, bore none of the burden; but remained free and independent in their possessions on the sea-coast, rose afterwards to a great height of fame, and, continually improving themselves in navigation, commerce, and the useful arts, were comprized under the appellation of Phœnicians.

Yr. of Fl.
1336.
Ante Chr.
1012.

*The Am-
rites, Hit-
tites, &c.
reduced to
a state of
slavery.*

S E C T. VII.

The History of the Philistines.

WE have already observed, that this people descended from the Calluhim partly, and partly from the Capthorim, both from the loins of Mizraim, the son of Ham, the son of Noah. All we can farther say with any

*Their ori-
gin.*

^y 2 Sam. v. 6—9. ^z 1 Kings, ix. 16. ^a See ver. 20,
21. See also Ezra ii. 55, 58, and Nehemiah xi. 3.

certainly, is, what Moses tells us elsewhere^b; namely, that they drove out the Avim, or Avites, even to Az-zah or Gaza, where they settled. When this expulsion happened, is quite uncertain; but, upon the whole, it is plain, that the Casluhim and Caphtorim, from whom the Philistines are descended, came originally from Egypt; and, having settled in this country, gave it their name. But, for the description of this delicious spot, we refer our readers to the geography of the Land of Promise, of which it was the chief, if not the best, part; and shall only speak here of the government, customs, and religion, of so renowned a people.

*Their go-
vernment,
customs,
&c.*

Their most ancient form of government was administered by kings, who were all honoured with the appellation of Abimelech; such were the monarchs of this people, father and son, who dealt with Abraham and Isaac; but these first kings were under great limitations. The sceptre departed from this race very soon; for in the days of Moses, their monarchy was changed into an aristocracy of five lords, who seem to have been, in part, independent of each other, though they were also, it seems, obliged to act in concert for the common cause. In the sequel they were ruled by a king; but how this change was brought about, or whether it was their choice, or not, is utterly unknown. The second race of kings are distinguished by the appellation of Achish, though they bore likewise the name of Abimelech. They held their residence at Gath during their best times; from whence the royal seat was removed to Ascalon, and from that city to Gaza. In a word, we may say, that the Philistines had very strong notions of liberty. They did not circumcise, and, in their earliest times, held adultery in the greatest abomination.

*Their cha-
racter,
language,
arts, in-
ventions,
&c.*

After what we have said, we need not observe, that they were a very warlike people; but we must add, that they distinguished themselves by their industry. Their character must be considered at different periods; for we may say, they were not always the same people. In the days of Abraham and Isaac, they were, without all doubt, a righteous and hospitable nation; but afterwards a revolution in government, religion, and morals, may have ensued. From thenceforward they became like other idolatrous nations; the same enormities crept in, and prevailed among them. They are constantly mentioned in Scrip-

^b Deuteron. ii. 23.

ture as strangers ; and, though possessed of a most considerable part of the Land of Promise, yet God would never suffer them to be driven out, they being Egyptians by descent, and not original natives, whose land only was promised to Abraham, and his seed. Their arrogance and ambition were great ; and so irreconcilable was their enmity (I) to the Israelites, that one would be almost tempted to think they were created on purpose to be a thorn in their sides ; for, though the hand of God was evidently against them several times, and particularly when they detained the ark, yet they hardened their hearts, and closed their eyes against conviction. They seem to have entertained a very fond veneration for their deities, in which they persisted, though they were eye-witnesses of the shame and ignominy, which befel them in the presence of the captive ark ; nay, they were so biassed in their favour, as to imagine, that their gods might prevail against him, who had, in so glaring a manner, put them to shame and disgrace. They were much addicted to trade ; which, considering their situation, they may have exercised from the beginning ; but, by the accession of the fugitive Edomites in David's time, they rose to so great a reputation as merchants, that the Greeks, it seems, preferred them to all other nations in that respect, and, from them, called all the country bordering on their Palestine¹. Their language was not so different from that spoken by the Hebrews, as to cause any difficulty for them to converse together, as will be perceived by their intercourse with Abraham and Isaac ; so that, in all this region, the several nations spoke one and the same tongue, perhaps with some variation of dialect. They had, doubtless, the arts and sciences in common with the most

¹ See Cumberland. *Origin. Gent. antiquiss.* p. 37.

(I) From a passage in Chronicles, it is guessed to have been of very ancient date ; where it is said, that "the men of Gath slew the children of Ephraim, who would have taken their cattle from them." This incident is no where else to be found ; and there are various notions concerning the sense in which we must take this passage. As to the time of the

transaction, most people allow it to have been while the children of Israel were sojourners in Egypt. It plainly appears, by the next verse, that Ephraim himself was living at that period. The Targum supposes his children miscomputed the time they were to serve in Egypt, and began too early an attempt upon their Promised Land.

learned

learned and ingenious among their contemporaries, and, perhaps, some of them in greater perfection. They had giants among them, but, whether they were originally of the breed of the Anakims, who retired hither when they were expelled from Hebron, or were sprung from accidental births, is not easily determined. We must not forget, that the invention of the bow and arrow is ascribed to this people.

Their religion was different at different times; under their first race of kings, they used the same rites with the Hebrews. Abimelech, in the sin he had like to have committed with Sarah, through Abraham's timidity, was favoured with a divine admonition from God; and, by his speech and behaviour at that time, it seems as if he had been used to converse with the Deity. In after-times, they erred into endless superstitions, and different kinds of idolatry; each of the principal or five cities seemed to have had an idol of its own. Marna, Marnas, or Marnash^m, was worshipped at Gaza, and is said to have migrated into Crete, and to have become the Cretan Jupiter. Dagon was worshipped at Azotus; he seems to have been the greatest, the most ancient, and most favourite god they had; to which may be added, that he, perhaps, subsisted the longest of anyⁿ that did not straggle out of the country. To him they ascribed the invention of bread-corn, or of agriculture, as his name imports. We cannot enter into the common notion of his being represented as a monster, half man, half fish; nor consequently into another almost as common, that he is the same with the Syrian goddess Derceto, who, we are told, was represented under some such mixed form. Our opinion is, that this idol was in shape wholly like a man; for we read of his head, his hands, and his feet^o. He stood in a temple at Azotus, and had priests of his own, who paid him a very constant attendance^p. Next to Dagon was Baalzebub, the God of Ekron. In the text of the New Testament, he is called Beelzebub, and the Prince of Devils. His name is rendered *lord of flies*; which, by some, is held to be a mock appellation bestowed on him by the Jews; but others think him so styled by his worshippers, as Hercules and Apomyos, and others, were, from his driving those insects away; and urge, that Aha-

^m Hieronym. in Esai.

ⁿ See 1 Maccab. x.

^o See

Fuller's Pisgah Fight, book ii, chap. 10. sect. 32.

^p See 1 Sam.

ver. 3, 4.

ziah, in his sickness ^q, would scarcely have applied to him, if his name had carried in it any reproach. But it must be remembered, it is the sacred historian that makes use of that contemptuous term in derision; whereas the idolatrous monarch, who was one of his votaries; might call him by his common name, supposed to have been Baal-zebaoth, *the lord of armies*, or Baal-shamim, *lord of heaven*, or some other, bordering on Baal-zebub. How, or under what form he was represented, is uncertain: some place him on a throne, and attire him like a king; others paint him as a fly ^r. Not to dwell on this obscurity, it appears, that he became an oracle of the highest repute for omniscience and veracity; that he had priests of his own; and that he, in the middle times at least, was much sought after by those who were anxious about futurity. Derceto we take certainly to have been the goddess of Ascalon ^s; but we are supported by profane authority, without the least countenance from Scripture. Gath is seemingly the only city of all the five unprovided with a deity; wherefore, as the Scripture declares, that Ashtaroth ^t, or Astarte, was worshipped by this people, we are ready to place her at Gath, and the rather, as this, of all their cities, may have had most communication with Sidon. To speak in general concerning their religious rites and ceremonies, which is all we can do, they seem to have erected very large and spacious temples, or very wide halls, for the celebration of their solemn seasons and festivals ^u (for such they surely had); their religious offices were attended with much pomp, and a great concourse from all parts; and they presented their gods with the chief part of their spoil, and carried them about with them when they went to war. We do not find in Scripture that they sacrificed their children; and yet the Curetes (K) are said to be their descendants.

We shall now proceed to the history of this extraordinary nation. They came directly out of Egypt; but

^q 2 Kings, i. 2. ^r Procop. Gaz. ^s Diod. Sicul. lib. ii. p. 65. ^t 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. ^u Judges, xvi. 27.

(K) The Curetes sacrificed their children to Saturn, and, from the similitude this name bears to Cherethites, or Philistines, it has been advanced, that they are the same people; but, as we have no warrant for saying the Philistines practised so barbarous and unnatural a custom, we may venture to pronounce, that they learned it not from them, but borrowed it elsewhere.

upon

upon what motive is not positively known no more than the time of their removal, and finding the Avims¹ seated in a pleasant and fruitful land, and themselves strong enough to expel them, they made their attempt, and succeeded. We are not much inclined to think they were very numerous when they first settled in this their conquest; for their king, even in the days of Isaac, grew jealous of that patriarch's power, which is no great sign that his own was very considerable; though possibly they may have been settled there many years before, and must consequently have been much more numerous than they were at first. But supposing this kingdom or state to have been but weak in its beginnings, as most others were, we proceed to the next notice we have of their affairs.

Yr. of Fl.

451.

Ante Chr.

1897.

Abimelech I.

Abimelech, their king in Abraham's days, was a holy and just person, and appears to have had some intercourse² with God. He resided at Gerar, of which place he is called king, and had like to have been drawn into a very fatal snare by the too great caution of Abraham; who coming into his kingdom, to be at a distance from the vale of Siddim, pretended that Sarah was not his wife, but his sister. Abimelech saw her, was taken with her charms, and understanding she was a single woman, resolved to take her to his bed; but ere he had accomplished his desires, he was warned by God to restore the woman to her concealed husband, upon pain of death. Abimelech excused himself to the divine vision, upon the innocence of his intentions; and seeming to have fresh in mind the terrible overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, "Lord," says he, "wilt thou also slay a righteous nation?" as if he was afraid that God would take vengeance on his people for a crime he was going ignorantly to commit. But he had the comfortable answer in a vision or dream, that God knew well, and approved his integrity; that he had with-held him from sinning; and that Abraham should, at his request, pray for him, and he should live. Thus admonished, he asked Abraham what he had done to him, that he should mislead him into so dangerous an error; or what offence he had ever committed against him, that he should tempt him to such a sin, as might have proved the ruin, not of himself only, but of his whole kingdom. "What have you observed," said he, "in the morals or behaviour of me and my people, that you should imagine we could offer any violence

¹ Deut. ii. 23,

² Genes. xx. 3, & seq.

to your wife?" The answer he received from Abraham was a frank confession of the truth; he acknowledged, without disguise, that he feared they had not been endued with right notions of God and his laws, and that he should certainly be deprived of his life, that they might the more freely enjoy Sarah; he added, that in saying she was his sister, he had spoken nothing but the truth, she being really so; and informed the king, that in strange places, it had always been his custom to make her pass for his sister only, for fear of the worst. Abimelech, satisfied with his apology, and in obedience to the divine command, not only restored Sarah to Abraham, but made him a very handsome present in sheep, oxen, and servants, both men and women; declaring to him withal, that he was welcome to live in what part of his dominions he best liked. He also made a considerable present to Sarah. In this manner did Abimelech comply with the divine admonition; and upon the prayers of Abraham, he and his whole house were restored to their natural faculties, of which they had been deprived for Sarah's sake; the Lord having rendered the men impotent, and the women barren (M). Ever after this explanation, Abimelech lived in perfect harmony with Abraham; and that the same might be transmitted down to posterity, Abimelech, with the participation of Phichol, the chief captain of his host, proposed an oath to Abraham, whereby he should bind his posterity to live in amity with his, and to deal by them just as he (Abimelech) had dealt with Abraham. This proposal was readily embraced by Abraham, but first he desired a dispute might be decided, concerning a well which Abimelech's servants had forcibly taken from him. Abimelech declared he never heard of this outrage till that moment; and that nothing of the kind should have been then to be complained of, had Abraham informed him of it sooner. That this matter might be terminated in such a manner as to admit of no farther dispute, Abra-

(M) "Or with such swellings in the secret parts, that the men could neither enjoy their wives, or the women who were with child be delivered." We find this story quite altered by Josephus, who says Abimelech was taken with so violent a fit of sickness, that his life was despaired of; that

in the midst of it he had a dream, which admonished him concerning Sarah; that finding himself upon the mending hand, he called together his friends, and disclosed to them his dream, and the violence of his passion; and that thereupon he made up the matter with Abraham.

ham,

ham, among the numerous presents he made him of sheep and oxen, severed seven ewe-lambs, which he gave him, to be a standing testimony of his having dug, and consequently of his being the right owner of, that well. Abimelech accepted of them accordingly, and the well was, from them, called Beer-sheba. After a mutual ratification of their covenant, Abimelech, and Phicol, the chief captain of his host, rose up, and returned from whence they came^a.

Abimelech, the son of Abimelech, and therefore called the second of that name, succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Philistines, reigned also at Gerar, had almost the same transactions with Isaac as his father had with Abraham, and seems to have been actuated by the very same principles as his father, and to have well deserved to be styled a just and pious prince. In his days came Isaac to Gerar, sore pressed by famine, and conducting Rebekah with him, whom, in imitation of his father, he made pass for his sister. Whether Abimelech and his subjects had remembrance of that fallacy before, and what had like to have ensued, to the detriment of the whole nation; or whether the morals of this country were still so pure, and chastity and hospitality in such due and high esteem, that they abhorred the thoughts of an impure attempt, we know not; but it is certain that Rebekah was unmolested by suitors of any sort; and Isaac had no occasion to complain upon her account. However, it is pretty evident, that Abimelech himself, at least, had a shrewd suspicion they were man and wife; for looking one day out of his window, he saw Isaac caressing Rebekah in such a manner as convinced him they were much nearer related than they pretended to be. Wherefore he called Isaac to him, and asked him how he could be so deceitful, pretending that she, who was really his wife, was no more than his sister. Isaac pleaded his father Abraham's excuse. Abimelech replied, it was by no means kindly done of him; for that, ignorantly, some or other of the people might have enjoyed her, and thereby involved the whole nation in a most dangerous sin, which, in order to prevent, he proclaimed what Isaac had told him, forbidding any person to touch Rebekah or her husband, upon pain of death. Though it might have been expected that he could have driven out Isaac from his dominions, as one who either maliciously or igno-

^a Genes. ubi supra, & xxi. 21—31.

rantly had exposed his whole nation to irretrievable ruin, yet he suffered him to abide in the land till his power began to give umbrage. Then indeed the Philistines, beholding the prodigious increase of Isaac's store, envied him, and gave him no small disturbance, by filling up his wells as fast as his servants dug them, and by other ill offices. At length Abimelech sent him a positive order to remove. This message was couched, it seems, in such civil terms, that Isaac, who was not conscious to himself of any evil design against him, only removed from one part of his country to another. He had not been long settled in this second habitation, when new broils and contentions arose between the Philistines of Gerar and Isaac's servants; those last opening the wells which Abraham had dug, and which the Philistines, after his death, had stopped up, and wanting still more water, fought for new springs, and dug new wells, which the Philistine herdsmen claimed as their right; whence the wells thus disputed, two in number, were, one of them, by Isaac, called Esek, or *contention*, and the other Sitnah, or *hatred*. By these vexations Isaac was obliged to shift from place to place, till Abimelech, at last remembering the covenant between his father and Abraham, and plainly perceiving that Isaac was favoured with God's special blessing, thought it his duty, or his interest, to renew it, taking with him Abuzzath, an intimate friend, and Phichol (N), the chief captain of his host, he went to Isaac, who could not help declaring his surprize in seeing them, after what had passed. They owned that they plainly saw God was with him, and that he was rising to a high pitch of power and prosperity; therefore desired to enter into bonds of friendship with him, by a new league, or by a revival of the old covenant, requesting no other terms than that the Philistines, and their posterity, might be used and considered by Isaac, and his posterity, as he and his family had been considered and used by Abimelech and his people. They were all three entertained by Isaac;

(N) The chief captain of his father's host, as may be remembered, was also called Phichol; but as it is impossible, or very highly improbable at least, that this was the same man, we conclude Phichol to

have been a title of honour or dignity; and that, as the king was constantly called Abimelech, his chief minister, or general, was constantly called Phichol.

and

and the league they desired being mutually sworn to next morning, they departed in peace ^a.

The history of the Philistines, hitherto clear and circumstantial, is all at once involved in an impenetrable mist, through which we can only perceive, that the men of Gath fell on the children of Ephraim, and slew them, for attempting to drive off their cattle ^b. But we are ignorant of the date, particulars, and consequences of this transaction.

For a long series of years we hear nothing of this people, and are only left to guess that they, in the mean time, dissolved their ancient form of government, and contracted an aversion to the Israelites; for, when they are next mentioned, they are represented under distinct jurisdictions, and at strife with the children of Israel.

We do not read of any war they had with Joshua; but, after his death, Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, were taken from them by the united tribes of Simeon and Judah ^c; which, however, we find them, in a short time, possessed of again; but whether they recovered them by force of arms, or they were restored to them by the conquerors, is not said.

Yr. of Fl.
1043.
Ante Chr.
1305.

About one hundred and twenty years after the reduction of the three cities above mentioned, the Philistines held the Israelites under their yoke, till they were delivered by Shamgar, who slew six hundred of them with an ox-goad (S). Nor must we forget, that the Philistines suffered in common with the Israelites, by the incursions and ravages of Zebah and Zalmunna, kings of Midian.

A second time they oppressed the Israelites, in conjunction with the Ammonites, in the days of Jephthah.

Yr. of Fl.
1211.
Ante Chr.
1137.

A third time they reduced the Israelites, by the permission of God, and kept them in subjection forty years. In this interval was Samson born, to check their pride. He fell in love with a damsel of this country, who dwelt at Timnath. At the celebration of the nuptials, thirty young Philistines were appointed to attend on Samson (T); who

^a Gen. xxvi. 1—33.

^b 1 Chron. vii. 21.

^c Judg. i. 18.

(S) Josephus, who is so fond of extraordinary events, quite passes over this exploit.

(T) This we take to have been the custom of the coun-

try in cases of a like nature, and an usual compliment now paid to Samson, who was come among them; but nothing less appears by Josephus, who writes,

who proposed a riddle to them, concerning a lion he had killed, in whose carcase, a twelvemonth after, he found honey. It was proposed to these young men, by Samson, that, if they unravelled his riddle, he should give them thirty suits of apparel, one to each; but, if they could not answer him at the end of the seven days of the marriage festival, they should each of them give him the same. They accepted the offer, desired to hear the riddle; but, having in vain perplexed themselves for three days together, and despairing to overcome the difficulty, they went to their countrywoman, Samson's bride, desiring her to discover the meaning of the riddle, and threatening her, if she did not, to burn her and all her kindred, as persons who had, on purpose, introduced a stranger to plunder them of their substance. This threat made a deep impression on the young woman; who, by continual intreaties, prevailed at last on her husband to disclose the ambiguity to her, and she communicated it to the thirty young men; in consequence of which they won the prize. This transaction proved a misfortune to Askelon; for Samson, to make good his engagements, went thither, and slew thirty men, whose garments he gave to the expositors of his riddle.

This marriage was productive of great misery to the Philistines; for Samson's father-in-law, apprehending his daughter was not well possessed of her husband's heart, gave her away to another, and denied Samson, who had been absent a twelvemonth, all access to his wife; but, to pacify his resentment, he offered him another daughter, who, as he said, was younger and handsomer. This proposal did not mollify Samson, who, in revenge, sent out three hundred foxes, with firebrands at their tails, into the fields, so that all the standing corn was consumed, together with the other fruits of the earth, the vines, and the olives. The Philistines, confounded at so terrible a disaster, and understanding the motives which had induced Samson to use them so cruelly, looked on his father-in-law as the chief incendiary; and therefore burnt him, together with his daughter. This revenge they did not take with impunity; there were many of them destroyed by Samson. In consequence of this slaughter they assembled their forces, and pursued him to the rock of

Yr. of Fl.
1212.
Ante Chr.
1136.

writes, that these young men chief when overcome with were set as a guard upon him, drink.
to prevent his doing any mis-

Etam, where he was delivered bound to them by the men of Judah, who dreaded their displeasure. The Philistines shouted aloud at sight of their enemy; but their joy soon turned into mourning, for Samson, breaking his bonds, found the jaw-bone of an ass at hand, and with it killed a thousand of these adversaries^f.

The Philistines wished for nothing so much as an opportunity to be revenged on Samson for their new disaster. The Gazites, at the end of twenty years, thought they had him secure in their city. Being informed that he was lodged with an harlot, they watched him, and made fast their gates, with a design to kill him next morning. But their precaution was to no purpose; for Samson rising at midnight, took the city gates, with their posts and bars, and carried them away towards Hebron.

Samson being afterwards enamoured with another harlot of their nation, in the valley of Sorek, whose name was Dalilah, the five lords came to this woman, and promised her, each of them, eleven hundred pieces of silver if she would betray her lover, by enticing him to, tell her where his strength lay, and how he might be reduced to the ordinary strength of another man. So large a bribe corrupted Dalilah's heart, and she used her best endeavours to earn it; thinking she was acquainted with the secret, she sent for the Philistines to execute their pleasure on him: but she was deceived, and they were disappointed. A second, and a third time, she was beguiled in like manner; but, at length, her importunities and caresses prevailing, he discovered that his great strength lay in his hair: this she found an opportunity to cut off, and then delivered him a prey to the lords of the Philistines, who gave her the promised reward, put out Samson's eyes, and, binding him with fetters of brass, carried him to Gaza, where they compelled him to grind in the prison-house.

Resolving to celebrate a festival to their god Dagon, in consequence of their success, they assembled in one edifice, but whether a temple, a theatre, or a palace, is quite unknown; the fabric, however, was of such extent, that no fewer than three thousand persons were seated on the roof. In the height of their jollity they sent for the blind Samson to make sport with him, forgetting that his hair was by this time pretty well grown again, and his strength consequently returned. They paid dear for their

^f Judg. xv. 1—16.

diversion, inasmuch as they all perished by the fall of the building which Samson pulled down, by overturning the two pillars by which it was supported. This was a terrible disaster, since most of the chiefs of the Philistines lost their lives by it; so that the nation must have been brought to a low condition, being left destitute of counsellors, governors, and commanders.

The Israelites, taking advantage of the consternation attending this disaster, marched against the enemy without loss of time, and pitched their tents at Eben-ezer. The Philistines, notwithstanding the great loss they had sustained, came out to meet them, and encamped at Aphek. The two armies soon came to action, and the day turned in favour of the Philistines, who put the Israelites to flight, and, having slain four thousand of them, drove the rest into their camp. The Philistines, in the midst of their triumph upon this occasion, heard an uncommon shout of joy from the Hebrew camp; and, enquiring into the cause of it, were told, that the Hebrews had sent for the ark of the Lord, and that it was come into their camp. Hearing these tidings, they cried out, in the utmost consternation, "God is come into the enemy's camp; what will become of us?" Their fears, however, were dispelled by the remonstrances and exhortations of their chiefs, and they forthwith rushed to battle. The attack was so furious, that they not only slew thirty thousand of the Israelites, but also took the ark of God, after having slain Hophni and Phineas, the priests who attended it. Doubtless they called this a complete victory, and rejoiced in a most extraordinary manner, not being aware of the evil consequences. In high triumph they carried the captive ark to Ashdod, and placed it in the temple of their idol Dagon, as an acceptable offering. Next morning they went into the temple, and, "behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth, before the ark of the Lord." They took him up, and set him in his place again, attributing this first humiliation to some accident. But on the second day, when they went in again, they not only saw their god in the same humble posture they beheld him in the day before, but also deprived of his head, hands, and feet, which lay on the threshold. Hence arose the superstitious custom among his priests, never to tread on the threshold as they went into his temple, either in remembrance of this mu-

tilation, or because it had been hallowed by the touch of the sacred limbs of their mangled deity. But their concern for him was quickly diverted by a more lively sense of their own calamities, their whole country being smitten with a sudden plague, of which many of them died, whilst those who survived were grievously tormented with the hæmorrhoids. Ashdod, and its whole territory, labouring under so dreadful a calamity, they resolved to keep the ark no longer among them, being too sensibly convinced that they suffered on that account. But, that they might not take an hasty step, they called an assembly of all the lords of the Philistines, to deliberate upon the means of delivering them from this raging evil, and to determine what was best to be done with the fatal ark. The resolution they came to was : that the ark should be removed to Gath, apprehending, as is thought, that Ashdod was a place unacceptable to the divinity. Accordingly they carried it thither ; but the same plague, and another sort of hæmorrhoids, followed it to Gath, seizing every individual without distinction of small or great. The men of Gath then sent the ark to Ekron ; but the inhabitants of that city, knowing what Gath and Ashdod had already suffered by detaining it, exclaimed, that the ark of the God of Israel was sent to destroy them. Their fears were not vain ; for great numbers of them died, and the raging distemper gathered strength as it spread. Therefore they had no sooner received the ark, than, all in confusion, they sent to the lords of the Philistines to consult with them about the manner of sending the ark to its proper place. The result of this council is not expressed ; they seem to have removed the ark into the country, and thereby to have only increased the number of the evils that afflicted them, the fields being now laid waste with swarms of mice. Finding, therefore, that their condition became every day worse, and their evils multiplied as often as the ark was removed, they called for their priests and diviners to demand of them what they thought most expedient to be done on this mournful occasion. Their answer was, that they ought not to send it away empty, but, by all means, with a trespass-offering, as an atonement. Being then asked what this trespass-offering must be, they replied, five golden hæmorrhoids, and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Philistines, the same plague having been common to them all. They then directed them in what manner they were to dismiss the ark ; their directions being

being punctually complied with, the ark returned to the Israelites, and the Philistines were made thoroughly sensible of the hand that had chastised them ^a.

The Philistines, by dismissing the ark, delivered themselves from the evils they groaned under. But they soon forgot the mighty power of the God of Israel, who had thus afflicted them. For, not above twenty years after, understanding the Israelites were gathered in a body at Mizpeh, they resolved to disperse them, apprehending, perhaps, that they were deliberating upon measures for throwing off their yoke. They marched, therefore, towards Mizpeh; and the Israelites, struck with terror at their approach, applied to Samuel, who was in the midst of them, begging he would not cease to cry out to the Lord in their behalf.

In the mean time the Philistines pursued their march, unmindful of Him, who was ever ready, when his people turned to him, to confound the strength and devices of their enemies, however wise and powerful, as he did on this very occasion. For, the Philistines being upon the point of attacking the Israelites, were, by a dreadful and unexpected storm of thunder and lightning broken, dispersed, and thrown into the utmost confusion; of which the Israelites taking advantage, pursued them with great slaughter as far as Beth-Car. This proved a fatal overthrow to the Philistines, being attended with the loss of the dominion they had exercised over the Hebrews, and the many encroachments they had made on their territory ¹.

How great soever this loss might have been, the Philistines soon recovered it; nay, in a few years, they became more powerful than ever. For, being informed that one of their fortresses, named Geba, had been surprised by Jonathan, the son of Saul, they assembled thirty thousand chariots, six thousand horse (U), and infantry numerous as the sand of the sea, to fight with the Israelites, who still laboured under the ill effects of their tyrannical policy, by continuing destitute of arms: for so long as the Philistines held them in subjection, they did not even suffer a smith to dwell among them. This very nu-

Yr. of H.
1252.
Ante Chr.
1096.

^a 1 Sam. iv. v. vi.

¹ 1 Sam. vii. 5—13.

(U) This number of chariots cannot be supposed to be all of the warlike sort, notwithstanding every argument

and conjecture which Sir Isaac Newton and the commentators have adduced to render it probable.

Yr. of Fl.
1293.
Ante Chr.
1095.

merous multitude went out, and, encamping in Michmash, occasioned so general a consternation, that happy was the Israelite who could conceal himself from their notice. From Michmash they sent out three detachments to spoil the country; which they ravaged without the least opposition, having to deal with an unarmed enemy.

Nevertheless, in the midst of their depredations, they received a check from Jonathan, who, hurried on by a divine impulse, and accompanied only by his armour-bearer, made a considerable slaughter of one of their outguards; the noise of which spreading to the whole body, they were seized with a sudden panic, which occasioned so great a tumult among them, that the very earth trembled. In the height of this disorder, they first fell upon each other with great slaughter (X), and then betook themselves to flight with the most tumultuous uproar; this the Israelites no sooner observed, than they pursued them, with Saul at their head: and if he had not been in too great a hurry, and forbid his men to stand to take a little refreshment, the loss of the Philistines would have been much greater. It was, however, very considerable, for they were pursued from Michmash to Aijalon^k.

Though thus visibly defeated by the hand of heaven, yet, in a few years they revived, and put themselves under arms, once more, to try their strength with the Israelites; perhaps induced thereunto upon hearing that Saul was disturbed in his mind. But, though they made a great noise and parade, they did not proceed with such fury as formerly, nor did they seem so eager for battle. They first rendezvoused in Shochoh, belonging to the tribe of Judah; but, advancing thence, and finding Saul ready to receive them, they pitched their tents upon a mountain opposite to another on which Israel was encamped. They had in their army, at this time, a giant, one Goliath of Gath, six cubits and a span high, and armed cap-à-pie with brazen armour (Y); the staff of his spear was like

^k 1 Sam. xiii. 17—23. xiv. 1—15.

(X) This exploit is altogether miraculous; therefore probability is out of the question.

(Y) The height of Goliath was twelve feet eight inches, and somewhat better than three tenths. His coat of mail, alone, weighed six thousand

shekels of brass, or upwards of one hundred and eighty-nine of our pounds Troy; and, by the same rule, the head of his spear, which weighed six hundred shekels of iron, exceeded two and twenty of the same pounds.

a weaver's beam, and the head of it weighed six hundred shekels of iron; and, before him, went one who bore his shield. This gigantic warrior seems to have been very sensible of his strength, and to have fancied that he alone could support his country's cause; accordingly, he undertook to fight any one in the host of Israel, and, by single combat, to determine which of the two nations should rule, and which obey. With this view he went down into the valley which parted the two camps, and there challenged the Israelites to produce a man who dared to face him in single combat. The challenge was not accepted, the Israelites being struck with terror, and greatly dismayed at his enormous size and menacing speech, so that he repeated it in vain every morning and evening, for forty days successively. At length, perceiving a ruddy youth advancing towards him from the Israelites, in the habit and appearance of a shepherd, he was fired with indignation, and observing a staff in his hand, "What," says he, "am I a dog, that you are come against me with a staff?" Then, cursing him by his gods, "Come hither," said he, "that I may give your flesh to the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the field." Young David replying with equal modesty and spirit, he stepped forward to punish the youth for his presumption; but, before he could reach him, he was, by a stone, which David threw with a sling, struck on the forehead, and felled to the ground. He no sooner fell, than David, advancing, severed, with the giant's own sword, his head from his body, and carried it off in triumph. The Philistines seeing their champion slain, fled with great precipitation, as if their hopes had been all centered in him; and, to judge by their behaviour, it was really the case. They left their tents and baggage behind them, and were pursued by Saul quite home to the gates of their own cities, Gath and Ekron, with great slaughter¹ (Z).

The same hand which had deprived them of Goliath, proved fatal to some of them soon after; for two hundred of them were slain by David for the sake of their fore-skins only, that he might perform the condition imposed on him by Saul, before he would give him his daughter

¹ 1 Sam. xvii. 1—55.

(Z) If we may credit Josephus, he killed, and twice that number plus, they had thirty thousand wounded, in this pursuit (1).

(1) Antiq. lib. vi. cap. 11.

to wife; but the particulars of this slaughter are not specified in the text of Scripture. Thence, however, it may be gathered, that this was the cause of a fresh rupture; and that the princes of the Philistines undertook to revenge the injury; but what success attended them, is not said.

Achish.

Soon after this event, they were overthrown in battle by David[†]; and some great change seems, about this time, to have been wrought in their government; for, instead of their lords or princes, we now read of a king they had, whose name was Achish, and who resided at Gath[‡]. He is elsewhere called Abimelech[§], the ancient appellation, as we have seen, of the first kings of this people. David, in order to avoid the evil designs of Saul, fled to Gath, and was brought before this king; who, imagining him, by his behaviour, to be beside himself, would take no further notice of him, than to order he should be brought no more into his presence[¶].

The Philistines, who all this time were upon no settled terms with Saul, prevented him from laying hold on David in the wilderness of Maon; but they were again, it seems, attended with bad success, in their attempts against him, and either fled, or retreated, before Saul.

Yr. of Fl.
1288.
Ante Chr.
1060.

Achish, the son of Maach, afterwards received David, his wives, and all his followers, into his protection; and treated the distressed refugees with great hospitality: at David's request, that he might have some place allotted him for his particular dwelling, he very generously named Ziklag for that purpose; whence it was, ever after, claimed by the kings of Judah. This was, indeed, the most effectual method for binding David to his interest. Achish had such influence over the Philistines, that they sacrificed their resentment for the wrongs they had received from that fugitive prince, to their present interest and safety; and let him live peaceably among them, rather than hazard the consequences of his return, and reconciliation with Saul. Achish, who conceived very high thoughts of David, understanding he had been out upon some expedition, examined him concerning it; and, receiving such an answer, as made him imagine he had been plundering his own nation, he expressed great satisfaction, hoping David had done something to make himself odious in the eyes of his countrymen; and that now he should

[†] 1 Sam. xix. 8. [‡] 1 Sam. xxi. 10.
[¶] 1 Sam. ubi supra, & xxi. 14, 15.

[§] Psal. xxxiv.

have him as a servant for ever. Preparing, soon after, to war with Saul, he told David, that he expected him to head his followers; promising to recompense him with some eminent post in his service. The Philistines first assembled at Shunem, and there encamped; from thence they removed to Aphek: here the several bodies of the Philistines appeared together, in a kind of review, under their respective chiefs, and David and his men followed after Achish; from whence it is gathered, that the post he promised him was, to be captain of his guard. At this disposition the lords and chiefs of the Philistines taking offence, expostulated with Achish; who in vain endeavoured to persuade them, that David was a fast and trusty friend. Instead of being satisfied with what the king said, they were incensed against him, and insisted on his immediately dismissing David, and sending him back to Ziklag, lest he should have it in his power to betray them in battle, with a view to reconcile himself with his natural lord and master. In short, they could not imagine, that David, who was the idol of his people, would forfeit his popularity, by fighting against them. Achish, unable to resist all this clamour, called David to him, and assured him, that, for his own part, he had the highest sense of his sincerity and merit, and had been perfectly satisfied with his behaviour ever since he had given him shelter; but that, since the lords were far from being disposed to think so well of him, it would be imprudent to contend against them; therefore he desired him to return quietly to Ziklag. David resenting the distrust which the lords entertained of him, and protesting his readiness to fight in his cause; Achish answered, with great earnestness, that he was fully convinced of his affection; that he had a singular veneration for him; and that, in his eyes, he was an angel of God; but that, seeing the Lords were so unreasonably bent against him, he must consent to set out for Ziklag early next morning.

David set out, accordingly; and Achish and the Philistines marched against Saul, who was encamped on Mount Gilboa. A battle was fought on that same mount, and the Philistines gained a complete victory over the Israelites, whom they drove before them with great slaughter; in particular, they pursued close after Saul and his sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchishua, whom they slew. They discharged their arrows, with great eagerness, after Saul, who was sore wounded by them; but they had not the honour of dispatching him: he fell, ere they reached

Yr. of Fl.
1292.
Ante Chr.
1056.

reached him, by his own weapon. Thus the Philistines, at length, obtained a complete victory; in consequence of which, they possessed themselves of a great part of the enemy's country. The day after the battle, when they came to strip the slain, they found Saul king of Israel, and his three sons, among the rest, in Mount Gilboa. They cut off Saul's head; stripped him of his armour, which they dedicated in the temple of Astaroth; and his body, and those, also, of his sons, they ignominiously hung upon the walls of Bethshan. But there they did not long remain. The inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, whom that monarch had lately saved from imminent destruction, took this opportunity of shewing their gratitude to their late deliverer, and, at the peril of their lives, bringing away those mangled remains from the enemy, gave them a more honourable burial in their own city².

After the battle of Gilboa, David removed from Ziklag to Hebron, where he was proclaimed king by the greatest part of the tribes. As for Achish, though we read no more of him, yet there is reason to suppose, that he continued his good offices to David for some considerable time; for, during the whole contest between him and Ishbosheth, the surviving son of Saul, the Philistines never offered to disturb him, though they might, at that juncture, have easily crushed him in the bud. This pacific disposition can hardly be ascribed to any thing but the kind interposition of Achish: however, the Philistines no sooner understood, that his rival was dead, and that all Israel and Judah had submitted themselves to him, than they renewed hostilities: but whether this rupture was owing to the loss of his friend and protector; to the jealousy the Philistines conceived of his great power; or to some other motive, the text leaves us quite in the dark. Be that as it will, they marched out and encamped in the valley of Rephaim: from thence they removed to Baal-Perazim, where they were encountered by David, and by him so completely overthrown, that, intent upon nothing but saving themselves, they left their baggage behind them, and even their gods, which they had carried about with them, in imitation of the Israelites, when they brought their ark into the field. The Philistines seem to have rallied again, to rescue their captive gods. They drew up in battalia, in the valley of Rephaim; but were defeated a-new by David, in a sudden onset, and pursued

Yr. of Fl.
1301.
Ante Chr.
1047.

² 1 Sam. xviii. xxix. xxxi.

with great slaughter, from Geba to Gazer^a, a place on their own frontiers.

The war did not end here; for, in a little time, they were invaded by David, and Metheg-Ammah was taken^b.

The Philistines had several men of extraordinary stature among them, and all, it seems, of the kindred of Goliath: and, though they had experienced the little use of such men in an army, yet they seem to have cast their eyes upon these, now flattering themselves, that, by their help, they might retrieve their honour, and take revenge on David. Wherefore, after they had lain quiet several years, they broke out into a war again with Israel, and their giants marched in their army. At length they came to battle, in which Ishbi-Benob (A), a son of Goliath, taking David at some disadvantage, had like to have slain him; but, missing his aim, he fell by the hand of this prince assisted by Abishai, although the head of his spear weighed three hundred shekels of brass, and he was, in an extraordinary manner, appointed for war. A second battle was fought near a place called Gob, wherein Saph, another son of Goliath, was slain by Sibbechai, the Hushathite; and a third at Gob, also, when Goliath's brother, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam, fell, by the valorous might of Elhanan the son of Jaare-Oregim, a Bethlehemite. From this last place the war was transferred into the territory of Gath; where, in a fourth battle, another son of Goliath, who had six fingers upon each hand, and six toes upon each foot, challenged, in imitation of his father, the whole army of Israel to send out one of their number to fight him; but he fell by the hand of Jonathan, the son of Shimea, the brother of David. The Philistines, thus exhausted of their gigantic brood; or perceiving that their mighty stature and strength could not secure victory, refrained from a farther prosecution of the war, which, notwithstanding their many losses, they had hitherto so obstinately maintained^c.

From henceforward the affairs of this people are more slightly touched on; whence it may be argued, that their power was greatly weakened; and, accordingly, we are told, that "their horn was broken asunder" by these unfortunate wars with David^d, who now made them tri-

Yr. of Fl.
1304.
Ante Chr.
1044.

^a 2 Sam. v. 17—25.
15—22.

^b 2 Sam. viii. 1.
^d Eccclus. xlvii. 3.

^c 2 Sam. xxi.

butaries to his throne; though, on the other hand, it may be also concluded, that, having so often, and to so little purpose, engaged in bloody and destructive wars, they grew wiser, and rather applied themselves to commerce, and the arts of peace (B). And hence it may be, that we find their country open to the Israelites in the beginning of Solomon's reign, Achish, the son of Maachah, then reigning at Gath; who, whether he is the same Achish who was so kind to David, we will not take upon us to determine, the commentators being divided in their opinions about this matter.

Yr. of Fl.
1395.
Ante Chr.
953.

Many years after these wars, the Philistines were harassed by Nadab king of Israel, who laid siege to a city of theirs, called Gibbethon; which city was again besieged by Elah king of Israel, some years afterwards; for it belonged to their kingdom, though the Philistines, finding it deserted by the Levites^a, seized on it, and kept it, in spite of the several efforts of the kings of Israel to tear it from them; that kingdom being then in great distraction.

But, notwithstanding this their vigorous opposition to the kings of Israel, they afterwards courted the favour of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, by a voluntary payment of the tribute, which had been, as we may hence conclude, imposed on them by their conqueror David (C); and which, it seems, they had neglected to pay to some of Jehoshaphat's predecessors.

^a 2 Chron. xi. 14.

(B) Sir Isaac Newton supposes, that they took Sidon by the advice and assistance of the Edomites; thereby meaning to extend their trade, which they had now chiefly at heart, by destroying so dangerous a rival. He also imagines this event to have fallen out in the reign of David: for he observes, that, in Solomon's reign, the Sidonians, though settled at Tyre, had not yet lost their name. We read in Justin, that Sidon was taken by the Philistines; though he seems to be mistaken, in saying

it was done by the king of Ascalon; for we do not read of a king of that place any where else. Remembering the story of the Syrian goddess Derceto, who was here metamorphosed, the Greeks and Romans may have considered the city of Ascalon as the metropolis of Palestine: whence we find the king of Palestine placed in that city by Trogus, whom Justin epitomizes.

(C) Josephus calls it their accustomed tribute; and none but David could have imposed it on them.

They

They rebelled against Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, broke into his kingdom, rifled his palace, and carried their rage against him to such a height, as to exterminate all his family, except Athaliah, and her son Ahaziah, who had the good luck to escape their fury. At this time also, they carried off a great number of captives, some of whom they sold to the Edomites^f, next to themselves, the worst enemies the Israelites had, and some to the Grecians^g; thereby sending them so far from home, that they could have but little or no chance of seeing their native country again. This extraordinary success may have been owing, in great measure, to the assistance they received from the Arabians, who, at the same period, made war upon the Israelites^h; but whether separately, or in conjunction with the Philistines, we know not.

Yr. of Fl.
1460.
Ante Chr.
888.

Whencesoever their success arose, in the end it proved very unfortunate. They were invaded by Uzziah king of Judah, who dismantled Gath, and Jabneh, and Ashdod; and built cities of strength among them, to awe, and keep them in subjection.

Yr. of Fl.
1541.
Ante Chr.
807.

They groaned under this fatal blow all the days of Uzziah, we may suppose, and, perhaps, of Jotham too; but, in the reign of Ahaz, perceiving the weak state of the kingdom of Judah, they took up arms again, and warred against Ahaz with such success, as made ample amends for the losses they had sustained in the time of Uzziah his grandfather; for, they reduced the cities of Bethshe-mesh, Ajalon, Gedoroth, Shochoh, Timnah, and Gimzo, and the several territories thereunto belonging, and there settled; thus adding a large portion of the kingdom of Judah to their own countryⁱ.

Yr. of Fl.
1608.
Ante Chr.
740.

But this fine acquisition was a very short time in their hands. They were, immediately after, admonished not to rejoice, because the rod of him that smote them was broken; "for that out of the serpent's root should come forth a cockatrice—which should dissolve their whole country^k." A prophecy which was severely fulfilled by Hezekiah the son of Ahaz, whom they had conquered: this prince over-ran their whole country^l; and, to add to their misfortunes, they were, at the same time, attacked by the Assyrians in the reign of Sennacherib, who sent his general Tartan to reduce them. Their city Ashdod

Yr. of Fl.
1635.
Ante Chr.
713.

^f Amos i. 6. ^g Joel iii. 6. ^h 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17.
ⁱ 2 Chron. xxviii. 18. ^k Isa. xiv. 29—31. ^l 2 Kings
xviii. 8.

was besieged accordingly, and taken by him ^m; and thus were they, at length, reduced to the lowest ebb of misfortune.

And now the period of their final destruction was come. By their subjection to the Assyrians, they not only lost their liberties, but, at the same time, their country became the seat of a long and obstinate war. For Psammetichus king of Egypt, jealous of the growing power of the Assyrians, and apprehensive that Egypt might share the fate of its neighbour, undertook to drive them out of Palestine. With this view, he laid siege to Ashdod or Azotus; but he was twenty-nine years before that place ere he could reduce it ⁿ; during which time, it cannot be doubted, but that the country sighed under all the calamities usual in such cases.

Yr. of Fl.
1678.
Ante Chr.
674.

From thenceforward they were tributary to the great monarchies, as they succeeded each other. In the beginning of this slavery they were miserably harassed by the Egyptians, who, willing to make their barrier as strong as possible, seized on great part of their country, and particularly on the city of Gaza ^o.

After this period, we read of a king of Gaza ^p, concerning whom we have nothing to add; nor have we any thing else to say of the Philistines in general. What, in the end, became of them, will be best learned from the threats of the prophets, and particularly Zephaniah, who paints their destruction in very lively colours: "Gaza shall be forsaken, and Ashkelon a desolation: they shall drive out Ashdod at the noon day, and Ekron shall be rooted up. Wo unto the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, the nation of the Cherethites! the word of the Lord is against you: O Canaan, the land of the Philistines, I will destroy thee, that there shall be no inhabitant; and the sea-coasts shall be dwellings and cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks ^q."

^m Isa. xxi. 1.
xlvii. 1.

ⁿ Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 157.

^o Jerem.

^p Zech. ix. 5.

^q Zephani. xi. 4—6. Joel iii.

Amos i. Jerem. xlvii. Ezek. xxv. Zech. ubi supra.

C H A P. V.

The History of the Ancient Syrians.

S E C T. I.

A Description of Syria.

SYRIA is, in Hebrew, Aram; so named from Aram, *its name* the youngest son of Shem. This Hebrew name is of very wide extent, perhaps of little less than the Greek name Syria; at least it included what we now call Syria and Mesopotamia, which is the Aram Naharaim, or Syria of the Two Rivers.

Aram, then, is its first, and genuine name: as for that of Syria, some derive it from one Syrus, who sprung from the earth; others, from Syrus, the son of Agenor. Other opinions are not wanting, on this subject; but the most common, and best grounded, is, that Syria is a contraction of Assyria^d; these two names being confounded, and indifferently used, by the ancients (A).

Authors are not agreed upon the exact bounds of this country, because they consider it at different times, when its name was more or less famous, and its empire more or less extensive. But, confining ourselves to the proper Syria, we may venture to determine its dimensions. It lay between the Mediterranean on the west, the Euphrates on the east, mount Taurus on the north, and Arabia the Desert, Palestine, and Phœnice, on the south; extending from the thirty-fourth to the thirty-eighth degree of north latitude.

Syria, in ancient times, has been variously divided. *Its divisions.* At first, it was, without doubt, parcelled out into several little kingdoms and jurisdictions; in after-times it seems to have been divided into four principal provinces, Zobah, Damascus, Hamath, and Geshur; the rest we find in Scripture, such as Beth-Rehob, Isshtob, Maacha, were probably sub-divisions. Afterwards the whole country

^d. Vide Herodotus, lib. vii. cap. 63. Justin, lib. i. cap. 2.

(A) Mr. Selden, in his *Prolegomena* to his *Syrian Gods*, has dwelt on this point, to whom we refer our reader, who would be thoroughly informed and convinced thereof. We shall only add, that Lucian, who was himself a Syrian of Samosata, calls himself an Assyrian.

was distinguished into two parts only, though the Phœnicians, Idumæans, Jews, Gazites, and Azotites, or the whole country of the Philistines, were included; which two parts were Cœlesyria and Phœnice¹. After the death of Alexander, Syria, in the great extent of its name, was thus divided; Commagene, Seleucis of Syria, Cœlesyria, Phœnice, on the sea-coast, and Judæa, in the midland. This is Strabo's division; who, nevertheless, elsewhere distinguishes Phœnice from Syria; but Ptolemy subdivides these, and in the proper Syria only reckons Commagene, Pieria, Cyrrhistica, or Cyrrhestica, Salucis, Cassiotis, or Casiotis, Chalybonitis, Chalcidice, or Chalcidene, Apamene, Laodicene, Phœnicia Mediterranea, Cœlesyria, and Palmyrene.

*Comma-
gene.*

To follow the division of Ptolemy: Commagene, or Comagene, had, on the west, Mount Amanus; on the north, part of Mount Taurus; on the east, it was washed by the Euphrates; but on the south, whether it was contiguous to Seleucis, Cyrrhestica, or both, is uncertain; it was the north corner of Syria. The chief cities of this province were, Samosata upon the Euphrates, the metropolis, Antiochia ad Taurum, Germanicia², Singa, Chaoxia, and several other cities, once of great note, but long since utterly destroyed.

Seleucis contained, according to Strabo's division, Pieria and Casiotis; the first lying to the north, and the last to the south. Ptolemy divides this tract into Pieria, Seleucis, and Casiotis; but the whole is comprised, by Mela and Pliny, under the general name of Antiochene, answering to Strabo's Seleucis. In this part of Syria stood the following cities; Myriandrus on the Sinus Issicus, or the Issic gulph, Rhofus, or Rhossus, Seleucia, Posidonium, Heraclea, Laodicea Gabala, Pablos Bala-næa, and Carne, on the borders of Syria and Phœnice. Seleucia was so called from Seleucus Nicator, who repaired and embellished it with many magnificent buildings. It is constantly styled by the ancients Seleucia Pieria, or Seleucia on the Coast; to distinguish it from the other eight cities, to which Seleucus Nicator gave the same name³. It borrowed the name of Pieria from the province, as the province did from Mount Pierius, which stood in it, and was so called, by the Macedonians, from its resemblance to the famous Mount Pierius in Greece.

¹ Strabo, lib. xvi. sub initio.
Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 526.

² Pliny, lib. v. cap. 24.
³ Appian. Syriac. p. 102.

Of all the cities bearing the same name, this, and Seleucia on the Tigris, were the most renowned. Alexandria is, by Ptolemy^b, placed in Syria; but by Pliny^c, and most other geographers, in Cilicia; and perhaps, more properly, as it stood without the Pylæ Syriæ, commonly said to be the boundaries between Syria and Cilicia. Between Seleucia and Posidonium, was the island of Meliloca, formed by the stagnant waters of the Orontes, and once famous for its scarlet dye.

Thus far of the cities on the coast. In the inland, or Mediterranean Seleucis, stood the famous Antioch on the Orontes, Seleucia ad Belum, or at the foot of Mount Belus, Apamea, Emiffa, or Emefa, Epiphanca, Lariffa, Arethufa, &c. Antioch was the metropolis of all Syria, and the usual residence of the Macedonian kings. It consisted of four parts, each separated from the rest by its own wall, and all enclosed by a common fortification. Of the founders of these cities, we shall have occasion to speak in our history of the Seleucidæ in Syria. Apamea, so called from Apama, wife to Seleucus Nicator, by whom it was founded, stood near the confluence of the rivers Orontes and Marfyas, and gave the name of Apamene to the adjoining country. Emefa was anciently a city of great note, and the birth-place of the emperor Heliogabalus. It is supposed to have stood on the spot where the present town of Hamfa stands; which name some derive from Emefa.

Cyrrhestica lay between Seleucis, Comagene, and the Euphrates. It was so called from its metropolis Cyrrhus, and Cyrrhus from a city of the same name in Macedon. The other cities in this part of Syria, of great note, were Hierapolis, called also Bambyce, and by the Syrians Magog, Heraclea, and Berœa. Zeugma is placed, by Ptolemy, in this province; but by Strabo, and Pliny, in Comagene. Bambyce was the ancient name of the city we have first mentioned; but Seleucus changed it into that of Hierapolis, or the Holy City; probably on account of the worship that was there paid to the Syrian goddesses. Ælian speaks of sacred fishes at Bambyce, we suppose in the river Singas, on which it stood, that were constantly seen in shoals; one, that seemed to be their prince, or leader, swimming before the rest. He adds, that they cultivated a kind of friendship with each other, the goddesses inspiring them with a wonderful union and agree-

^b Ptolemy, lib. v. cap. 15.

^c Lib. v. cap. 27.

ment. The present city of Aleppo, or Chalep, as the Greek writers of the middle age style it, is thought to have succeeded in the room of Berœa. Zeugma was so called from a famous bridge there over the Euphrates, said by Pliny, Dion Cassius, the poet Lucan, and Stephanus, to have been built by Alexander the Great, on occasion of his crossing that river with his army. But Arrian writes, that Alexander passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, having first repaired the bridge that Darius had built there*. And truly this route was much shorter, and far more convenient for Alexander, who was then returning from Egypt to meet Darius marching from Babylon. Thapsacus lay in his way; whereas he must have fetched a great circuit to pass the river at Zeugma, which it is highly improbable he did, as he had a bridge much nearer, that only wanted a little repair.

Chalcidene. Chalcidene was wholly an inland province, being bounded by Antiochene, or Seleucis, on the west; Cyrrhestica on the north; Chalybonitis on the east; and by Apamene and Coelesyria on the south. It took the name of Chalcidene from its metropolis Chalcis, the only city of note in this province, though commended by Pliny as the most fertile of all Syria.

Chalybonitis. Chalybonitis extended from Coelesyria to the Euphrates, and was so called from Chalybon, the only city it contained worthy of notice. Some, supposing Chalep to be an abbreviation of Chalybon, conclude Aleppo, or Chalep, and Chalybon, to be one and the same city; but Chalybon is placed by Ptolemy at the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, and seventy-first of longitude, and consequently a great way south of the present Aleppo.

Palmyrene. Palmyrene was a spacious and fertile province in the midst of a frightful desert, having Chalybonitis to the north; Coelesyria to the west; the Euphrates to the east; and Arabia Deserta to the south. The chief cities of this province were Palmyra and Thapsacus. Of Palmyra, which gave name to the province, and the ruins, that are still to be seen in the place where it stood, we shall speak anon; and only observe in this place, that the inhabitants having revolted from the emperor Aurelian, and adhered to one Antiochus, or Achilles, as Vopiscus calls him, who had assumed the purple, their city was, by the emperor's orders, rased to the ground. Aurelian soon re-

* Plin. lib. v. cap. 24. Dio. lib. xi, p. 123. Lucan. lib. viii. ver. 237. Arrian. lib. iii. p. 163.

pented of what he had done, and ordered it to be rebuilt; but it never rose again to its ancient splendor; nay, in the time of the emperor Justinian, the far greater part of it still lay in ruins. Thapsacus is placed by Ptolemy in Arabia Deserta; but by Pliny and Stephanus in Syria. The latter writer tells us, that it was built by Seleucus; but he is certainly mistaken; since it is mentioned by Xenophon, in his account of the expedition of Cyrus. It could, therefore, be only repaired and embellished by Seleucus. In the time of the Macedonian kings, it was known by the Greek name Amphipolis¹. Here Cyrus, with his whole army, forded the Euphrates on foot, the water reaching no higher than their breasts. At the same place Darius crossed the same river on a bridge, as he marched into Cilicia to meet Alexander; and repassed it on his return, as he fled from that conqueror. Strabo makes frequent mention of Thapsacus, and places it at the distance of two thousand stadia from Zeugma. It seems also to be mentioned in holy writ; for where Solomon's empire is said to have extended "from Thiphfach, to Azzah, or Gaza," the Greek has Thapsa, and the Vulgate Thaphsa; and the river mentioned there, as the boundary of Solomon's dominions, is, by the Chaldee, interpreted the Euphrates, and very rightly, in the opinion of Bonfrerius and Grotius; since David extended his empire to the banks of that river; so that it was bounded on the east by the Euphrates, on which Thapsacus stood; and on the west by Gaza, on the confines of Egypt.

Cœlesyria, properly so called, lay, according to Strabo, *Cœlesyria.* whom we choose to follow, between the two mountains Libanus and Antilibanus, and was thence called Cœlesyria, or the Hollow Syria. The principal cities in this part were, Heliopolis, Abila, Damascus, and Laodicea Cabiosa, or Ad Libanum. Heliopolis, or the city of the Sun, so called from the worship paid there to that luminary, is placed by Pliny near the head of the Orontes. Of the stately remains of this city, now known by the name of Balbeck, we shall speak hereafter. Abila stood, according to Ptolemy, between Heliopolis and Damascus. That geographer styles it Abila Lyfaniæ, which agrees with St. Luke's division of the tetrarchy. From Abila the neighbouring country took the name of Abilene.

¹ Pliny, lib. v. cap. 24. Vopisc. in Aurel. cap. 30. Zos. cap. 61. Procop. de Ædific. lib. ii. in fin. Xenophon, de Gr. Exped. lib. i. p. 150.

Zosimus places a town, named Aphaca, half way between Heliopolis and Byblus, famous for a temple of Venus, and a lake near it, in which the gifts, that were offered to the goddess, however light, sunk to the bottom, if acceptable; but if displeasing, floated, however heavy, on the surface of the water^a. Seneca^a mentions a lake in Syria (no doubt the same), on which even the heaviest bodies floated; but he takes no notice either of the goddess, or the gifts offered to her. The temple of Venus at Aphaca was a school of wickedness, as Eusebius styles it, and therefore rased to the ground by Constantine the Great^b. Damascus is frequently mentioned, both by the sacred and profane historians. It was once the metropolis of Syria, and, in Strabo's time, a most conspicuous city^c. The emperor Julian, surnamed the Apostate, styles it, "the eye of all the East, the sacred and most magnificent Damascus." He commends it on account of its temples, fountains, rivers, the richness and fertility of its soil^d. Some of the ancients suppose this city to have been built by one Damascus, whose name it borrowed; but the most generally received opinion is, that it was founded by Uz, Aram's eldest son^e. Be this as it will, it was in being in Abraham's time, and consequently may be reckoned one of the most ancient cities now extant. Of the several vicissitudes it underwent, in ancient times, under its own and foreign princes, we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel (C). The city of Laodicea, called by

^a Zos. lib. i. cap. 58.

^a Senec. *Quæst. Nat.* lib. iii. cap.

26. ^b Euseb. in *Vit. Const.* lib. iii. cap. 55.

^c Stra-

bo, lib. xvii. p. 520.

^d Julian, *Imp. Ap.* xxiv. ad *Serap.*

^e Bochart, *Geog. Sacr.* lib. ii. cap. 8.

(C) The city of Damascus, according to Mr. Maundrell's account, is situated on an even plain of so great extent, that one can but just discern the mountains, which compass it on the farther side. It stands on the west-side of the plain, about two miles distant from the head of the river Barrady, which waters it. It is of a long, strait figure, about two miles in extent, adorned with mosques and steeples, and in-

compassed with gardens, according to computation, full thirty miles round. The river Barrady, as soon as it issues out from between the clefts of the Antilibanus into the plain, is divided into three streams, whereof the middlemost and largest runs directly to Damascus, and is distributed to all the cisterns and fountains of the city; while the other two, which seem to be the work of art, are drawn round, one to the

by some Laodicea Cabiosa, but most commonly Laodicea ad Libanum^b, to distinguish it from a city of the same name, which we have mentioned above, on the coast of Seleucis, stood on the Orontes, not far from Mount Libanus to the west, and near the borders of the Proper Cœlesyria to the south. From hence, the adjoining territory, which Ptolemy makes a separate province, took the name of Laodicene.

Under the Roman empire, Syria proper, was divided *Other divisions.* into Camagene, or Euphratenis, Syria Palmyrena, or Syria Salutaris, and Phœnicia Libani, or Libanesia. The Arabs reckon Palestine into Syria on the one hand, and even Cilicia on the other, and call it Sham; and Abu'l-feda divides the whole into five juuds or provinces; the Kynnesryne, Hemsene, Damascene, Jordanitic, and Palestine.

^b Strabo, lib. xvi. p. 520. Pliny, lib. v. cap. 23.

the right hand, and the other to the left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let by little currents, and so every where dispersed. The houses of the city, whose streets are very narrow, are all built, on the outside, either with sun-burnt brick, or Flemish wall; and yet it is no uncommon thing to see the gates and doors adorned with marble portals, carved and inlaid with great beauty and variety; and, within these portals, to find large square courts, beautified with fragrant trees, and marble fountains, and compassed round with splendid apartments. In these apartments the ceilings and traves are usually painted and gilded; and their duans, which are a sort of low stages, seated in the pleasantest part of the room, elevated about sixteen or eighteen inches above the floor, whereon the Turks eat, sleep, smoke, receive visits, say their prayers, &c. are adorned on the sides with

variety of marble mixed in Mosaic knots and mazes, spread with carpets, and furnished all round with bolsters and cushions to the very height of luxury. In this city is shewn the church of John the Baptist, now converted into a famous mosque; the house of Ananias, which is only a small grotto or cellar, wherein is nothing remarkable; and the house of Judas, with whom St. Paul lodged, wherein is an old tomb, the supposed burying-place of Ananias, which the Turks hold in such veneration, that they maintain a lamp continually burning over it. This is the substance of Dr. Maundrell's account; to which we add, that the fruit tree called the damascene, and the flower called the damask-rose, were transplanted from the gardens belonging to this city; and that the silks and linen, known by the name of damasks, were probably the invention of its inhabitants.

Fertility.

Such is the fertility of this country, that it may be styled a pleasant garden. It abounds with all things, both for the profit and delight of man. It is mostly a level champaign, covered with a rich deep soil, and yields to no spot on earth that lies under the same parallel.

Rivers.

The rivers of this country are, the Orontes (B), a turbid, rapid stream, the waters unwholesome, and fish not eatable^f; the Barrady, formerly the Chrysorrhoas, which rushing from Antilibanus down to Damascus, is there divided into endless streams, for the supply and decoration of that city; but uniting again at some distance from it, they lose themselves in a morass^g. The Abana and Pharpar must have been only branches (C) of this river.

Natural rarities.

Other particulars remarkable in this country are the two valleys of salt; one within four hours of Aleppo, the other in the neighbourhood of Palmyra^h; which produce that mineral in surprising abundance, the soil to a considerable depth being strongly impregnated. The medicinal waters also in and about Palmyraⁱ might claim our attention. Among the extraordinary productions of this country, we may also reckon the few cedars which are

^f See Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 4.
^g Ibid. p. 123. ^h Philosoph. Transact. Numb. 217. p. 83,

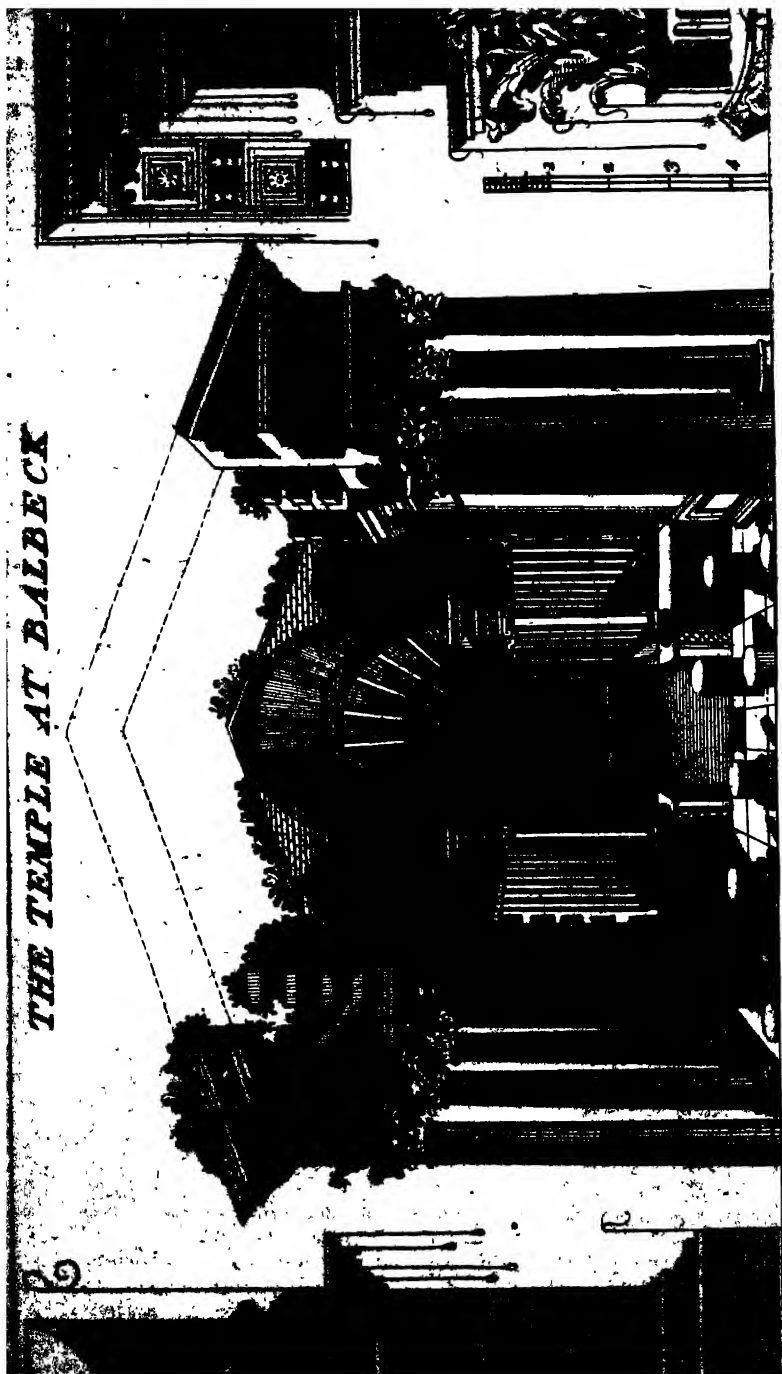
ⁱ Ibid. p. 103, 104.

(B) This river, according to Strabo, disappeared at a place called Charybdis, between Apamea and Antioch; and after having run five miles underground, emerged.

(C) Radziville, the palatine of Wilna, tells us roundly of the rivers Abana and Pharpar, which watered the city of Damascus when he was there, in the sixteenth century; and that they were then unnavigable, but full of fish, and streamed down from the mountain Chrizoroa, which should have been written Chrysorrhoas, the Greek name of the river which watered Damascus, and not of any mountain there. Thevenot never once mentions the rivers Abana and Pharpar, but describes three rivers that

water Damascus, and meet at the end of the town; one of which, in the chapter following, he calls Baniás. There is no footstep of the names Abana and Pharpar among the best Arabian geographers. Abu'lfeḍā says the stream, which supplies Damascus, comes out of a cavern on the west side of the city, and immediately divides; which is so exactly Dr. Maundrell's description of this water, that they very abundantly confirm each other. This last traveller could not so much as find any memory of the names of Abana and Pharpar; and supposes they must have been branches of this river Barrady, which comes out of the rock.

THE TEMPLE AT BALBECK



now standing upon Libanon, or Libanus, near a Chanaan monastery, called Canobine, about ten hours journey from Tripoly. Of the old trees, which are very large, there are only sixteen. One of these being measured, was found to be twelve yards six inches in circumference, yet perfectly found, its branches spreading thirty-seven yards around; about five or six yards from the ground it divided itself into five branches, each equal to a great tree^k (D).

Though there are many noble vestiges of the magnificence of Syria scattered up and down the country, both Pagan and Christian, we shall only mention Balbek, formerly Heliopolis, as is commonly supposed, and Palmyra, or Tadmor, in the wilderness.

Balbek, or Balbeck, is described by the Arabians as the wonder of Syria (E); and such of our European travellers as have visited it, are so charmed with what they beheld, that they are at a loss how to express their admiration. On the south-west of the town, which stands in a delightful plain at the foot of Antilibanus, is a heathen temple, with the remains of some other edifices, and, among the rest, of a magnificent palace. These ancient structures have been patched and pieced in later times, and converted into a castle.

The fine ruins of Heliopolis, now Balbek

The magnificent ruins of Palmyra seem equally to claim our admiration. We shall not here examine who was the original founder of this city, nor to whom we are indebted for what now stands of this desolate and abandoned town; we may safely premise, however, we see no remains of Solomon's Tadmor, the city having been more than once sacked and demolished since his time, as will appear hereafter.

The ruins of Palmyra

^k Maundrell, ubi supra, p. 141.

(D) These trees, however, are so differently described by different travellers, that we cannot pretend to ascertain the truth, nor indeed is it of any importance to the history. where are wonderful foundations, and magnificent vestiges of antiquity, and palaces with marble columns, such as in the whole world are no where else to be seen." And Abu'l-feda observes, "At Balbek

(E) The Arabian lexicographer, cited by Shultens in his geographical commentary, at the end of his edition of Sultan Salah'addin's Life, says, "Balbek is a city of three days journey from Damascus, are palaces of hewn stone, with lofty columns; nor is there in all Syria any stone structure more admirable or magnificent."

The History of the Ancient Syrians.

Palmyra, by the Greeks and Romans; in the Scripture, Tadmor in the wilderness; by Josephus, Palmira and Thadamor; by the Septuagint copies, Theodmor and Thedmor; and by the Arabs and Syrians at this day, Tadmor, Tadmur, and Tatmor; was once a noble city in the southern parts of Syria (F). It stood on a fertile island, if we may so call it, surrounded on all sides by a parched barren desert. The first object that now presents itself to the traveller who approaches this forlorn place is a castle of mean architecture, and uncertain foundation; though formerly by situation impregnable, about half an hour from the city, on the north side. From thence we descry Tadmor, enclosed on three sides by long ridges of mountains; but to the south is a vast plain, which bounds the visible horizon. The air is exceeding good, but the soil is barren (G), affording nothing green but a few palm-trees. The city must have been of large extent, we judge from the space now taken up by the ruins, but there are no vestiges of the walls, so that its ancient form cannot be known. It is now a deplorable spectacle, inhabited by thirty or forty miserable families, who have built huts of mud within a spacious court, which once enclosed a magnificent heathen temple (H).

S E C T.

(F) Schultens, in his geographical commentary, observes, that in the text it is written Tamor, and in the margin Tadmor. Tamor he reckons to have become the usual name of this place, for softness sake, and to refer to tamar, the *palm*, with which this place abounded. He supposes also, that originally in Arabic they did not spell it Tadmor, but Tadmur; and thus he accordingly finds it in his Arabic geographical lexicon; as if you should say palmiferous, or *palm-bearing*; the *r*, for sound sake, being changed into *w*. The alteration of this name he ascribes wholly to the Romans, who, upon finding the place called Tadmor, or Tadmur, may at first

have corrupted it into Talmura; but that soon after, understanding the city had its name from its palm-trees, they converted Talmura into Palmura; whence Palmyra.

(G) Not that it had always the same sterile appearance. Abu'Iseda, who, though he calls Tadmor a small city in the desert of Syria, yet places it in Arabia, writes, that Palmyrene, for the most part, abounded in salt, and that the palm and olive flourished there; adding, that there are many great and noble ruins there to be seen. In him moreover we read, that it had perpetual springs, and yielded fruit and corn.

(H) Those who are curious to know the particulars of these

The History of the Ancient Syrians.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Ancient Syrians.

THE ancient Syrians, or Aramites (I), scarce yielded *Antiquity.* to any nation under the sun, in point of antiquity, being the first that inhabited the fertile and well-situated region of their abode after the general deluge, as we have already observed. But the posterity of Shem by Aram did not possess this country wholly to themselves; their relations of Canaan's line, being streightened for want of room in the places where they settled at first, encroached upon them by degrees, seized on a portion of their lot, and kept it, till they were both involved in the same captivity and destruction. We are of opinion that most of these Canaanite families, if not all, fixed their abode in Syria (K). But whether the greater part of the country was possessed by the Aramites, or by the Canaanites, we cannot determine. The ancient Syrians then were partly descended from Ham, and partly from Shem, both of almost the same standing in this country, and very little behind any nation in point of antiquity.

That they were anciently governed by heads of families, called kings, and that there were great numbers of these sovereigns in the country, is certain; and no less certain it is, that they continued under the same government, in part, even to the days of Saul, as appears from the kings of Zobah, and the petty kings in Mesopotamia, *Government.*

these magnificent ruins, which still mark the places where Balbek and Palmyra stood, comprehending the remains of temples, porticos, rotundos, theatres, palaces, and sepulchres, adorned with a vast profusion of marble columns, and every ornament of sculpture, may peruse the descriptions of them given in the travels of Maundrell and La Roque, together with the elegant copper-plates published by Mr. Wood, from drawings made on the spot.

(I) This name was not wholly unknown to the Greeks. Strabo calls them Aramæi; "for those (says he) whom we call Syrians, style themselves Arameans." Hence the Arami, Arimi, and Erembi.

(K) The Arabs have a tradition, that there were Canaanites very anciently in Syria; for they talk of Dimashe the son of Canaan, who built the famous city of Damascus.

who

who were summoned to attend Benhadad in his wars. Seeing, therefore, that this most simple and natural form of government obtained among their neighbours in Canaan on the one hand, and in Mesopotamia on the other, and that we find vestiges of the same in Syria itself, down to the days of Saul, we cannot doubt but that they were at first divided into many small kingdoms. Not that this was the only form that seems to have taken place; for, as Gibeon in Canaan, in the days of Joshua, seems to have been a commonwealth among the many kingdoms there; so Damascus in Syria appears to have been a republic in David's time. What we have to offer in support of this opinion is not indisputably clear; but Damascus is spoken of as without a chief, and as if the power was wholly in the people in David's time. It is said that the Syrians of Damascus¹, not their king, sent an army of upwards of twenty thousand to the relief of Hadadezer king of Zobah; a passage that seems to imply a kind of republican government. The foundation and nature of the kingdom of Zobah we pretend not to speak of; but that of Damascus, which rose upon its ruins, as Zobah did upon the subversion of the smaller principalities, seems to have been of the tyrannical and arbitrary kind. The kingdom of Damascus was established by violence; whence we may conclude its government to have answered to its origin, haughty, uncontrollable, and ambitious to subdue its neighbours; and, in truth, it rose to the universal monarchy of all the parts on both sides of the Euphrates, under Hazael, as will be shewn in its due place.

*Their
laws.*

We have little or no knowledge of their laws and civil regulations; but we are not so much at a loss for what concerns their religion.

*Their reli-
gion.*

It is certain they had many idols of very great repute; among the rest Rimmon (D), whose temple stood at Damascus; and who, in all probability, was the principal god of Damascene.

¹ 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6.

(D) This name, in the language of the Old Testament, signifies a *pomegranate*; whence this deity, whether god or goddess, is thought to have borne some relation to Venus. Selden is most inclined to derive it from *rum*, *high*, or *lofty*. We forbear to speak of Gad, and

refer the reader to this last author. The Syrians had a deity also called Babia, a goddess, from whom the children and young people were called Babias, thought, perhaps, to be under her tutelage; and our English word, *babe*, may thence have been borrowed.

This

This ancient deity, in time, gave way to another; for the Syrians deified their king, Benhadad II. under the style of Adad, or Ader (E). This god, and others of the same stamp, flourished as long, we may suppose, as the ancient Syrians possessed this country; but both they and their gods, in a great measure, underwent the same fate when Syria was conquered, and the people transplanted by Tiglath-Pileser.

At this period the religion of the country may be said to have changed its face; a new idolatry was introduced, or many additions to the old were brought in by the new inhabitants, who were sent hither by the Assyrians. What changes and alterations this system suffered under the Babylonians first, the Persians afterwards, and lastly, under the Seleucidæ and Romans, we cannot presume to say; but an account of it, such as it was in the second century of the Christian æra, we shall borrow from Lucian, who was an eye-witness of what he says, for the most part, and the rest he learnt from the priests.

At Hierapolis, or the Holy City, or Magog, as the Syrians themselves are said to have called it, in the province of Cyrrhestica, stood the temple of the great Syrian goddess (F), upon an eminence in the midst of the city, surrounded by a double inclosure, or two walls. At the north side it had a court or porch before it, of about five

(E) Adad is also called Adod, the *king of the gods*, and Adad is interpreted *one*; according to the Scripture orthography, it ought to be spelled Hadad, as is plain from Josephus; who, in speaking of the Scripture kings of Syria, calls them Adad, or Ader. By Adad they meant the *sun*, and pictured him with rays darting downwards, to express his beneficence. This high compliment might have suited better with Hazael, whose reign was a continued series of prosperity, than with Benhadad, who was several times unfortunate: but, as Josephus tells us, they were

both deified, and as Adad, or Hadad, was a name common to all the kings of Syria, it may have been the Hazael of Scripture, who was so highly revered (1).

(F) Who the Syrian goddess was it is impossible positively to determine; but we find an account in Justin of a king, from whom Damascus derived its name, who had a queen called Arathis, esteemed as their principal deity; and this queen, according to Nicolas of Damascus, was older than Abraham, whom he reckons among the kings of Damascus.

(1) Apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. cap. 6.

or six hundred feet in circumference, where stood the priaps, three hundred fathom, or three hundred cubits high; for we find both these measures; but both seem to us exorbitantly large. These obscene images, or rather columns, were but slender, as we shall shew hereafter; but by whom, or to whom, they were erected, was the subject of much fable. The front of the temple itself stood east, and before it was a tower, raised upon a terrace, about twelve feet high; which was no sooner mounted than the temple appeared. It was built after the manner of the Ionian temples; the porch adorned with golden doors, nay, the whole edifice glittered with gold, and particularly the roof. The air was nothing inferior to the sweetest of Arabia, and it so strongly perfumed the garments of all who visited the temple, that they retained the fragrancy for a considerable time[†].

Idols, statues, &c. in and about the temple.

This temple was not without its sanctuary, into which no admission was allowed, even to such of the priests as were not, in an especial manner, allied to the gods kept, or wholly addicted to their service and worship. Within the sanctuary, which was always open, were the statues of Jupiter and Juno, as the Greeks were pleased to call them, though the inhabitants worshipped them under other names, which, however, we cannot specify. These statues were of gold. Juno sat upon lions, and Jupiter was supported by bulls, resembling, in aspect and attitude, the Jupiter of the Greeks; but the statue of Juno was contrived so as to participate of Minerva, Venus, Luna, Rhea, Diana, Nemesis, and the Destinies, according to the different points of view. In one hand she held a sceptre, in the other a distaff; on her head appeared rays and a tower, and she was girt with the cestus, or girdle of the celestial Venus. She was adorned with a great variety of gems, which had, from time to time, been presented to her by Egyptians, Indians, Ethiopians, Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians. But, of all these, the most remarkable was the lychnis which she wore at her side. This stone is said to shine most by candle-light; and with it she illuminated, says our author, the temple by night. In the day-time it had no remarkable lustre, but only looked like fire. This statue, on whatever side of it the person stood, still looked at him. Between Jupiter and Juno was another golden statue, but with no characteristics, or peculiar ensigns, and only called the

[†] Lucian Syr. Dec. cap. xxviii—xxxvii.

Sign. It is uncertain who was represented by this statue ; but, because it had a golden dove on its head, some were willing to think it was designed for Semiramis. Twice every year it was carried in procession to the sea-side. On the left hand, going into the temple, was the throne of the Sun, but it had no statue : for they held it absurd to make statues of the Sun or Moon, who were so resplendently visible to mortal eyes ; but reasonable, on the other hand, to form the statues of such as were invisible. Near this throne was the statue of Apollo, not a stripling, but with a large beard ; for they could not endure the thoughts of addressing themselves to any god that was under age ; and moreover, they covered this idol with cloaths, a compliment which was paid to no other. Next to Apollo stood Atlas, then Mercury, then Lucina ; all which statues constituted the side furniture of the temple. On the right hand of the entrance was placed Semiramis, pointing to Juno ; for that empress had had the arrogance place herself above all other deities, but, being severely punished by the gods, who persecuted her with diseases, and various calamities, to humble her pride, she at last submitted to the goddesses. For this reason she was figured as pointing to Juno, in perpetual acknowledgement of her arrogant error ; and to direct people that the said goddess was the true object of adoration. Next to Semiramis was Helen ; then Hecuba, Andromache, Paris, Hector, Achilles, Nereus, the son of Aglaia, Philomel and Progne, Tereus turned into a bird, another statue of Semiramis, Combabus, Stratonice, Alexander, done after the life, and Sardanapalus, in a peculiar habit and attitude. Under this temple they shewed the cleft where the waters drained off at Deucalion's flood : on this place, said they, did Deucalion erect an altar to Juno ; and this tradition brought on an extraordinary ceremony, which we shall mention hereafter.

Finally, within the inclosures of the temple, the priests kept oxen, horses, lions, bears, eagles ; which were no way noxious to men, but all sacred and tame.

Close to the temple was a lake where sacred fishes were preserved and attended. Some of the largest had names, and appeared when called. One of these had golden fins. The lake itself was two hundred fathom deep, as the priests reported ; and, in the midst of it, stood a stone altar, which seemed to swim, as the pillar that supported it, was not easily to be discerned. This altar was for ever crowned, and smoking with incense. Without the

The sacred lake.

the temple stood a large brazen altar, with statues of kings and priests, almost innumerable.

Oracle.

The oracle in the temple was altogether surprising, and may serve to evince how deeply the priests were versed in the mystery of their profession. Here were images that seemed to move, sweat, and deliver responses; but that of Apollo was the chief oracle. When he condescended to answer those who consulted him, he first began to move; upon which he was immediately lifted up by the priests; for, if they did not run to his assistance, he soon fell into violent agonies and convulsions. However, the priests who came to his assistance he treated very roughly, till the high priest, coming up to him, proposed his question. He had the direction of all matters sacred and civil, being upon all occasions consulted; and he always declared the time when it was proper to carry the image we have called the Sign, in procession to the sea. In fine, our author assures us, that he saw this god walk in the air^g.

Riches of the temple.

The revenues and treasure of this temple were in proportion to its splendor; to the great majesty of the goddess, and to the mighty power and excellence of her kindred deities that attended her. Arabia, Phœnice, Babylonia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Syria, paid liberal contributions. Here were costly presents shewn in garments, and other things, of inestimable value, which were carefully kept; so that, in this respect, it was a very Loretto.

Above three hundred priests, in white habits, with caps or bonnets on their heads, attended the sacrifices. Besides these, there were consecrated orders of minstrels skilful in the touch of several instruments, galli, or eunuch-priests, and frantic women. The office of high priest was annual: he wore purple, and a golden mitre. Other persons there were, of the several nations, who held the Syrian goddess in veneration, whose business it was to instruct their countrymen (who from time to time resorted hither in pilgrimage) in the rules and customs of this holy city. They were called masters or instructors.

It is remarkable of their eunuch-priests, that they were emasculated by the voluntary operation of their own hands. How this unnatural custom came to prevail, is accounted for by the following story: Stratopice, who built this temple, having for some time neglected the ad-

^g Lucian. de Dea Syr. cap. 35.

monitions of the goddesses, requiring her to undertake the work, was afflicted with a grievous distemper, as a judgment, in consequence of which she obeyed the injunction^a. The king, her husband, readily agreed to her obeying the goddesses; but committed the care of her to a beautiful youth, named Combabus, who, no way fond of his commission, but dreading the consequences of being so much alone with the beauteous queen, deprived himself of the marks of his sex, and gave them, carefully sealed up, to the king. Being afterwards tempted by the queen to betray his trust, he acquainted her with the condition to which he had voluntarily reduced himself. However, he was, through malice or envy, convicted of adultery, and condemned to expiate with his death his infidelity to his prince, and impiety to the goddesses. As they were leading him to the place of execution, he called for the treasure he had left with the king, which being produced, his intended punishment was converted into the most tender embraces in the arms of his prince, who, heaping honours and riches on him, granted him leave to finish the temple, where he passed the remainder of his life: and there stood his statue in brass, the work of Hermolaus the Rhodian; because it was industriously reported that some of his dearest companions resolved to undergo the same calamity for his sake, or that Juno inspired several individuals with a rage of unmanning themselves, that he might not be single in his misfortune; many mad zealots, either in honour of Combabus, or to please Juno, performed the like operation on themselves every year in the temple. Furthermore, these galli, or devoted eunuchs, took on them the habit and offices of women; because a strange woman had fallen in love with Combabus, not knowing the violence he had done to his sex; which to prevent for the future, he put on the outward appearance of a woman.

*The story of
Combabus.*

With respect to the sacrifices, ceremonies, and customs peculiar to this holy city, they sacrificed twice a day to Jupiter in silence, and to Juno with the sound of minstrels and singers. Every spring they celebrated an extraordinary sacrifice; for, felling some great trees in the court of the temple, they garnished them with goats, sheep, birds, rich vestments, and fine pieces of wrought gold and silver: then they carried the sacred images round these decorated trees, and set fire to them, and all

Sacrifices.

^a Lucian de Dea Syr. cap. 19.

was consumed. At this sacrifice there was always a great concourse of people from all parts, every one bringing his sacred images with him, made in imitation of those of the temple. There was also a private sacrifice made by every one that undertook the pilgrimage to the city of Hierapolis. The pilgrim killed a sheep, cut it up in joints, and feasted on it, spreading the fleece on the ground, and kneeling upon it. In this posture he put the feet and head of the victim upon his own head, and besought the goddess to accept his sacrifice, and vowed her a better. To these we may add the offerings made upon the following occasion: twice a year a man, climbing up to the top of one of the priaps, continued there seven days. He let down a chain, and drew up what was given him: for many devotees, upon these occasions, brought their offerings, and declared their names, which one below took care to bawl out to the man sitting above; who thereupon began a prayer, striking a kind of bell all the time. Finally, they had sometimes a way of sacrificing which was truly shocking and barbarous. They first crowned the victims with garlands, and then drove them out of the porch or court of the temple, one side of which was a steep precipice, where they perished. Nay, some were so mad as to tie up their children in sacks, and throw them down the same precipice¹.

Festivals.

Some of their festivals were observed in memory of Deucalion's flood. Twice a year they went to the sea-side, and thence brought water into the temple; in which labour, not only the priests were employed, but also all the inhabitants of Syria and Arabia. This water they poured out in the temple, and it ran off by the hole or cleft we have already mentioned. This rite they performed by a pretended command of Deucalion, as our author, after the Greek manner, calls him. What ceremonies they practised at the sea-side we are not told; but it seems they were very extraordinary. Returning with their vessels full of water, and sealed up, they carried them first to a sacred person, called Alectryo, who, receiving them, examined the seals, and, taking his due from each votary for his pains, untied the string, took off the seal, and returned his burden to each, who carried it into the temple, for the purpose before mentioned. This Alectryo received a considerable revenue for holy uses upon these solemn days. They had another kind of festival, when

¹ Lucian de Dea Syr. cap. lvii.

their gods paid a visit to the bottom of the lake we formerly mentioned. Juno, or the Syrian goddess herself, went down first, for the preservation of her favourite fishes; which, had they seen Jupiter, would have died. Upon these occasions a remarkable farce was acted between the said goddess and god. He offered to go down first, but she interposed, and, after much difficulty, prevailed on him to return. But, of all their holidays, the Great Burning, as we may call it, was the most considerable. Upon this occasion there came people from all parts, to assist at the great sacrifice we have already described, and the other religious duties of the season. This festival was of some days continuance; and at particular times, while it lasted, the whole multitude was drawn into the temple, while the priests stood without, some of them mangling their bodies, some striking violently each other, while others beat tabrets, or drums, sounded musical instruments, sung aloud, and prophesied.

It was in the midst of all this uproar, the phrensy of castrating themselves seized on many in the temple, who, crying out with a loud voice, and drawing their swords, performed the operation, and devoted themselves to the goddess.

The religious customs, laws, and traditions of this place, were as extraordinary as any thing else we have hitherto seen. Twice a year a man went up to the top of one of the priapi, as we have said, and there remained seven days. He climbed up by the help of a chain that surrounded himself and the body of the priapus; in the same manner as the palm-tree is ascended by the inhabitants of Egypt and Arabia, by means of a rope. The same method is practised by the negroes on the coast of Guinea, when they make incisions in the palm-tree, and fix their gourds in order to receive the juice.

Miscellaneous matters.

Some of those phalli are said to have been 300 fathom in height: but this must be a monstrous exaggeration. Others allege their height did not exceed 300 cubits, in which case they must have been as high as the Monument in London. Even this measure is incredible, if we consider they were so slender that a man could climb them with a chain. When the devotee had reached the top, he let down a chain, wherewith he drew up whatever was necessary for his maintenance, or to make himself a seat, or kind of nest. It was given out that, during the seven days, he had a more immediate intercourse with

the great goddesses; and also, that this feat was practised in memory of Deucalion's flood, when men saved themselves by climbing up mountains and trees. During these seven days the person never slept; and if at any time he happened to doze, he was waked by a sacred scorpion. Our author rather thinks, that the fear of falling kept him from sleeping *.

Every day many people swam to the altar in the midst of the lake, there to perform their devotions.

They sacrificed oxen and sheep; but swine they held to be unclean.

But the sacrifice was not performed at the temple. The victim was only presented at the altar. The rest was transacted at home.

Fish, and doves or pigeons, were accounted holy; the former sacred to Derceto, the latter to Semiramis; in memory of their different transformations.

They fed many doves in and about their houses; and, if a man had touched one of them, he was unclean all the rest of that day.

As soon as any man had commenced gallus, or eunuch-priest, by dismembering himself, he ran about the city with the part in his hand; at length, throwing it into some house, he thence received a woman's attire, and from that time forward his life was entirely agreeable to his new dress.

The eunuch-priests, however, entertained a passion for women, and the women for them; which, far from being thought scandalous or portentous, was esteemed pure and holy.

It was unlawful for any gallus, or eunuch-priest, to enter the temple.

Whosoever took on him the pilgrimage to Hierapolis, this holy city, first shaved his head and eye-brows, then offered up a sheep, in the manner already mentioned. After which sacrifice he was not allowed to bathe but in cold water, or to drink of any thing else, or lie upon aught but the cold ground till he had reached the city.

The pilgrims, being arrived, were entertained at the public charge, and lodged with people of their respective countries, here called instructors, or masters, who were paid by the public for instructing them in the rites and ceremonies of the place.

* Lucian. *Syr. Dec.* cap. 29—32.

The pilgrims were all branded with marks upon the neck and wrists.

The young men and boys consecrated the first-fruits of their beards and hair; which, being shaved, or clipped, were deposited in a gold or silver box, with the name of the person they belonged to, and kept in the temple.

When any of the galli died, their funeral was not performed in the ordinary manner. Their companions carried the dead body into the suburbs, where, setting it down, they hurled stones over it, and left it lying upon the bier; there it lay the space of seven days, and then was conveyed into the temple.

He that had seen a dead person was not allowed to enter the temple that day; but the next he was absolved from his uncleanness, if he purified himself.

All the family of any person deceased were to avoid the temple thirty days, and shave their heads¹.

We learn from Plutarch, that the Syrians, of his time, *Their temper.* were an effeminate people, prone to tears, and very remarkable for their way of mourning for their deceased, hiding themselves from the light of the sun, in caves, or other dark places, many days together. A tender and effeminate temper of mind may have always been one of the characteristics of the Syrians, as it is at this day.

We can say nothing particular touching the customs of the ancient Syrians, or their civil concerns. As to their *Their learning and arts.* arts and learning; they were by some anciently joined with the Phœnicians, as the first inventors of letters^m: certain it is, they yielded to no contemporary nation in human knowledge, and skill in the fine arts. They were happily situated, as it were, in the centre of the old world; and, being enriched by the spoils, tribute, and commerce, of the nations far and near, they certainly rose to a great pitch of splendor and magnificence. The altar at Damascus, which excited the admiration of Ahaz king of Judahⁿ, may serve as a noble specimen of the skill of their artificers.

Their language is one of those dialects we commonly *Their language.* call the Oriental tongues, and is pretended to have been the mother of them all. It became a distinct tongue so early as the days of Jacob; for what his father-in-law and uncle, Laban of Padan-Aram, or Mesopotamia, calls Jegar-Sahadutha, is by Jacob himself called Galeed^o. The

¹ Lucian, ubi supra.

p. 307.

ⁿ 2 Kings xvi. 10.

^m Clem. Alexandr. Strom. lib. i.

^o Genes. xxxi. 47.

The History of the Ancient Syrians.

Syriac was not only the language of Syria, but also of Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Assyria, and, after the Babylonish captivity, of Palestine.

There are three dialects of the Syrian tongue: 1. The Aramean, or Syriac, properly so called, which is the most elegant of all, and used in Mesopotamia, and by the inhabitants of Roba, or Edessa, of Harran, and the Outer Syria. 2. The dialect of Palestine, spoken by the inhabitants of Damascus, Mount Libanus, and the Inner Syria. 3. The Chaldee, or Nabathean dialect, the most unpolished of the three, spoken in the mountainous parts of Assyria, and in the villages of Irák, or Babylonia^a.

The Syriac character is very ancient, supposed by some to have been in use above three hundred years before the birth of Christ^b. There are two sorts of this character; the Estrangelo (G), which is the more ancient and unpolished, and chiefly found in the titles of books, as capitals with us; and that called the Fshito, the simple or common character, which is much more expeditious and beautiful. There was a project set on foot by Paul of Antioch, for adding the letters that are wanting in the Syriac alphabet, as the Greeks had done; the execution of which he recommended to James of Edessa, who declined it, because he feared that the books written in the imperfect character, or alphabet, might by such an innovation, be lost^c.

^a Abu'lfarag. Hist. Dyraft. p. 11.

^b Bernard. Tab. Alph.

^c Asseman. Biblio. h. Orient. tom. i. p. 479.

(G) This name is generally derived from the Greek word *τρογγύλον*, round, as if it was a round character, whereas it is rather square; wherefore, it must be derived from that

word, we should rather choose to take it in Theophrastus's sense (1), who uses *τρογγύλα* *ξύλα*, for rough unhewn timber, by reason of its rude and unpolished form.

THE SYRIAC ALPHABET.

The common character.

The estrangelo.

Power.	Figure.			Names.	Figure.
	Joined to the foll. and prec.	Joined to the prec. only.	Joined to the foll. only.	Single.	
The support of a vowel.		Ɑ		}	Olaf.
B.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Beth.
G.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Gomal.
D.		Ɱ		Ɱ	Dolath.
H.		Ɱ		Ɱ	He.
W.		Ɱ		Ɱ	Waw.
Z.		Ɱ		Ɱ	Zain.
Hh.		Ɱ		Ɱ	Hheth.
T.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Teth.
Y.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Yûd.
Co. Kh.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Cof.
L.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Lomad.
M.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Mim.
N.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Nûn.
S.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Semcath.
Suppt. of a vowel, but a guttur.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	E.
F. or P.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Pe.
S { grossly pron.		Ɱ		Ɱ	Sede.
K.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Kof.
R.		Ɱ		Ɱ	Rifh.
Sh.	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Ɱ	Shin.
T. or Th.		Ɱ		Ɱ	Ten.

The Syriac writing, like that of the other eastern tongues, was destitute of vowels till towards the latter end of the eighth century, when they were introduced, as is generally supposed, by Theophilus of Edessa, chief astrologer to the khalif al Mohdi, who borrowed them from the Greek alphabet, and first made use of them to distinguish the Greek pronunciation of the names and patronymics, in his Syriac translation of the works of Homer¹. The marks to express these vowels are still nearly in the form of five of the Greek vowels; for they reject the epsilon and the omicron; there being no short vowels in their tongue. But James of Edessa, who flourished about a century before Theophilus, invented seven new characters for all the Greek vowels, at the desire of Paul of Antioch, to whom he sent them; and they are still extant.

The Syriac is said to have much degenerated, till James of Edessa restored it to its ancient purity. He was the first that wrote a grammar in this language. It is an easy and elegant, but not a very copious tongue, and has a great number of Greek words, which were incorporated with it, in the times of the Seleucidæ. There are many books in the Syriac, very little known to the Europeans; but what this tongue is most to be valued for, are the excellent translations of the Old and New Testament; which equal, if they do not surpass, those in any other language.

*Their
trade.*

Perhaps no nation, of equal antiquity, had a more considerable trade than the ancient Syrians. We cannot doubt but that they had ships on the Mediterranean as soon as any of their neighbours; and, by the vicinity of the river Euphrates, it is past dispute, that they traded with the eastern regions upon that river very early. They had many valuable commodities of their own to carry into other parts. The easy and safe navigation of the Euphrates, when compared with that of the sea, almost inclines us to consider them as older merchants than the Phœnicians, or even the Edomites; who must have made very early attempts upon the Arabian gulph; in comparison of which, the Mediterranean was a main ocean. Herodotus reports, that the Phœnicians were much older navigators than either the ancient Syrians or Egyptians; saying, that they carried on the commerce of As-

¹ Abu'Isfarag. p. 247. Echellenfis in Not. ad Catal. Ebedjesew. p. 280. Asseman, p. 522. ² Lib. i. cap. 1.

Syria and Egypt by their shipping. Here, by the way, is a stronger proof than any we have hitherto given, that Syria and Assyria were confounded together by the ancients. For how should the Phœnicians have sailed to the coasts of the proper Assyria, an inland country; a country they could not possibly have reached, but by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and entering the Persian gulph? a voyage which could have answered no end, seeing they might have supplied that country, and have been supplied from thence, at an infinitely cheaper rate, by means of their next neighbours, the Syrians, who navigated the Euphrates; and who, it cannot well be disputed, were the first that brought the Persian and Indian commodities into the west of Asia. Syria was therefore the most ancient magazine for such commodities, and chiefly supplied all the western parts; nor can we think otherwise, than that the Midianitish merchants, who bought Joseph, had loaded their camels in Syria with the aromatics, and other precious things, they were carrying into Egypt. Among which it is not unlikely that they had commodities of other countries besides those of Syria.

Now, because the Syrians ingrossed this lucrative commerce, they may in a great measure have neglected the Mediterranean navigation, chiefly intent upon their eastern trade, which drew merchants from all the western parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions; and particularly the Phœnicians, their industrious neighbours. So that Herodotus may be in the right, when he talks of the trade then anciently carried on for Assyria (Syria) and Egypt.

S E C T. III.

Of the Chronology of the Ancient Syrians.

BEFORE we proceed to the little we can say upon this obscure subject, we will exhibit a series of the ancient kings of Syria, according to different writers.

The kings of Zobah, or Sophene.

According to Scripture.	According to Josephus.	Contemporary with
Rehob - - -	Arach - - -	Saul.
Hadadezer or Ha-	Adrazar - - -	David.
- darezer - - -		

The History of the Ancient Syrians.

The kings of Damascus.

According to Scripture.					According to Nic. Damasc.				
* * * * *					Adad I.	-	-	-	-
Rezon	-	-	-	-	Adad II.	-	-	-	-
Hezion	-	-	-	-	Adad III.	-	-	-	-
Tabrimon	-				Adad IV.				
Benhadad I.	-				Adad V.				
Benhadad II.					Adad VI.				
Hazael	-				Adad VII.				
Benhadad III.					Adad VIII.				
* * * * *					Adad IX.	-	-	-	-
Rezin	-	-	-	-	Adad X.	-	-	-	-

According to Josephus.					Contemporary with				
* * * * *					David.				
Adad	-	-	-	-	Solomon.				
* * * * *					Rehoboam.				
Adad	-	-	-	-	Abijam.				
* * * * *					Afa.				
Adad	-	-	-	-	Jehoshaphat and Jehoram,				
Hazael	-	-	-	-	Ahaziah and Joash.				
Adad	-	-	-	-	Amaziah.				
* * * * *					Uzziah.				
Rafes or Arafes	-	-	-	-	Jotham and Ahaz.				

The kings of Hamath.

According to Scripture.					According to Josephus.					Contemporary with				
Toi	-	-			Thanus	-	-			David,				
Joram or Hadoram	-	-	-		Joram	-	-			* * * *				
* * * *					* * * *					* * * *				

The kings of Geshur.

According to Scripture.					Contemporary with				
Ammihud	-	-	-		Saul.				
Talmai	-	-	-		David.				
* * * *					* * * *				

We have not observed the seniority of these kingdoms, by placing them either in an exact collateral, or successive order; but have given the second place to Damascus, because it rose upon the ruins of Zobah; though Hamath and Geshur were the most ancient kingdoms.

We cannot positively affirm, that Zobah coalesced under one king in the days of Saul, and, consequently, that Rehob was their first king; but only conjecture their sovereigns had been vanquished by Saul¹, and then they may have come to the resolution of submitting to one king, perceiving the Israelites prospered under their new monarchy. The Philistines seem to have undergone the like revolution at the same time, and for the same reason. If this supposition be granted, no one is so likely to have been their first king, as Rehob, the father of the great Hadadezer, who, in the days of David, was so firmly seated on the newly-erected throne of Zobah, that he aspired at the universal monarchy of Syria. We may likewise conclude, that if he was not the second, he was certainly the last king of Zobah; for we hear no more of that kingdom.

The kingdom of Damascus rose upon the ruins of the kingdom of Zobah. It was founded by Rezon, probably, in the latter part of Solomon's reign², while that prince was engrossed by sensual pleasure, and had forgot both himself and his people.

Josephus makes one Adad, king of Damascus, contemporary with David; in which particular he is a strict follower of Nicolas of Damascus, whom, in the next reign, he drops. That writer, instead of allowing Rezon to have made himself king of Damascus, seems to insinuate, that he made Hadad, the Edomite, king there, or somewhere else in Syria³.

Nicolas of Damascus seems to agree well enough with the Scripture accounts of the Damascene kings, and particularly, if we suppose his first Adad to have been Hadadezer of Zobah; nor ought we to wonder at that writer's making his native city the metropolis of a kingdom, by one reign only, more ancient than it really was. Besides, he may not be altogether mistaken, in calling his first Adad king of Damascus; for he certainly was king or chief over that province, though he did not reside there. By calling his first Adad the Hadadezer of Zobah, we reconcile him with the Scripture.

It is impossible to determine the exact number of years each king reigned: wherefore we have only placed them opposite to the princes of David's line, or the kings of Judah.

¹ We have on purpose avoided a dry discussion of this point; for there is no certainty to be expected in what

¹ 1 Sam. xiv. 47. ² 1 Kings xi. 24. ³ Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 2.
cob-

concerns the succession of these kings, and the length of their reigns.

The kingdom of Hamath rose together with that of Zobah, as appears pretty plain by the wars between them. But that Toi, or Thermes as Josephus styles him, was succeeded by his son Joram, is only our conjecture.

The kingdom of Geshur seems to have risen together with Zobah and Hamath. We are not sure, that Ammi-had preceded his son Talmai in the kingdom; but it is very likely he did.

S E C T. IV.

The Reigns of the Kings of the Ancient Syrians.

The Kings of Zobah.

Rehob.

REHOB we suppose to have been the first sole king of Zobah, and to have laid the foundation of his son's grandeur.

Hadad-ezer.

Hadadezer, or Hadarezer, the son of Rehob, was a great and ambitious prince, remarkable for his unfortunate wars with king David. He had gained advantages over the king of Hamath; but, when he opposed David's progress towards the reduction of the land, which had been promised to Abraham, and his seed, quite to the Euphrates^a, he was deserted by his good fortune. In the first battle he fought with David, he lost one thousand chariots, seven thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot. The Syrians of Damascus then sent their army to reinforce him. But, nevertheless, in the engagement, he lost twenty-two thousand men. The conqueror, taking advantage of so signal a victory, possessed himself of great part of Syria, and, particularly, of Damascus. Hadad-ezer now lost his golden shields, for such he had in his treasury. His two cities, Betah and Berothai, exceedingly rich in brass, were plundered^b, and his territories greatly contracted. But, in all probability, nothing perplexed him more than the defection of Rezon, afterwards king of Damascus; who, leading the forces, sent him from that province, abandoned him to his adverse fortune, and, assembling a band of men, employed them in the pursuit of his own ambitious views^c.

Yr. of F.
1304.
Ante Chr.
1044.

^a Genes. xv. 18. ^b 2 Sam. viii. 3—5. ^c 1 Kings xi. 23, 24.

It is not expressed, that Hadadezer became tributary to king David; nor, indeed, is it likely that he did, at least on this occasion. For he furnished Hanun king of Ammon with twenty thousand men against the Israelites; but they, with the other auxiliaries of that war, were put to a shameful flight by Joab. Though he was not a principal in this war; yet, next year, he seems to have made himself so. He called in all the petty kings, that owed him homage, on the other side the Euphrates; and every where else, as far as his power extended, he levied forces. By which means he assembled a very considerable army, which he committed to the conduct of Shobach, his general, to assist Hanun against David a second time; or rather, to make a desperate effort to retrieve his own losses. But this great host, too, was routed at a place called Helam; about forty thousand of the Syrians were slain; and, among the rest, Shobach himself. The petty princes, that served Hadadezer in this fatal warfare, made their peace with David, and became his tributaries¹, as did, in all likelihood, Hadadezer himself; concerning whom, or the kingdom of Zobah, we find no further account.

The Kings of Damascus.

The kingdom of Zobah being overthrown, that of **Damascus** rose upon its ruins. **Rezon** was the first monarch, the same who deserted from Hadadezer king of Zobah. He seized on Damascus, founded that kingdom, and proved a very troublesome and inveterate enemy to Solomon.

Hezion succeeded **Rezon**; but whether he was his son, or otherwise related to him, we know not. He lived at peace and amity with the kings of Judah and Israel.

Tabrimon the son of **Hezion** had no misunderstanding with the Israelites.

Benhadad the son of **Tabrimon**, ascending the throne, ambassadors came to him with large gifts from **Asa** king of Judah, by whom he was induced to make war with **Baasha** king of Israel: from this prince he took **Ijon**, **Dan**, **Abel-beth-Maachah**, all **Cinneroth**, and the land of **Naphtali**².

He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who vigorously prosecuted the enmity of his father to Israel; but was twice very remarkably baffled by the interposition of heaven. When he first marched against them, he had no fewer than thirty-two kings in his army; together with

Rezon.

Hezion.

Tabrimon.

Yr. of Fl.

1408.

Chr.

140.

Benhadad

I.

Yr. of Fl.

1447.

Ante Chr.

901.

Benhadad

II.

¹ 2 Sam. x. 15—19.

² 1 Kings xv. 20.

an incredible number of horse, foot, and chariots. With this powerful host setting down before Samaria, he summoned Ahab the king to acknowledge himself his vassal, and deliver up to him all his silver and gold, and likewise his wives and children (H). To this insolent message the pusillanimous prince returned a most submissive answer, implying, that he, and all he had, were at his disposal; which, however, did not satisfy the haughty and insulting enemy: for he immediately acquainted the timorous king, by a second message, that the next day about the same time, he intended to send some of his officers to search his palace, and the city, and bring away all his wealth, and whatever was pleasant in his eyes. In this indignity the king of Israel, animated by the elders, refused to acquiesce; and his refusal gave occasion to a third message from the haughty Syrian, that he wished himself in a worse condition than Ahab, if he did not bring such an army before Samaria, that, every soldier taking but an handful of it, there should be no signs of it left. Ahab, in answer to this vain menace, advised him to wait the event of things before he reckoned upon them*.

The Syrian army was now ordered to invest the city of Samaria in form, and prepare for the assault. In the mean time, Benhadad, who seems to have been a very voluptuous prince, and much given to drink, followed his pleasures, fearless of all danger; for he could apprehend none. In the midst of his security and carousals, he was told, that a party was drawing near from the city, which at first caused a small alarm in the camp, and disturbed Benhadad himself. But, upon farther information, he ordered those who were coming, to be brought before him alive, whatever their designs were; and then returned to his pleasures. The party, coming from the city, was Ahab, with a choice company of one hundred and thirty-two young men, who, though it was noon-day, were encouraged by a prophet to fall upon the great host of the Syrians. These, on the other hand, dreaming of nothing less than an assault, thought they should have little to do, but to conduct the aggressors to their

* 1 Kings xx. 1-21.

(H) This last particular is approved by some into a great piece of insolence and brutality; as if he sent to Ahab for his most beautiful male children to abuse them (1).

(1) Vide Cleric. in 1 Reg. xx. 3.

The History of the Ancient Syrians

king. But when Ahab and his followers came up, and fell furiously upon them, they fled; and a panic fear spreading itself all over the camp, there was not one that thought of any thing else but saving himself. Benhadad mounted his horse, and rode away with the rest, instead of rallying and confirming his people. The flight was general, and the Israelites pursued them with great slaughter.

The Syrians were covered with shame at so inglorious a flight, and would gladly have found out some excuse to palliate their disgrace: they pretended, that the gods of the Israelites being the gods of the hills, it was no wonder that such a misfortune had befallen them; and, to comfort their king, assured him, that if he could but draw down the enemy to hazard a battle on even ground, his gods would prevail in their turn, as they presided over the plains (E). They moreover laid some blame upon the two and thirty kings, as auxiliaries not hearty in his cause, or submissive enough to discipline; and desired that trusty skilful officers might be substituted instead of these leaders. Finally, they advised their king to levy just such an army as the former, chariot for chariot, horse for horse, and not to doubt of success.

Benhadad hearkened to this advice. In the following year he marched towards the king of Israel with such an army, as if he meant to make good his menaces against the city of Samaria; and pitched his tents in Aphek, in a plain, that he might be under the protection of his own gods. Seven days he lay encamped over-against the defensible number of the Israelites; upon the seventh they came to a battle, in which the Syrians lost, of foot only, one hundred thousand. The rest fled with precipitation to the city of Aphek, where twenty-seven thousand of them were crushed to death by the city wall, which fell on them by divine appointment.

Benhadad now gave all over for lost, and was not a little surprised, that his gods had failed him: in despair, he concealed himself in the city of Aphek; but his officers, reminding him that the kings of Israel had been ge-

(E) Knowing that the Jewish law was delivered on an hill, that the temple of Jerusalem stood on an hill, that the enemy's country was very hilly, and that the Israelites were

particularly fond of sacrificing and worshipping in "high places;" it is no wonder, that the Syrians, considering the theology of the times, should entertain hopes of this nature.

Yr. of FL.
r448.
Ante. Chr.
900.

nous enemies, advised him to throw himself upon Ahab's mercy. They offered to prepare the conqueror to receive him kindly, by appearing before him with sackcloth on their loins, and ropes about their necks. In this humble guise they accordingly went and accosted Ahab, and intreated him in behalf of their king. Ahab, overjoyed at his victory, was in admirable temper to receive them, and, in a kind of transport, called Benhadad his brother, and declared he was glad to hear he was living. The artful Syrians made the best use they could of that kind expression for the service of their disconsolate king. Benhadad then was brought to Ahab, who took him into his chariot; when the Syrian, courting the friendship of the conqueror, promised to deliver up all his father had wrested from Israel; and, moreover, to allow Ahab the same authority in Damascus, which his own father had enjoyed in Samaria (G). By these fair speeches he so wrought upon the mind of Ahab, that he was immediately restored to his liberty, and a peace concluded ^m.

How strictly soever Benhadad adhered to his word with Ahab in other respects, he kept possession of Ramoth-Gilead, which was the subject of a fresh war, in which Ahab prevailed on Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, to be his auxiliary. The two kings led their forces against Ramoth-Gilead; where they found the Syrians prepared to receive them; but Ahab, having sufficient reason to fear, that the enemy could mark him out for destruction, disguised himself before the battle, while the king of Judah put on his royal robes. The apprehensions of Ahab were not without foundation; for the king of Syria commanded his two and thirty captains, who had rule over his chariots, to direct their arms only against the king of Israel. This order had like to have proved fatal to Jehoshaphat; for the officers, mistaking him for Ahab, pursued him close, and would have slain him, had they not discovered in time, that he was not the person they had in commission to destroy. But Ahab's precautions could not save him; for "one of the Syrians drawing a

^m 1 Kings, xx. 1—34.

(G) What privilege or authority Benhadad's father enjoyed in Samaria, is a question we cannot resolve. Josephus says, that Ahab should have as

full liberty in Damascus as his father had in the city of Samaria, which was built but a few years before by Omri king of Israel.

bow at a venture, smote him between the joints of his harness:” upon which he ordered his charioteer to carry him out of the field of battle, and died in the evening. The fight was bloody and obstinate, and lasted till night; under the covert of which, each side drew off with equal loss, and doubtful victory^p. The general, who on this occasion, had the chief command of the Syrian army, was the celebrated Naaman, who was miraculously cured, by the prophet Elisha, of the leprosy, with which he was grievously afflicted, as is related at large in holy writ^p. As he was sensible of the miracle, and by what hand it was wrought, he returned with great joy to the prophet, and, renouncing idolatry, acknowledged, “ that there was no god in all the earth but in Israel^q”.

Yr. of Fl.
1451.
Ante Chr.
897.

Soon after Naaman's return to Damascus, Benhadad began to execute some private designs against Jehoram king of Israel; whence it may be naturally enough gathered, that Naaman either died, resigned, or was disgraced. But the king being disappointed in all his aims, began to suspect the fidelity of his ministers; who, to remove so dangerous a suspicion, told him, that none but Elisha could thus disconcert all his measures; observing that the prophet was endued with such a degree of knowledge, that nothing could be concealed from him, though done in the greatest privacy. Benhadad had heard enough concerning that prophet, to believe what he was told; and therefore, being resolved to seize him, detached a strong party to Do-han, where he understood he then resided. They came to that city in the night, and next morning were by the prophet smitten with blindness, and led by him into the very heart of the city of Samaria, where their eyes were opened, that they might behold their situation. Here, instead of being made prisoners of war, they were hospitably entertained, and generously dismissed; and, making their report to Benhadad of all that had happened, of the prophet's power, and the king's humanity, a stop was put to the war^r.

This peaceable disposition was but short-lived, and Benhadad marched against Samaria^s once more. Having besieged it with his whole force, he reduced it to the greatest streights, and was on the point of taking it by famine; so that either the siege was long and obstinate, or else the place was poorly stored. But in the mean time he was

^p 2 Kings, xxii. 3—35. ^p 2 Kings, v. per tot. ^q Ibid. ver. 15. ^r 2 Kings, vi. 12—23. ^s Ibid. 24—29.

alarmed in the night, by a noise like that of a great army rushing upon him; whereupon, apprehending, that Jeho-
ram had hired the kings of the Hittites (H) and Egypt to come to his relief, he raised the siege with such precipitation, that his army left their horses and every thing standing in the camp, just as it was when they took the alarm; dropping what was in the least cumbersome to them in their flight.

Benhadad must at this time have been much advanced in years; and, whether he had contracted some illness by the fatigue of his flight, and violence of his surprize, or whether his spirits were broken by such frequent misfortunes, he took to his bed. Being informed that the prophet Elisha was coming to Damascus, he sent Hazael with forty camels load of the choicest productions of the country, to consult the prophet concerning his indisposition. Hazael went accordingly, and accosted him in the most respectful manner, in behalf of Benhadad. The answer he received was, that Benhadad might recover, but should surely die. The prophet, having thus expressed himself, fixed his eyes upon Hazael, and suddenly burst into tears: the Syrian, amazed at this agitation, and desiring to know the cause of it, was told, that he would succeed Benhadad, and be a cruel and merciless persecutor of the children of Israel; that he would set their strong-holds on fire, slay their young men with the sword, dash their children, and rip up their women with child. Hazael professed not to understand what the prophet meant; nor could conceive how so inconsiderable a person as himself could ever have it in his power to commit such outrages; whereupon he was assured anew by the prophet, that he should be king over Syria. He then returned to his master, and flattered him with hopes of recovery; but next day stifled him with a thick cloth dipped in water. So ended the reign of the great Benhadad; who having adorned Damascus with fine structures, and added to the glory of Syria, was ranked among the gods, and honoured with divine worship¹.

¹ Josephus Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 2.

(H) Who these kings of the Hittites were, is very uncertain. Josephus calls them the kings of the islands. That any remnant of the Canaanitish Hittites should at this time be formidable in any of these parts, is past our understanding. We are told, the remnant of them was reduced to the most abject degree of servitude by Solomon.

Hazael,

Hazael, having thus murdered his lord, ascended his throne, and was anointed by the prophet Elijah¹. He was a scourge in the hand of God, to chastise the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and under him the Syrian monarchy arose to its meridian. However, he seems to have reigned very peaceably, till he was provoked by Joram king of Israel, and Ahaziah king of Judah, who engaged in a league to wrest Ramoth-Gilead out of his hands, in imitation of what their fathers had attempted in the reign of Benhadad. In this attempt they were attended with success; though Joram was dangerously wounded. But Hazael made himself ample amends, by invading both the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and pursuing them almost to destruction. He began with Jehu king of Israel, and subdued whatsoever belonged to him, on the other side Jordan, comprehending the countries of Gilead and Bashan, the two tribes Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh². In the prosecution of this conquest, he, no doubt, punctually fulfilled, by his cruel rage, what the prophet had foretold (K).

Yr. of Fl.
1464.
Ante Chr.
884.

Hazael.

With the same fury and success he waged war upon Jehoahaz the son of Jehu, till he had left him but fifty horse, ten chariots, and ten thousand foot; for the rest had perished in battle against Hazael, who, as it is strongly expressed, "made them like the dust by threshing"³.

Hazael, having thus chastised Israel, turned his arms against the king of Judah; for they had both confederated against him, so that he had a fair pretence for attacking both. He passed the Jordan, therefore, and made himself master of the strong and royal city of Gath, which had been the seat of the Philistine kings, but was now possessed by the house of David. His next design was to attempt Jerusalem itself; but, as he was meditating this great enterprize, he was diverted from it by the rich gifts of the weak and apostate Jehoash, who then reigned in that city; and who, dreading the Syrian power, sent Hazael all the treasure and rich moveables that had been set apart and dedicated by his father for sacred uses. Hazael was pacified by so noble a present, and for some time desisted from his designs upon Jerusalem.

Yr. of Fl.
1508.
Ante Chr.
840.

But it was not long ere he renewed the war against that city. He detached towards the end of the same year, a party to reduce Jerusalem. This detachment,

¹ 1 Kings, xix. 15. ² 2 Kings, x. 31—33. ³ Ib. xiii. 3, 7, 22.

(K) Josephus assures us, woman, or child, but put all that he neither spared man, to fire and sword.

though inconsiderable in number, prevailed against the great host of Jehoash king of Judah, sacked Jerusalem, slew all the princes of the people, and sent their spoil to Hazael at Damascus. In the course of this expedition did Hazael also make himself master of Elath on the Red Sea. Having thus subdued and tyrannized over the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, he died, and was deified (C).

Yr. of Fl.
1512.
Ante Chr.
836.

He left a son and successor, called Benhadad, who suffered a total reverse of his father's fortune. Thrice was he defeated by Jehoash, the son of Jehoahaz; and lost all that his father had wrested from Israel.

Benhadad
III.

The Syrians recovered themselves again amidst the disorders which reigned in the kingdom of Israel upon Jeroboam's death. Rezin, their last king, towards the latter end of his reign, entered into a league with Pekah king of Israel, against Ahaz king of Judah. Their design was to dethrone him, and make room for a stranger to David's line, called Tabeal^b. With this intent they besieged Ahaz in Jerusalem, but were obliged to raise the siege. Rezin, however, marched into Edom, and made himself master of Elath on the Red Sea, which he annexed once more to the dominion of Syria (D); there he planted a colony (E), which subsisted many years after the subversion of his kingdom^c.

Yr. of Fl.
1606.
Ante Chr.
742.

Rezin.

Yr. of Fl.
1607.
Ante Chr.
741.

Next year Rezin and Pekah prosecuted the war against Ahaz; and in order to distract him the more, divided their forces into three bodies, with a design to invade him in three different places at once. Rezin, for his part, succeeded well by this division; for he loaded his army with spoils, and led away a multitude of captives, wherewith his avarice being pretty well glutted, he returned to Damascus^d.

^b Isa. vii. 1—6. ^c 2 Kings xvi. 6. ^d 2 Chron. xxviii. 5.

(C) Hazael adorned Damascus with temples; and their statues were carried in procession in the days of Josephus, the Syrians boasting their antiquity. (D) Our version says, "he recovered Elath to Syria;" so says the Vulgate: "in tempore illo restituit Rezin rex Syriæ Ailam Syriæ." Whence we gather, it must have been conquered by Hazael, when he sent part of his army against Jerusalem.

(E) Both the LXX. and the Vulgate agree, that Rezin having subdued this place, the Edomites took possession of it. But it is not to be imagined that Rezin could so easily part with so fine an acquisition. If any heed may be given to Josephus, he agrees with our reading and translation, saying, that Rezin planted a colony of Syrians in Elath.

But this acquisition proved fatal to Rezin and his kingdom for Ahaz, grown desperate, and bent upon revenge, sent him to Tiglath-Pileser king of Assyria, therewith to bribe him against Rezin. This prince was accordingly invaded by Tiglath-Pileser, who slew him, and carried the inhabitants of Damascus (F) away captive to Kir, where they were settled^a. Thus was the empire of the ancient Syrians abolished, according to the prophets: "Behold, Damascus is taken away from being a city—and the kingdom shall cease from Damascus, and the remnant of Syria^f.—I will send a fire into the house of Hazal, which shall devour the palaces of Benhadad. I will cut off—him that holdeth the sceptre from the house of Eden; and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the Lord^g."

Yr. of
1608.
Ante C
740.

The Kings of Hamath.

We have but a very short and imperfect account of these kings, both as to their establishment, and their continuance; nay, there is even some doubt concerning the situation of their city (G). They seem to have derived their origin from the Syrians of the Canaanitish blood (H), at the same time that the Syrians of Zobah, who, we think, were Aramites, erected their kingdom. Toi, their first king we read of, was engaged in an unequal war with Hadadezer, the great king of Zobah; the ground of which we can apprehend to have been nothing else but his refusal to submit to the power of that ambitious prince, to whom he was probably on the point of submitting, when Hadadezer himself yielded to the superior might of David; who, after humbling the pride of Zobah, was looked upon by Toi as his present deliverer, and his future protector. In order therefore to secure himself on the throne, he sent his son Joram with a costly present, in vessels of gold, silver, and brass, to court the favour of the conqueror, to congratulate him on his successes, and return him thanks for the deliverance he owed

^a 2 Kings, ubi supra, ver. 9. ^f Isai. xvii. 1—3. ^g Amos i. 4, 5.

(F) Josephus makes but one mention of this and the foregoing. upon the Orontes, between Hems and Apamea.

(G) Josephus places Hamath to the north of the land of Canaan; and Abu'l-feda, who reigned in Hamath, and should know, at least, as well as any other, places Hamath whole country was called Shâm, because many of the sons of Canaan Tashamu travelled towards the left hand in migrating thither; for Syria lies to the left of the Caaba at Mecca.

Yr. of Fl.
1304.
Ante Chr.
1044.

his valour *. From all these circumstances we conclude, that Toi thenceforth became the creature of David, and tributary to his throne.

Whoever succeeded Toi, whether his son Joram or Hadoram, or any other, it is likely he cultivated a good intelligence with the kings at Jerusalem, till Rezon, the founder of the Damascene kingdom, arose. At this time, it is likely, the king of Hamath submitted to a new master. Be that as it will, this kingdom was certainly subject to the kings of Damascus, as was the rest of Syria, till Jeroboam king of Jerusalem prevailed against it. Upon the reduction of Damascus, when the inhabitants of that city were carried into captivity, it may have lifted up its head a little †; but the Hamathites were, in their turn, conquered and transplanted by Sennacherib and Esarhaddon ‡ kings of Assyria. Thus ended the ancient kingdom of Hamath.

The Kings of Geshur.

The kings of Geshur, if compared with those of Zobah, Damascus, and Hamath, were but petty princes (1). Perhaps they were more considerable for the alliance David made with their family, than for the extent of their dominion. We take them to have been one of the royal families, which, in ancient times, divided the whole country of Syria among them. The first of them we meet with is called Ammihud, the father of Talmai; and as Talmai is expressly said to have been king of this part, we venture to give him the same title.

Talmaj had a daughter named Maacha, who was wife to David, and the mother of Absalom, whom he sheltered three years ^b, when he fled to him for the murder of his brother Amnon. We cannot doubt but that Geshur bore the Damascene yoke, till they finally chafed for that of Assyria, and were transplanted, as were all the other Syrians.

Yr. of Fl.
1318.
Ante Chr.
1030.

* 2 Sam. viii. 9, 10.

† 2 Kings xviii. 34. xx. 11. 13.

‡ Compare Ezra iv. 2. with 2 Kings xvii. 24.

^b 2 Sam. xiii. 37.

(1) Josephus does not allow them to have been kings, but only a family of note and figure in the country where they dwelt.

